

America Drinks The Kool-Aid

THE FORKED TONGUE FILES OF ELECTORAL POLITRICKS

Let the wailing and teeth-gnashing commence. Quickly, hide the children. The unthinkable has happened. Four more years of Empire.

How did this come to pass? How did a sitting president with what seemed to be a solid four-year record of incompetence and a whole Cabinet chock full of sinister manipulators, overbearing blowhards and various and sundry unsavory characters, defeat Our Champion yet again? How did a man with a limited vocabulary and an even more limited command of proper pronunciation first ascend to the

position of Leader of the Free World, and then *stay* there? And is that an axe he's swinging at us?

Welcome to the third installment of The Forked Tongue Files, our increasingly-regular column in which we take a look at some of the gross misconceptions that seem to govern our daily lives, misconceptions that are usually put in front of us, for our eager consumption, by fiends who mean us no good. But, of course, just like fried chicken, we eat them up anyway. And then we wonder why our stomach aches so bad an hour or so later.

This issue, we will look at misconceptions surrounding the latest presidential election. The way people talked about the

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Crisis In Sudan: Devastation in Darfur

PRAY FOR THE PEOPLE OF SUDAN, for they shall have no rest.

The Fur, Masalit, Zaghawa and other groups in the western Sudanese province of Darfur must endure constant assaults from their enemies, including the infamous Janjawid raiders, who kill the men, rape the women and burn the villages.

The devout Muslims who live in Khartoum and elsewhere, and who believe in their central government, must constantly fend off attacks from the West, in the form of pronouncements of genocide, accusations of war crimes and increased calls for military intervention from international organizations, American hawks and right-wing fundamentalist politicians.



Those in the Sudanese government who are struggling to end the crisis are forced to face insurgencies from within as well as threats from outside their borders, all of which present a constant threat to their government and their way of life.

And those who seek a truly African solution to the killings, starvation and other horrors that threaten the "Land of the Fur" must deal with the daily reality that Mama Afrika cannot control the events that unfold within Her own House.

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Reparations Revisited

Report from NDABA IV

A group of several hundred organizers and activists from as far away as Los Angeles, California and as close as down the street gathered in Harriet Tubman City (Baltimore), Maryland, for the fourth Conference on Reparations. **Ndaba IV** ("Big Sit-Down" in the Zulu language) was held during the morning and afternoon of Saturday, October 30, 2004 at Morgan State University, and a Mass Gathering followed that evening at the Prince Hall Grand Lodge.

Organized locally by Morgan State University Professor **Raymond Winbush** and presided over by the Chairman of the Chicago, Illinois-based NATIONAL BLACK UNITED FRONT, **Dr. Conrad Worrill**, Ndaba IV carried the energy forward from the previous Ndaba held earlier this year in Houston, Texas.

After a Tambiko (libation) and other important organizational instructions, the business of the day began. Dr. Worrill

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In Support of "Eddie"

A Forum for Marshall "Eddie" Conway

On Saturday, November 6th at the University of Baltimore, about a hundred or more activists came together to attend a forum to highlight the case of Veteran Black Panther and Political Prisoner Marshall "Eddie" Conway.

Imprisoned since April 1970 for the killing of Baltimore Police Officer Donald Sager, Eddie has maintained his innocence since day one. Practically anyone who meets him, or studies his case, is convinced that he is telling the truth.

This event was sponsored by Critical Resistance-Baltimore, the Partnership for Social Justice, the American Friends Service Committee and other organizations.

Background on Political Imprisonment

The event began with a short video presentation on Mumia Abu-Jamal. Carlos Africa, Pam Africa and Mumia's wife all

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so-called “issues” for this parody of democracy brings up yet another misconception, one that we ourselves had not too long ago: that Americans are smarter than most people. Some of the following well-worn cliches of the recent campaign and election are so shallow in their misunderstanding of the facts that they are hardly deserving of discussion at your local elementary school.

“I’m a Wartime President.”

Can someone please explain to me how a person who used family connections to get him into the Texas Air National Guard, skipping over other men who were then sent to war, and took flight training on an obsolete warplane that was being phased out of service so he could avoid going to Vietnam is suddenly fit to wear the title of “Wartime President”?

“You don’t want a President who’ll change his mind.”

The problem with you, George, is that you *didn’t* change your mind—even when confronted with evidence that Iraq had *no* Weapons of Mass Destruction, *no* connection to the Sept. 11th terrorist attacks, and *no* connection to Osama bin Laden and Al-Qaida other than mutual hatred. An individual who refuses to change his mind when shown proof of the wrongness of his assumptions usually has a descriptive name. Think about it awhile; I’m sure you’ll find one that fits.

“I voted for Bush because I admire his morals.”

Many Bush backers said something like this at the exit polls on Nov. 2, partly based on the fact that the Bush Campaign not only stated its objection to homosexual marriage, but was introducing amendments to the Constitution to make it illegal from sea to shining sea. Some refer to Bush’s opposition to abortion and a woman’s right to choose one. Okay. I have a few questions, though:

(1) If you oppose abortion because it represents the killing of the unborn, why would you then fail, as a matter of national policy, to provide adequate funding for prenatal care, hospital stays, child care and education, and real support for adoption? Why would you allow the current system to condemn many children you insisted had a “right to life” to live out that life, and probably end it, in abject poverty in the nation’s ghettos and barrios? Why would you staunchly defend their lives while in the womb, yet disregard those same lives once they’re breathing air? Does your concern extend only to the *unborn*? What about the *born*?

(2) If you feel that abortion is wrong because life is sacred and it’s a sin to kill, why would you then support the *death penalty*, which has been shown to have condemned innocent men and women (and soon children as well) to death? The case of Illinois, where 13 of 25 men scheduled for execution in 2002 were found to be innocent, should be all the proof needed of the deeply flawed (or is it just evil?) nature of the Criminal Injustice System, especially when it comes to capital punishment.

(3) Which is more important: “Heather has two mommies” or the accelerated destruction of the rivers, streams, lakes, oceans, air and forests by a president who shows practically no concern for the environment?

(4) And this is my favorite one: How can you say that “Morals are important to me” and then cast your vote for a person who *lied* to the American people, *lied* to the United Nations, fought an immoral war that *killed* anywhere from 20,000 to 100,000 people in an area where he and his allies *covet* the oil? That’s *three* (3) Commandments broken right there (bearing false witness, killing and coveting). And you say his *morals* won the day?

“We cannot win this Election.”

You can’t win it *now*, John Kerry, because you decided to abdicate to your old Skull-And-Bones frat brother before the whole sordid story of the systematic disenfranchisement of Afrikan and Latino voters (again!!) could be exposed and analyzed

once and for all. Especially since it might bring into question a lot of nice perks that come to rich guys who run against rich guys and who, when they lose, are punished by going back to being rich guys again (with free health benefits and self-administered pay raises!). Word is, you’re even giving the cold shoulder to people who are demanding recounts in Ohio and New Mexico, just as you did four years ago (See below). I guess something as unimportant as victory and truth isn’t worth upsetting that comfy little apple cart, eh, Senator?

“The People Have Spoken.”

If they have, they sound awful confused. Downright schizophrenic to me. And, because of the differential rates at which votes are “spoiled” (discarded without being counted, which usually has a lot to do with what state you’re in and what county you’re in, and which, coincidentally, also correlates to the, well, “ethnicity” of the voters within that county), many of the people did *not* get a chance to speak. As investigative journalist Greg Palast (BBC, TomPaine.com) has noted, don’t ever believe re-

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ports when they say that “100% of the vote has been counted”. That is *never* the case. And at this time, Palast has dug up evidence that if all the “overvotes” (punch cards with stray marks), “undervotes” (punch cards that aren’t fully punched), “spoiled” votes (just thrown away) and provisional ballots (that largely weren’t even counted and went to predominantly African-Americans and other “minorities”) had been counted, as Kerry had promised 24 hours before his abdication, he would have won Ohio and New Mexico, and as a result, the election. But we just don’t understand what’s really important.

“This Was A Clear Mandate.”

Excuse me, but fifty-one to forty-nine (that’s 2 percentage points for all you non-math majors) sure doesn’t sound like a mandate to me. And if we find any more precincts with 700 residents giving Bush 4,000-vote victory margins (like that one in Ohio), I think something entirely different becomes clear.

“It’s Time To Bring This Country Back Together.”

Hogwash. They *are* right that the country is as divided as it’s ever been since perhaps the Civil War. But do you really think that Bush is going to moderate his agenda now? He got his second term. He’s a “lame duck” president now. His buddies with the PROJECT FOR A NEW AMERICAN CENTURY (**Richard Perle, Dick Cheney, Paul “Howlin” Wolfowitz**, et. al.) now have their Golden Opportunity to bring their plans to fruition, or close to it. America is an unrivaled military force. All that remains now is to crush all potential foreign rivals and any domestic opposition (that means *us*, y’all) that they can.

Meanwhile, Afrikan people in this country have to be concluding that they’ve been taken for a ride too many times. It

seems that our answer is not the Democratic Party or the Republican Party. We need to establish an Independent Political Party that looks out for the interests of Afrikan people, such as the old NATIONAL BLACK INDEPENDENT POLITICAL PARTY or the UM-OJA PARTY. Remember, John Kerry was one of those Democratic Senators who, four years ago, refused to co-sponsor the CONGRESSIONAL BLACK CAUCUS’ protest of the 2000 presidential election. The CBC was fighting for **Al Gore** and *not one* Democratic Senator was willing to help the Afrikan-American Congresspeople fight for *their* Democratic presidential candidate!

No, I don’t see America coming together, and I don’t even see the major players trying to make that so. They didn’t extend the olive branch to Afrikan people before, why do it now? I see this country dividing itself even more, with some progressive Whites joining Black radical integrationists to oppose the Bush Administration while the other factions get more entrenched in their positions.

“The People Won Here.”

Give me a break. The main problem with this system of “democracy” was clearly shown in this election and the last one: This year, if the vote tallies are to be believed, you had the equivalent of 51 winners and 49 losers. Half the country must now submit to the political will of the other half. And the half who “won” don’t realize *what* they’ve won. I’m sure they’ll figure it out when the next company downsizes or busts their union or cuts their employee benefits, or when their local politicians close another school, library, recreation center or firehouse. Now, what was that you said again? ■

Suffering in Sudan, Devastation in Darfur: The Afrika Page, from Page 1

Sudan, one of the great oil-producing countries of the world, where the Blue Nile and the White Nile join to form one of the planet’s great sources of fresh water, is at once emblematic of the great strength and the great weakness of the Motherland.

And we, the Afrikans who were born and raised in the richest country in the world, with the greatest access to information and the (supposedly) most-educated people in the world, are woefully ignorant of the steady destruction of our ancestral home.

In this report, we make our small contribution to what we hope will become an Afrikan-centered understanding of this conflict. Issues of religion, ethnicity, sovereignty, the plight of the defenseless and competing global agendas will rear their heads. Somehow, we must cut through the propaganda to come to understand what has gone wrong at home and how we, the Sons and Daughters of Afrika, can do our part to help fix it.

We begin with a discussion of the historical events that have brought Sudan to this point, a point where the people of Darfur may be facing genocide, the people of Sudan could face international isolation and Western aggression, and the people of Afrika may see an increase in efforts to re-colonize the continent, once known as the Land of the Blacks.

THE ROOTS OF THE CONFLICT

Nomads and farmers have lived in a delicate balance in the part of Afrika now known as Darfur, Sudan for centuries. The farmers would plant their crops during the growing season. After the harvest, the nomads would bring in their herds

to graze upon the fields and fertilize them for the next planting season. Thus, the nomads found food for their herds and the farmers had rich soil for planting the next year’s crop.

Changes in climate threatened this balance. The advance of the desert meant less area for farming. Thus, the farmers extended their planting season. The relative lack of food also caused the nomads to bring their herds in earlier. Coupled with the rise in population, a struggle for dwindling resources ensued.

Tensions increased between the farmers and nomads, just as military conflicts in nearby areas of the continent led to the influx of weapons. The tradition of mediation that had kept hostilities at a minimum began to break down, as people found quicker and easier (if more brutal) ways to settle conflicts.

As the nomads armed themselves, they began to organize raids against the farms to obtain the things they needed. The farmers began to complain to the government, and finally began to take matters into their own hands by arming themselves as well.

Soon, a war was born.

THE EARLY YEARS: FIGHTING AND SIMMERING

1953-54: The civil war between southern rebels and the northern government over political autonomy and economic power, started.

1956: Sudan received its independence from Britain Jan. 1.

1970s: The advance of the desert, increase in population and influx of weapons led to the conflict between the nomads and farmers in Darfur.

1972: The Addis Ababa Agreement, brokered by Ethiopia, between the government and the southern rebels ended the first phase of the civil war and brought 11 years of relative peace until hostilities resumed on May 16, 1983.

1983: Shari'a Law, based on a strict interpretation of the Islamic *Holy Q'uran*, was implemented in Sudan.

May 16, 1983: Full-scale war between north and south resumed.

1987-89: Nomads started identifying as "Arabs" and farmers started identifying as "non-Arabs" or "Blacks". 27 "Arab" groups came together to form the Arab Gathering. The name "Janjawid" was reportedly first used to refer to "armed men on horseback" who soon begin to attack the Fur and other farmers.

1989: A military government was established by Omar Al-Bashir.

THE NINETIES: TURNING UP THE HEAT

May 26 – June 4, 1992: The Abuja 1 Sudanese Peace Conference was hosted by Nigerian President Ibrahim Bananigeda between the government and the Sudanese Peoples Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM/A), the main rebel group in the south.

1993: The Abuja 2 Peace Conference, between the government and SPLM/A, seemed to indicate the commitment of both parties to peaceful negotiation, even as the war continued in the south.

1994: A reorganization of the Al-Bashir government gave "Arab" groups more power and was seen by the Fur and Masalit as an attempt to undermine their traditional autonomy in the region. This led to more fighting in Darfur. Farmers complained about the attacks and asked for assistance, but they felt the government's response to be inadequate.

May 1994: The second round of the Intergovernmental Authority of Development (IGAD) was convened (the first was in 1993) to develop a Declaration of Principles for peace in the south. The DOP would become the basis of the *Machakos Protocols* between the government and the SPLM/A in 2002.

1996-98: The little-reported Masalit-Arab Conflict, featuring the torching of Masalit villages, instigated the flow of 100,000 refugees into Chad. This served as an ominous preview of things to come for the Darfur villagers.

2001: The Sudanese government instituted a state of emergency in an attempt to restore order in Darfur. Indiscriminate arrests by government began. "Afrikans" and "Arabs" alike were taken up in the dragnet. Special Courts were established in North, South and West Darfur. Among the human rights violations alleged under these Special Courts were detentions without trial or charges for up to 6 months, summary trials without lawyers, incommunicado detention and torture. *Decree #21* established the Al-Fasher Special Court which allowed fingerprints alone to suffice for a conviction, accepted confessions without backing evidence (even if obtained through torture) and disallowed the accused to withdraw a confession. Death penalties could be handed down after trials as short as one hour.

2002: MAJOR ATTACKS ON VILLAGES INCREASE

April 28, 2002: An "Arab" group attacked Shoba village. 17 were killed, 16 injured in one day. Villagers said security wasn't there to protect them. The head of Darfur Security said 33 security officers had been killed over the previous year in defense of the village. The attackers apparently waited for security, which had been in the village the previous two days, to leave before launching the attack, which may have been in retaliation for recent incidents such as the killing of an "Arab" by Shoba villagers at a well a few weeks before. 10 Shoba leaders were

ETHNIC GROUPS INVOLVED IN THE CONFLICT

The "Africans": the Fur, Masalit and Zaghawa people. During the Nimeiri government, Sudan armed the Zaghawa to help support the regime of Hissein Habre in Chad against Libya, who then armed the nomads in response.

The Janjawid: made up of so-called "Arab" nomads. The name translates loosely to "devils on horseback". Also known as the Popular Defense Forces (PDF). Allegedly supported by the Sudanese army.

Nomadic groups ("Arabs", but Black as coal) involved with the Janjawid include the Rizeiqat, some of the Miseriya and Tama. Allegedly used by the government against SPLM/A rebels in the South during the 21-year civil war.

Other nomadic groups with members in the Janjawid include the Abala (camel-herding nomads who migrated from Chad and West Afrika in the 1970's), the Mahamid, the Zeilat, the Beni Halba, the Maharia, the Misseria, the Ma'aliyah and the Awlad Zeid.

"Arabs" not in the conflict: Beni Hussein, Dorok, many of the Tama. They have often been punished by the Janjawid for refusing to participate in the conflict.

"The Marginalization Of Darfur": The Fur, Masalit and Zaghawa claimed that Darfur has been "marginalized" by the Sudanese government. Government representatives and others claim that these accusations are unfounded and that the cliché is now used to inflame the conflict. The 1994 administrative reorganization of the Al-Bashir government, which gave "Arab" groups more representation, was seen by the Fur, Masalit and Zaghawa as a move against their regional autonomy. But according to *"The Darfur Crisis: Looking Beyond the Propaganda"* (Tues. July 13, 2004), from the Sudanese Embassy web site, a number of measures were taken to improve conditions in Darfur. Before the Al-Bashir government took power in 1989, there were 16 high schools, 27,000 students in schools, no universities and no airports in Darfur. Now, there are now 250 high schools, more than 440,000 students in schools, three universities, three airports, a three-fold increase in paved roads and representatives "at all levels of Sudanese society from the federal cabinet on downwards".

The Fur, Masalit and Zaghawa also claimed that the Sudanese Government was not protecting them from attacks by nomad raiders and later Janjawid. These claims would bring about the rise of the SLA/M and JEM Rebel Organizations.

later arrested after this attack and were kept for 4 months incommunicado. "Arab" leaders, including Janjawid leader Musa Hilal, were also arrested.

May 2002: An example of "Arab"-on-"Arab" violence: "50 Arab tribesmen were killed in such clashes between the Arab Rizayqat and Ma'aliyah tribes. A special criminal court sentenced 86 Rizayqat tribesmen to death for involvement in the murder of these members of the Ma'aliyah tribe (the sentences are still pending appeals). These are the Arab tribesmen that it is alleged the government are militarily supporting," said a Sudanese Embassy news release. 136 members of the Rizeiqat

("Arab") ethnic group in South Darfur had been arrested for *haraba* (armed banditry) against the Ma'aliyah people (also "Arab"). No legal representation was provided to the defendants. Confessions that were extracted under torture were accepted as evidence. 86 men were sentenced to death, along with 2 children. The case is on appeal, and the defendants are still on death row.

July 2002: The Machakos Protocol was agreed by the government and the SPLM/A southern rebels, which resolved issues of State and religion. The protocol paved the way for an enduring peace agreement between north and south and the end of that civil war in 2003.

2003: THE RISE OF SLA/M AND JEM

"The problem began ten years ago. It began with the stealing of cows. Two years ago, they started killing our men."

– Asha, 60, from Kudumule village

"The government wants to kill all African people, Muslim or non-Muslim, so as to put Arabs in their places. They are not good Muslims." – Imam Abdullah, 65, of Jalanga Kudumi in Dar Masalit

Dec. 31, 2002-Jan. 1, 2003: "Happy New Year". Singita Village was attacked by armed horsemen. 35 were killed.

Jan. 2003: President Al-Bashir said in a televised address: "We will use the army, the police, the horsemen to get rid of the

rebellion." Farmers told an Amnesty International (AI) delegation to Darfur that the Sudanese government wasn't protecting them from nomad attacks. They began to speak publicly of "genocide". The Sudanese Minister of Justice and Minister of Information both told AI "that they had no control over the actions of the security forces". Security Forces representatives refused to meet with AI about this issue.

Feb. 2003: A ceasefire agreement, which had been set up during the Abuja 1 and 2 conferences in 1992 and 1993 in Nigeria, was finally signed between the Sudanese Government and SPLM/A to stop decades of fighting in southern Sudan. Meanwhile, the situation in Darfur heated up. AI publicly called for reconciliation mechanisms to be strengthened and a commission of inquiry to be established to examine the deteriorating human rights situation in Darfur. Farmers formed the Sudan Liberation Army (SLA) militia, once known as the Darfur Liberation Army, and began attacking government targets in hit-and-run attacks.

March 17, 2003: 38 members of various nomadic groups were tried for the Singita Village massacre after 2 months incommunicado detention. In a court proceeding widely viewed as terribly flawed, lawyers were allowed to ask no more than 4 questions to any one witness.

April 2003: Special Courts in South Darfur were replaced by Specialized Criminal Courts which were basically the same. The

EXAMPLES OF THE SUDANESE GOVERNMENT'S LEGAL CRACKDOWN

"Don't Write About Us"

Yusuf al-Bashir Musa, Nyala correspondent of *al-Sahafa* newspaper. Arrested May 3, 2003 and beaten. Charged with publishing incorrect information about the state under Article 26 of the 1998 Emergency Act. Later released without charge on May 24, 2003.

"Don't Take Any Pictures"

Ibrahim Yusuf Ishaq, lawyer and former member of the South Darfur Legislative Council; **Gassem Taha**, journalist for *al-Sahafa*; and **Muhammad Hussein**, journalist for *al-Akhbar al-Yawm* newspaper. They photographed and filmed the Fur villages that had been burned after Janjawid attacks. All were arrested on Nov. 15, 2003 and released after 11 hours of questioning. Ishaq was ordered to return the next day and was then arrested, denied legal representation and detained until March 2004. Taha and Hussein were ordered to report to authorities every day for a month.

"Don't Leave Town"

Osman Adam Abdel Mawla, of Nyala, a human rights activist for the Sudan Social Development Organization (SUDO), a voluntary national human rights and humanitarian aid organization. Was arrested May 5, 2004 at a checkpoint, allegedly for his activities for SUDO. Was detained in a security office in Zalingei until May 18 without interrogation, charges or representation. Returned home and was refused a permit to leave the city again for his work.

"Don't Talk to the Red Cross"

Nureddin Mohammed Abdel Rahim, omda (local village leader) of Shoba; and **Bahr al-Din Abdullah Rifah**, omda of Jabal Si. They had attended a meeting called by the International Committee of the Red Cross in Kabkabiya on May 9, 2004 where they had spoken about the fears of the

refugees. They were arrested on the street immediately after the meeting and were released after two days.

"Don't Demand Your Rights"

Dr. Mudawi Ibrahim Adam, Director of SUDO. Arrested in his home in Khartoum on Dec. 28, 2003. Held under Article 31 of the National Security Forces Act which allows up to 9 months' detention without trial. Started a hunger strike on Feb. 7, demanding he be charged or released. Two days later he was brought before the Attorney General and charged with 9 offenses under the Penal Code, many of which carry the death penalty. After this, other detainees chose not to demand "fair trials" (AI).

"Can't Find You? We'll Take Your Family"

Lenin al-Tayeb Yusuf: Security forces, looking for him, instead arrested his 3 brothers on Nov 29, 2002. They were beaten for several hours & finally released on Dec 16, 2002, Jan 15, 2003 & May 5, 2003, after being held without charges in various prisons.

THE "ARAB" RIZEIQAT: DOES THE SUDANESE GOVERNMENT LIKE THEM OR HATE THEM?

--One of the groups in Janjawid, they had tortured others who were their "enemies" but were themselves tortured by the government for crimes.

--Victims of murder in Aug 2003, for which the government is trying to punish 44 Ma'aliya who had been tortured to confess. At the same time, several Rizeiqat were themselves apparently tortured into confessions by the government for murders of several Ma'aliya and face execution.

--Perhaps this is not a case of government favoritism or disdain toward the Rizeiqat or any other ethnic group, but simply an overall draconian interpretation of law and order.

National Security Forces Act codified what many condemned as abuses of human rights under Sudan's justice system.

April 2003: An example of government crackdowns on "Arabs" for killing non-"Arabs": 24 "Arab" armed bandits were sentenced to death for the murder of 35 Afrikan villagers. "Judge Mukhtar Ibrahim Adam described the attacks as 'barbaric and savage conduct' reminiscent of 'the dark ages'", according to a Sudanese Embassy news story.

April 24-25, 2003: El-Fasher airport was attacked by SLA. Military planes were destroyed and 75 members of the Security Forces were killed. The Justice and Equality Movement (JEM) formed at this time and took up arms against the government.

April 26, 2003: 26 defendants in the Singita massacre were sentenced to death, including one 15-year-old boy.

May 4, 2003: 44 Ma'aliya ("Arab") from Adila in South Darfur were arrested on charges of killing seven members of the Rizeiqat (also "Arab"). Eight of the 44 were tortured to force confessions. All but one, Abdallah Agai Akot (Dinka) were released after an outcry. Akot was sentenced to death and his case is under appeal.

Sept. 2003-Feb. 2004: Attacks on the villages of Darfur increased. 14 locations in Dar Masalit were subjected to "coordinated attacks", killing over 770 civilians in all, according to Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch (HRW).

Aug. 2003: Bindisi and Kudung in Wadi Salih province were attacked. The SLA had attacked Bindisi in early August, looted the police station, abducted a businessman and killed two people. Within a week, police came to the village and announced a future visit by the Janjawid, telling the villagers not to fight them, according to Human Rights Watch. When the Janjawid came, they looted and partially burned both villages and killed 47 people. They revisited Kudung several weeks later, killed more people and burned what was left of the village to the ground.

Aug. 30-31, 2003: Mororo Village was attacked by Janjawid. 16 were killed the first day, 24 the next day.

Sept. 6, 2003: A ceasefire between government and SLA/JEM. Exchange of prisoners & detainees.

October 2003: 14 "Arab" tribesmen were sentenced to death for the murder of non-"Arab" villagers during attacks and arson on villages in South Darfur.

Oct. 9, 2003: 12 villages in Murnei were attacked, killing 82.

Late Oct. 2003-late February 2004: Humanitarian agencies were "almost completely banned" from Darfur. In March, access improved slightly "after months of lobbying" from various Non-Governmental Organizations and the UN, "but the government continued to impede humanitarian access" (HRW).

Nov. 2003: The ceasefire collapsed. Scores of people were arrested. More allegations were made of incommunicado detention, detention without trial and torture.

Nov. 2003: al-Tayeb Ali Ahmed was arrested & charged in connection with the April 2003 attack on the Al-Fasher airport. He was reportedly tortured with sticks, pipes, hoses and hand beatings, and denied medical treatment.

Nov. 2003 – April 2004: Some 47 Fur villages are estimated to have been destroyed, according to Human Rights Watch.

Nov. 2003: 4 villages in Mango area were attacked. 20 or more civilians were killed. (HRW)

Nov. 2003 and Dec. 6 or 7, 2003: The village of Urum was attacked twice, killing 112 people. The mosque was burned,

killing many inside. The imam and his orphaned grandson were killed. Children were reported killed while running away. (HRW)

Dec. 11, 2003: A Bareh area village was attacked. 111 were killed, including a 100-year-old elder who was burned alive in his hut. Cars and helicopters were used, convincing the villagers that "this is the government." (HRW)

Dec. 20, 2003: Habila Canare village was attacked, killing 50.

Dec. 28, 2003: Kondoli was attacked. 24 were killed. (HRW)

Dec. 29, 2003: Several villages in Nouri were attacked and burned. 136 were killed. Land Cruisers carrying soldiers and Janjawid had come to the police station in Nouri Jallo just before the attack to ask about the SLA. When told there were no SLA there, they burned the village and killed 75 people. Two helicopter gunships rocketed the area, flying so low the villagers could see the pilot. Then the ground forces arrived. (HRW)

Dec. 2003-Jan. 2004: "Happy New Year, Again." Kenyu, near Frobranga, was attacked. 57 were killed in two attacks. (HRW)

2004: THE WORLD PAYS ATTENTION (FINALLY)

"[The reports of atrocities in Darfur] leave me with a deep sense of foreboding. Whatever terms it uses to describe the situation, the international community cannot stand idle.

"At the invitation of the Sudanese government, I propose to send a high-level team to Darfur to gain a fuller understanding of the extent and nature of this crisis, and to seek improved access to those in need of assistance and protection. It is vital that international humanitarian workers and human rights experts be given full access to the region, and to the victims, without

MAJOR REBEL GROUPS IN THE CONFLICT

"If the people of Southeast DC took up arms ... because of their marginalization, they would be considered thugs and terrorists."
--a caller to WPFW-FM, during a discussion about Darfur, August 24, 2004.

SLA/M (Sudanese Liberation Army/Movement): Its leaders are Abdel Wahed Muhammad Nur and Mini Arkoï Minawi. Once called the Darfur Liberation Army, it is composed largely of the Fur, Zaghawa and Masalit of Darfur. The SLA/M has been accused of torture, rape, murder and other abuses by the government and others, though not on as large a scale as those by the Janjawid and government troops.

JEM (Justice and Equality Movement): Allies of the SLA, though they are a distinct organization which has not always followed the SLA's strategy. Its "spiritual supporter" is Dr. Hassan Al-Turabi, former speaker of parliament, former backer of Al-Bashir, onetime architect of Sudan's Islamist government, who was ousted by Al-Bashir in 1994. His National Islamic Front had backed the military coup that put Al-Bashir in power in 1989. He "spiritually supports" JEM through the Popular Congress (PC), an Islamist opposition party, but doesn't claim to offer logistical support. He has been called an "opportunist" by the Al-Bashir government as well as by some Fur activists. According to our latest information, he is currently held incommunicado in Khartoum without formal charges. The JEM has also been accused of torture, rape, murder and other abuses by the Sudanese Government.

further delay. If that is denied, the international community must be prepared to take swift and appropriate action.

“By ‘action’ in such situations I mean a continuum of steps, which may include military action.” – UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan, April 7, 2004

Fri. Jan 23, 2004: First Vice President Ali Osman Taha met with Ahmed Abraham Diraiqe, leader of the Federal Democratic Alliance Party, one of the rebel groups fighting in Western Sudan to talk about the ongoing peace talks and reconciliation. They agreed that the fighting and bloodshed must cease. Khalil Ha-reer, Diraiqe’s deputy, rebuffed the peace talks and stated his intention to continue military action against the government from his home base in Asmara, Eritrea. Sudanese officials claimed they had evidence of Eritrea’s involvement in the Darfur crisis and that it was primarily to blame for the deteriorating humanitarian crisis.

Jan. 27, 2004: al-Tayeb Ali Ahmed, arrested the previous year, was sentenced to death for “waging war against the state”. He had no legal representation and was allegedly convicted on the basis of confessions extracted during torture. Lawyers found out about him by chance and submitted an appeal which is still pending.

Jan. 28, 2004: The village of Tina in Darfur was attacked. 2 civilians were killed. (AI)

Tuesday, Feb. 3, 2004: In a Sudanese Embassy press release, “The State of the Peace Process in Sudan”, the government stated its readiness “to engage in any practical and peaceful way to bring the disastrous situation in Darfur under control. It is ready to come to a ceasefire that will bring all to the negotiating table.”

Feb. 7, 2004: The village of Sidi, southeast of Geneina, was attacked. 12 civilians were killed. “Everyone wore [military] uniforms. We saw nothing but uniforms,” said one eyewitness. (HRW)

Feb. 7, 2004: Tunfuka, south of Murnei, was attacked. 26 or more were killed. Two Antonov planes bombed the area for an hour, then army personnel arrived in vehicles followed by Janjawid another hour later. Janjawid attackers shouted “Kill the Nuba!” according to survivors. (HRW)

Feb. 9-13, 2004: 11 villages were bombed in Western Darfur, displacing many civilians. (AI)

Feb. 10, 2004: Tullus was attacked. 12 to 23 men were killed inside the village. 15 people, including 7 women and 6 children, were killed outside the village. (HRW)

Feb. 15, 2004: Terbeba was attacked. 26 civilians were killed, plus 5 SLA fighters. 300 Janjawid were mounted on horses and camels along with 4 cars believed to be government issue. The Janjawid, many of whom reportedly wore army uniforms, shouted “Kill all the Nuba!” according to eyewitnesses. (HRW)

WHO’S CAUGHT IN THE MIDDLE?

Civilians in the Attacked Villages: Amnesty International (AI) amassed testimony from many victims of violence in Darfur: women who have been raped, relatives of men who were killed, witnesses to attacks by the Janjawid and, according to the witnesses, government troops. The Janjawid swoop down on villages on horseback and camels, accompanied by troops in Land Cruisers. Antonov planes associated with the government drop crude bombs on villages, similar to tactics used in the southern civil war. Many villages are burned to the ground during or immediately after attacks. The attackers often occupy villages that they do not burn. The attacks are believed to be done with government consent as part of a land grab.

Violence against women and Rape as a Weapon of War: Limbs are broken to prevent escape and punish insubordination. Beatings, tortures and gang rapes have been widely reported. Female genital mutilation is also widely practiced, which increases the risk of HIV/AIDS from rape. Women who have been raped are stigmatized and often abandoned by their husbands, and their children from rape are ostracized as “children of the enemy”. In some cases, women are accused of adultery, which can bring penalties such as 100 lashes if unmarried or death by stoning if married. Miscarriage from being raped while pregnant also occurs.

Children: Weak and lost from their mothers, they become defenseless after their mothers die or become weak.

Collective Punishment of Civilians: AI believes there is “intent to collectively ‘punish’ the civilian populations, perceived of being associated or linked with the armed political

groups” but stops short of a knee-jerk finding of genocide. Some activists believe that race (“Arab” vs. “Afrikan”) has been manipulated by all sides of the conflict.

The Muslim Spiritual Community: According to our most recent information, more than 65 mosques have been burned in Dar Masalit alone. Imams and worshippers have been killed. Children and the elderly have not been spared. Q’urans and Prayer Mats have been desecrated. Adding to the confusion is the fact that almost all Darfurians belong to the TIJANIYA SECT of SUFI ISLAM that extends from Senegal to Sudan. Thus, the stereotype of a Muslim-Christian conflict that was used to inflame the southern civil war does not apply. However, *is there a possible conflict based on membership in a particular sect of Sufi Islam, as has occurred between Christian sects in Northern Ireland and other places?*

Chad and its people: Over 170,000 refugees currently reside in camps near the border. 100,000 moved further into Chad after cross-border attacks from the Janjawid. Conditions are becoming less desperate there, and in some refugee camps in Chad, they are comparable to or better than those for the surrounding Chadian populations. Appeals have gone out to assist the people of Chad, who are experiencing increasing difficulty in dealing with the refugee crisis.

Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs): These are people who fled from villages in the wake of Janjawid attacks but remained within Darfur. IDPs flee to camps which are surrounded by Janjawid who rape the women and kill the men when they leave to gather water, food and wood.

Feb. 17, 2004: Millebeeda Village and area, southwest of Geneina, was attacked. 59 were killed. 7 or 8 police resisted the attack by hundreds of Janjawid and suspected army soldiers. (HRW)

Feb. 23-27: 9 villages in Western Darfur, were attacked and 157 civilians were killed. (AI)

Feb. 27-29: 10 villages in Tawila District, were attacked, killing 80 civilians. (AI)

Wednesday, March 4, 2004: Dr. Mustafa Osman Ismail held a press conference at the Arab League ministerial meeting in which he stated that "the government of Sudan is committed and determined to disarm all militias in Darfur, including the Janjawid militia," and that only sanctioned armed forces (army and police) would be allowed to carry arms. He denied any government assistance had been given to the Janjawid and confirmed that the government was actively disarming them.

March 5-7: Deleij, in Wadi Saleh Province, Western Darfur, was the site of the extra-judicial execution of 168 men (all Fur) who were arrested in 10 area villages because of alleged sympathy with SLA/M. The men were taken from the towns by Sudanese military intelligence and Janjawid to Deleij. They were then taken in groups of 40 on trucks to a secluded area and shot by 45 members of military intelligence and Janjawid. Two survived who escaped and related their story to AI. 131 names of those executed were obtained by AI.

March 6, 2004: Al-Kureinik, Western Darfur, was attacked, killing 15 civilians. (AI)

March 8, 2004: Aish Barra, Western Darfur, was attacked, killing 12 civilians including 3 children. (AI)

March 12, 2004: Al-Shariya, Northern Darfur, east of al-Fasher, was attacked. 5 civilians were killed. (AI)

March 18, 2004: The UN Coordinator for Humanitarian Affairs called Darfur "the world's greatest humanitarian crisis."

March 20, 2004: Korma District, Northern Darfur, was attacked. 47 civilians were killed. (AI)

March 31, 2004: In N'Djamena, Chad, peace talks were held between the Sudanese government, the SLA and JEM, hosted by Chad's President, Idriss Deby. Sudan tried at first to block UN and US involvement because it resisted "internationalizing" the conflict. Deby had been brought to power in 1990 by a force largely recruited from Darfur, which fueled speculation that Sudan felt it could influence him and the "fledgling AU" (HRW).

April 8, 2004: A "hasty" humanitarian ceasefire was signed in N'Djamena between SLA, JEM and government. They committed to further political negotiations after "strong statements" (HRW) from UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan (April 7) and US President George W. Bush (April 8).

April 11, 2004: The ceasefire went into effect despite unclear language, no mechanisms for monitoring of hostilities or human rights violations and a lack of a timetable. It called for a prisoner exchange, but the government allegedly kept many of its prisoners and transferred some to other prisons. Accusations quickly began that the Sudanese government was trying to split the rebel groups along ethnic lines and that violations of the ceasefire, mainly attacks against civilians, were continuing to worsen.

April 15, 2004: The UNITED NATIONS' OFFICE OF THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR HUMAN RIGHTS (OHCHR)'s team completed research among Sudanese refugees in Chad that had begun on April 5. Efforts to investigate abuses in Darfur were at first rejected by the Sudanese government, which refused to issue visas. The government changed its tune the day OHCHR's

report was to be released, perhaps to prevent the report, which strongly condemned the government's actions in Darfur, from being released. It was never officially released but it did accuse the Sudanese government of possible crimes against humanity

LAWS, LAWS, AND MORE LAWS

INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENTS TO WHICH SUDAN IS A PARTY AND IS THEREFORE BOUND

- African Charter on Human and Peoples Rights
- African Union Constitutive Act
- African Union Peace and Security Council
- Geneva Conventions of Aug. 12, 1949
- International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights
- International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights
- 1974 International Convention on the Status of Refugees
- 1977 International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination
- 1986 International Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment
- 1986 African Charter on Human and People's Rights
- 1990 International Convention on the Rights of the Child
- 2000 Rome statute of the International Criminal Court: Sudan signed it in Sept. 2000. "attacking or bombarding, by whatever means, towns, villages, dwellings or buildings which are undefended and which are not military objectives" falls under this statute.

SUDANESE LAWS

--**Sudanese Constitution of 1999** and **1991 Criminal Procedures Code (CPC)** contain safeguards against arbitrary detention. But it seems that the CPC was being ignored. WHY? The **National Security Forces Act of 1999 and 2001** negated the 1991 CPC and, apparently, several provisions of the Sudanese Constitution.

--**Article 31**, Sudanese National Security Forces Act of 1999: Allows the government to "preventively" detain people suspected of "crimes against the state" incommunicado and without charge or trial and without access to judicial review for up to 9 months. Can include dissident opinions expressed in a non-violent manner. Sort of like the USA "Patriot" Act, eh? Condemned by the UN Special Rapporteur on Torture and other human rights officials.

--**Article 33**, Sudanese National Security Forces Act of 1999: gave almost complete immunity to officers of the security forces for their actions. "No civil or criminal proceedings shall be instituted for any act connected with the official work of the member save upon the approval of the director."

SHARI'A LAW

Must still comply w/ international human rights standards to which the Sudanese Government has agreed. However, under current practice, courts allegedly aren't even following the strict Codes of Evidence under Shari'a Law. Even the **Evidence Act of 1993 & the Decrees of the Special Courts and Specialized Criminal Courts** require Shari'a Law standards to be followed (e.g., testimony of four witnesses for adultery), though in actual court proceedings these requirements were not being followed.

and war crimes. It stated that the government was conducting a "reign of terror" against the Fur, Masalit and Zaghawa people.

April 20, 2004: OCHCR team left Geneva for Darfur. The "Reign of Terror" report was leaked. The governments of Pakistan, Sudan and others demanded an investigation of the leak. African and Arab states bowed to Sudanese pressure to soften OCHCR's initial strong resolution on Darfur. Ultimately, the European Union (EU) backed down as well. Only the United States voted against a weakened resolution that passed on April 23, replacing language of "condemnation" with "deep concern".

May 1, 2004: Satellite images taken one month after the ceasefire in N'Djamena showed villages had still been burned and people displaced. Fresh fire scars were easy to see in the images. (AI)

May 8, 2004: African Union (AU) and European Union (EU) teams of observers arrived to monitor the ceasefire.

June 18, 2004: A Political Declaration was made by Sudanese President Omar Al-Bashir, including seven propositions: (1) Contain and pursue all rebellious groups including the Janjawid; (2) Establish special courts to prosecute criminal activity "without delay"; (3) Deploy the police forces to protect civilians and allow them to return to their villages; (4) All departments, especially Agriculture, are to make available seeds for staple crops; (5) All departments are to implement contingency plans to develop and provide basic services; (6) "A comprehensive campaign to render humanitarian assistance" to the IDPs is to be implemented; and (7) A conference for all Sudanese, especially Darfurians, "that would promote a national dialogue to mend the social fabric and bring about national reconciliations."

July 2004: In the United States, mass protests escalated. Salih Booker (Executive Director of AFRICA ACTION), comedian/activist Dick Gregory, Rep. Jan Schakowsky (D-Illinois), actor/activist Danny Glover (Executive Director of TRANSAFRICA), and several members of the CONGRESSIONAL BLACK CAUCUS, were among those arrested for participating in protest rallies and "die-ins" outside the Sudanese Embassy building and in Lafayette Park in Washington, DC. They directly accused the Sudanese government of sponsoring genocide in Darfur and called on the US to act decisively to stop it. Some protesters pushed for US action even to the extent of using military force.

July 2, 2004: Kofi Annan visited Meshtel Camp in Darfur. 1,000 refugees were allegedly moved by the government before his visit. Access to other camps was granted after his visit.

July 5, 2004: The Minister of Interior issued several decrees as part of the commitment of the government to facilitate relief operations, restore order and protect civilians in Darfur. These include assuring "the right of litigation to all individuals"; securing roads, railway lines, entries to and exits from Darfur and ensuring freedom of movement to citizens; full cooperation of all government departments including facilitating issuance of gratis visas and eliminating travel restrictions and fees for ceasefire monitors, humanitarian workers and their supplies; ensuring the safety of all IDP camps; the safe and voluntary return of IDPs to their homes and granting of required assistance for the planting season; and facilitating the mission of the national investigative commission on human rights violations, including ensuring their safety and unrestricted access to all areas of Darfur.

July 6, 2004: Director of Peace & Security in the African Commission announced that 300 military observers from AU countries were going to Darfur to protect IDPs and monitors. Reports were circulating that the monitoring efforts were not working.

FREEDOM OF SPEECH, JUST WATCH WHAT YOU SAY

CRACKDOWN ON STUDENT PROTESTS

October 22-24, 2002 Student Protest: University of Khartoum was the site of violent clashes between students, who were demonstrating for student union elections, and police.

March 22, 2003 Student Protest at El-Nilen University: Student protest against the Iraq war. Police beat and teargassed the students. Students threw rocks. Police used live ammunition in response, killing two students.

POLITICAL DISSIDENT AND HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVIST ORGANIZATIONS DETAINED & HARASSED

- Sudan Human Rights Group (SHRG)
- National Democratic Alliance (NDA)
- National Alliance for the Restoration of Democracy
- Umma Party
- Sudan Social Development Organization (SUDO)
- Meetings were banned or were often raided by security forces, participants were arrested, repeated arrests and detentions, papers and belongings confiscated, lengthy detentions without charges

THE NOT-SO-FREE PRESS

The National Press Council: Established December 2001 through the Press Act of 1999 and the 2001 Code of Ethics, the NPC seems to allow such repression as charges of "propagation of false news" against journalists who are too critical of the government. Security forces have acted against journalists under the State of Emergency Law.

The Case of Nihal Bol: The acting Editor of the *Khartoum Monitor* was arrested in April 2003. All copies of the paper had been confiscated on March 9, 2003 after a letter critical of the method of the spread of Islam in Sudan was printed. Bol was summoned for two straight days and questioned about the letter writer's whereabouts. The letter writer was detained for 2 weeks, then released without charge.

The Al-Watan newspaper: Copies were confiscated by the National Security Forces on Nov. 9, 2002, apparently because they reported on clashes between police and students at the University of Khartoum on Oct. 22-24, 2002. Suspended indefinitely on Dec 28, 2002 by the Director of National Security under the State of Emergency Law.

JOURNALISM: TABOO SUBJECTS

- The Machakos Protocol between the government and southern rebels and related government actions
- Criticisms of government actions in Darfur
- Exposes and commentaries about government corruption
- Histories & commentaries that are critical of the methods of introduction of Islam in Sudan
- Reports of student clashes with security forces
- Allegations of human rights abuses
- Rebel perspectives relating to the Darfur crisis

PENALTIES IMPOSED ON JOURNALISTS

- Fines for articles that violate the taboos
- Summonses to report for questioning
- Detentions for periods from 2 days to several months
- Suspension of newspaper operations by the government
- Increased monitoring and surveillance
- Seizures of newspapers before distribution

THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY'S CONFLICTED RESPONSE

"... ten years from now, the 60th Commission on Human Rights will be remembered for one thing and one thing alone: Did we have the courage and strength to take strong action against the 'ethnic cleansing' in Darfur. We will be asked, 'Where were you at the time of the ethnic cleansing?' 'What did you do?' –US Ambassador to the UN, Richard Williamson, April 23, 2004

THE RESPONSE OF THE UNITED STATES

--Strongest stance against "atrocities" in Darfur
 --US President George W. Bush called for unrestricted humanitarian access on April 8, 2004
 --US Agency for International Development's (USAID) chief executive, Andrew Natsios, held a press conference to denounce Sudan's "stalling" on visas for 28 US emergency relief workers.

THE EUROPEAN UNION'S SCHIZOPHRENIC STATEMENTS

--EU first condemns the situation in Darfur
 --Then, European governments fail to apply pressure to Khartoum, perhaps because they don't want to endanger the peace talks in Naivasha between the Sudanese govt and the southern SPLA and other rebels.
 --Thus, any human rights abuses in Darfur are allowed to continue.
 --European governments criticize US for being too aggressive and perhaps endangering the Naivasha peace talks

UN OFFICE OF THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR HUMAN RIGHTS (OHCHR)

--Team of human rights experts. On April 5-15, 2004, conducted research among Sudanese refugees in Chad, followed by another expedition to Darfur on April 20.
 --"Reign of terror" report was leaked on April 20, which led to protests from several members, including the governments of Pakistan and Sudan. African and Arab states bowed to Sudanese pressure to soften OCHCR's initial strong resolution on Darfur. Ultimately, EU backed down as well. Only US voted against a watered-down resolution that passed on April 23, 2004.

Monitors were taken to the wrong places and were experiencing delays by government officials and other logistical problems.

July 13, 2004: A report released by the Sudanese government stated that rebel militia had violated the April 8th ceasefire agreement when they attacked Al Liayet and Al Towaisha towns on July 12, killing several civilians, according to the report.

July 20, 2004: The web site www.allafrica.com reported that a survey showed 69% of Americans approved of UN measures including diplomatic pressure, economic sanctions and multinational military force if it were necessary to stop genocide in Darfur. The poll was conducted by the PROGRAM ON INTERNATIONAL POLICY ATTITUDES (PIPA) and KNOWLEDGE NETWORKS (www.pipa.org), funded by the ROCKEFELLER BROTHERS FUND and the FORD FOUNDATION) from July 9 to July 14 with a nationwide sample of 892 American adults. Problems with this poll: who were the 892 respondents? Were they truly representative of American thought? Isn't 892, in a nation of close to 300 million, an incredibly *small* sample size? Given

limited options for answers (most surveys are done in multiple-choice format), how likely was it that respondents felt manipulated into providing a specific answer? And just how aware are most Americans of the *facts* concerning Darfur? Could this have been another example, similar to polls taken prior to the Iraq War, of "manufacturing consent" by using an opinion poll, rather than an in-depth factual report, to influence the thinking of the rest of the populace?

Thursday, July 29, 2004: Sudan rejected a UN Security Council Resolution ordering it to rein in Janjawid within 30 days or face possible international intervention, saying 30 days was not enough time for such a task. Sudan had earlier agreed to a 90-day timetable, and felt that a 30-day "ultimatum" amounted to changing agreed-upon rules. Foreign Minister Mustafa Osman Ismail stated that any foreign troops deployed in Darfur would be regarded as an invading force.

Friday, July 30, 2004: Spokeswoman at the Sudanese Embassy in Nairobi, Neimat Bilal, said: "The Darfur conflict is a Sudanese affair and an African one. There is no need to extend it to military intervention from the outside. ... We only back intervention of the African Union, because the conflict has direct implications on African nations in the region." Elfatih Mohamed Ahmed Erwa, Sudan's Ambassador to the UN, said that Sudan was in a "race with time" to disarm the Janjawid, deploy more police and investigators, and bring stability and peace to Darfur.

Saturday, July 31: Sudan reluctantly accepted the UN Security Council Resolution, though it continued to insist that the Resolution and its threats of sanctions and possible intervention were "unjustified". Sudan's Information Minister, Al-Zahawi Ibrahim Malik, complained that it focused on the "Arab" militias at the expense of humanitarian issues and that the government was "capable of disarming all the looting and robbing gangs".

August 2004: Nigerian President Olusegun Obasanjo met with Sudanese President Al-Bashir to arrange for humanitarian assistance and ceasefire monitoring through the African Union (AU).

Sunday, August 1, 2004: The NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF EVANGELICALS in Washington, DC wrote an August 1, 2004 letter to George W. Bush urging the US government to take "a more decisive role to prevent further slaughter". Suggested options included "massive humanitarian aid" and "active exploration of all possible intervention options – including sending troops to Darfur". Other suggestions were "providing [the AU Protection Force] with much-needed equipment and resources" and "a serious multinational effort ... to remove Sudan from membership on the UN Human Rights Commission." The letter was co-signed by the representatives of 31 other Christian and Evangelical organizations, educational institutions and publications. Meanwhile, Arab newspapers appeared divided about the Resolution and whether it set the stage for Western invasion or exaggerated the Darfur crisis, and whether Darfur truly should be compared to Bosnia and Rwanda, the world's recent "poster children" of ethnic cleansing.

Monday, August 2, 2004: France provided an airlift of aid to Eastern Chad and also sent 200 French troops to the Chad-Sudan border to prevent Janjawid incursions into Chad. Chad, a former French colony, had repeatedly complained about Janjawid cross-border attacks on refugees fleeing into Chad.

August 4, 2004: AU announced plans to send up to 2000 troops to Darfur as peacekeepers to disarm the Janjawid, protect civilians and assist in delivery of humanitarian aid.

August 5, 2004: Jan Pronk, Annan's special representative in Sudan, stated that the government was cooperating and progress was being made. "We have full access [for relief supplies]... They have deployed many more police in the region and they

HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH SAYS: GOVERNMENT DOCUMENTS AUTHORIZED JANJAWID ACTIVITY

Human Rights Watch (HRW), one of the largest international human rights organizations speaking out concerning the Darfur crisis, obtained what it says are official Sudanese government documents giving directives to recruit, assist and mobilize the Janjawid militias as they attacked villages in Darfur. Since these documents are generally not publicly available, and **KUUMBAReport** is not recognized among the "mainstream" press, we are unable to completely verify their authenticity. These claims, however, do represent HRW's case that the Sudanese government is involved in crimes against humanity in Darfur.

A Feb. 13, 2004 directive from the office of a sub-locality in North Darfur to "security units in the locality" to "allow the activities of the mujahedeen and the volunteers under the command of Sheikh Musa Hilal to proceed in the areas... and to secure their vital needs." "Mujahedeen" referred to the Popular Defense Forces (PDF) who assisted the government in southern Sudan, and Musa Hilal is a known Janjawid leader. "We also highlight the importance of non-interference so as not to question their authorities and to overlook minor offenses by the mujahedeen against civilians who are suspected members of the rebellion. ..."

A February 2004 memo from the Office of the Commissioner of Kutum: A "highly confidential" memo calling for the increased mobilization of "loyalist tribes". Janjawid activity and recruitment increased immediately afterwards, as well as incursions into Chad. The memo also called for the use of militia located near the IDP camps and major towns to "protect civilians in major cities, and to conduct security missions among the citizens."

A February 12, 2004 document from the office of the commissioner of Kutum province, North Darfur State which recommends measures to avoid the return of "outlaw forces from the areas they used to occupy" and "designing a plan for resettlement operations of nomads in places from which the outlaws withdrew". Since "outlaws" has been used often to describe the Fur and Masalit SLA and JEM rebels, and the Janjawid were comprised primarily of the "nomads", this implies an official plan to displace the Fur and Masalit and transfer their lands to the "nomads".

A March 2, 2004 memo from the office of the governor of South Darfur stating that militia members were to be included in the Nyala security committee, including Mohamed Adam Saliko, a Janjawid leader.

These documents, as well as indications that police were instructed not to interfere with Janjawid activities and new police officers, allegedly meant to protect civilians, were being recruited from the Janjawid militia, added fuel to allegations of direct Sudanese government complicity in the attacks against villages in Darfur.

have stopped their own military activities against villages." [From "Oil Profits Behind West's Tears for Darfur", *Green Left Weekly - Australia*, by Norm Dixon, Tues. Aug. 10, 2004]

August 9, 2004: The Arab League rejected military intervention in Sudan and called for increased funding for the humanitarian needs in Darfur and the arrest of the Janjawid leaders.

August 10, 2004: The Chairman of the AU ceasefire observation team in Darfur affirmed that the government was cooperating with their efforts.

August 23, 2004: Banneker City (Washington, DC)-area radio station WPFW (89.3 FM) featured two shows that looked at the conflict from the perspective of the Sudanese government, featuring the Sudanese Ambassador to the US, Khidir Haroun Ahmed, as well as several Afrikan-American Muslims who had traveled to Sudan and disputed AI and HRW claims that the government was arming and assisting the Janjawid. We called to talk with the Ambassador, who invited us to travel to Sudan (not financially feasible) and to visit the Sudanese Embassy (which closed its doors that week due to the protests). He also suggested we check out the Sudanese Embassy Web Site, which gave us the chance to obtain the Sudanese government's official stand on the Darfur crisis. (See *Voices In Support of Sudan*, next page.)

October 5, 2004: The gains made in August were not followed by similar progress in September. Jan Pronk, UN Special Representative in Sudan, reported frequent and sometimes "atrocious" attacks by the Janjawid, numerous breaches of the ceasefire by both the government and the rebels, and an alarming rise in armed banditry, according to the *UN News Service*. The government had failed to disarm the Janjawid and "in a significant proportion of the territory the security conditions have worsened." Pronk told the UN Security Council that "care for the weak and poor seems to be a scarce commodity in Khartoum."

November 2, 2004: Several thousand people were reportedly forced out of the El Geer IDP Camp by security forces, a move which Pronk called a violation of international law. On Friday, November 5, many of the refugees, as well as a UN humanitarian team, returned to the camp to find that it had been looted and destroyed, including a water pump and generators that had been installed by UNICEF. Police were accused of having looted the camp after forcing the refugees to leave.

November 4, 2004: The UN News Service reported that the government and the rebel leaders seemed to be "losing control of their fighting forces" in Darfur, and unless an international peacekeeping force was fully deployed soon, the entire region might be taken over by warlords. "The government does not control its own forces fully," Pronk said in his monthly briefing to the UN Security Council. "It co-opted paramilitary forces and now it cannot count on their obedience. ... Governmental authorities are not able to exert a moderating influence, or they respond with untimely and even counter-productive measures." He also noted a leadership crisis in the rebel organizations, stating that "Some commanders provoke their adversaries by stealing, hijacking and killing, some seem to have begun acting for their own private gain." The rebels controlled so much territory that if they failed to become political leaders and take responsibility for the people there, "they may turn to preying on the civilians in areas they control by force—and we may soon find Darfur is ruled by warlords." Despite slow political progress, "violence in Darfur is on the rise," according to Secretary-General Annan's report. "New movements are threatening the peace in Kordofan,

VOICES IN SUPPORT OF SUDAN

from "The Darfur Crisis: Looking Beyond the Propaganda", Tues. July 13, 2004, from the Sudanese Embassy web site:

The writer questions claims by the SLA to represent all of Darfur as inconsistent with SLA's almost entirely Zaghawa membership. The writer also alleges that "Eritrea has militarily, logistically and politically assisted the Darfur gunmen in its continuing attempts to destabilize Sudan."

According to the writer, "The 'Sudan Liberation Army' were reported by *Agence France Presse* to have 'weapons, vehicles and modern satellite communications'. UN media sources have also noted claims by tribal leaders that the rebels have better weapons than the Sudanese army. The rebels have also been receiving military supplies by air. And ... the gunmen have also been operating in groups of up to 1,000 men in four-wheel drive vehicles.

"The Government of Sudan has declared its commitment to a peaceful solution. ... The Sudanese interior minister restated this in Jan. 2004: 'Whenever the rebels are ready to talk, we are ready to talk to them. We have no conditions at all.' As early as Feb. 2003, the government sought to defuse the conflict through negotiations. ...

"Chadian government mediators in Dec. 2003 placed the blame for the stalling of peace talks on the rebels: 'There has been a breakdown in negotiations because of unacceptable rebel demands. The talks have been suspended. It's a failure.' ... It was claimed that the Islamic fundamentalist opponents of the Sudanese government had been instrumental in sabotaging the negotiations. ... JEM has refused to join in mediated peace talks."

On allegations that the government is preventing the delivery of humanitarian supplies in Darfur, the writer mentions rebel atrocities such as "the murder of nine World Food Programme truck drivers, and the wounding of 14 others, in an attack on a relief convoy in Oct. 2003. ... One month later, rebel gunmen killed two relief workers and abducted three others. In a further example of interference with humanitarian work, JEM gunmen admitted abducting five aid workers working for [a] Swiss humanitarian group.

"There has been considerable hypocrisy from the human rights industry in Darfur. The fact is that scores of Sudanese soldiers and policemen have been killed while intervening in tribal conflicts and trying to apprehend those suspected of criminal acts. Amnesty International has previously criticised government inaction in responding to the violence and banditry in the region and has then condemned the government when it sought to restore order. ... Amnesty International have also been critical of the special criminal courts created by presidential decree to deal with offences such as murder, armed robbery, arson and the smuggling of weapons, and the firm sentences these courts have subsequently handed down. Human rights organizations cannot have it both ways ..."

"The government has stated that: 'Those with their own agendas are trying to give a very sad view of what is happening. The propaganda in the west is trying to exaggerate what is taking place in Darfur.' ... Partisan or lazy analysts or journalists seem to be unable to resist projecting the image of government-supported 'Arab'--Janjaweed --militias attacking 'African' villagers."

from "What Congress Can Do In Sudan", by Khidir Haroun Ahmed, Embassy of Sudan, Washington, July 22, 2004:

"The Sudan Campaign, an umbrella of many organizations and individuals in the United States, is busy with daily demonstrations at the doorstep of our embassy in Washington. It is a hasty and nonstop campaign that pays little or no attention to the root causes of the conflict or the genuine measures taken so far to solve it. ...

"From a visit approved by the government of Sudan to several camps, [activists and Congress members] concluded that 'what is going on there is a genocide.' ... even before they arrived, they reached that conclusion, based on unverified accusations collected by organizations that became famous only by tarnishing the image of Sudan. ...

"In our troubled world, the perception prevailing in Sudan and in the region is that the U.S. Congress is motivated by hatred and bias against Muslims and Arabs.

"The Sudan Campaign is perceived as an attempt of a politically oriented element to mobilize the massive might of the sole superpower ... against a small and impoverished Third World country like Sudan. ... an easy target without a constituency in the United States to defend it. ...

"After Islamic leader Hassan al-Turabi was sidelined by President Omar al-Bashir, many of his followers joined and organized bandits in the region and refocused their objective: bringing down Mr. Bashir's government [and] disrupting the peace process in the south and toppling the government in Khartoum.

"Immediately after the government and the Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army signed a memo of cessation of hostility in February 2003 that technically stopped the fighting between the north and south for the first time in two decades, the two rebel groups attacked urban and rural centers in Darfur.

"They attacked and destroyed 400 police stations and killed every police officer they found.

"That caused a huge vacuum in security. Old wounds and the bitterness were reopened, and rival tribes went on a rampage. Because rebels are drawn from non-Arabic-speaking tribes, Arabic-speaking nomads perceived the rebel groups as tribal gangs, and a war of killing, rape, looting and burning has been out of control. ...

"Many in this country overlook the concrete measures taken recently by the government of Sudan, such as arresting and putting on trial the Janjaweed militias, redeploying more than 6,000 policemen, re-establishing the destroyed police stations and suspending all bylaws and customs regulations to guarantee the flow of humanitarian aid. This is only feeding a growing feeling that the U.S. Congress is seeking to destabilize a relatively stable nation.

"Congress has a chance to resolve the conflict in Darfur by joining hands with the government of Sudan and the international community to consolidate the measures taken by the government.

"Mounting pressure and bashing can only lead to a failed state that is the largest in Africa, roamed by different brands of terrorists and death squads. It is obvious that it will be a tragic mistake that will not be in the interest of either Sudan or the United States."

in the east and in Khartoum. There is reluctance at the negotiating table in Abuja (Nigeria), distrust, internal division, lack of capacity to negotiate and no sense of urgency.”

Late November 2004: After they had charged that Sudanese government planes were “dropping bombs” in areas of Darfur where they were attempting to deliver humanitarian aid to refugees, the head of British organization SAVE THE CHILDREN was informed he would be expelled from the country for interfering in political issues. That order would be withdrawn because of administrative difficulties and humanitarian grounds shortly thereafter. Similar measures were taken, and later withdrawn, against the head of OXFAM after it had expressed its concern over the most recent resolution from the UN, saying its language was not strong enough. The WORLD FOOD PROGRAM had already announced days earlier that it would be withdrawing from Darfur because of resumed fighting, leaving an estimated 300,000 refugees without aid. Critics pointed to these incidents as proof of the Sudanese government’s dishonesty about its commitment to stop the fighting and deliver aid to Darfur’s civilians.

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL’S STAND ON DARFUR:

1. Is the Sudanese government guilty of **War Crimes**? Yes, as defined by the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court’s list of war crimes.
2. Is the Sudanese government guilty of **Crimes Against Humanity**? Yes, according to the Rome Statute.
3. Is the Sudanese government guilty of **Ethnic Cleansing**? Yes, but “ethnic cleansing” currently has no legal standing under international law.
4. Is the Sudanese government guilty of **Genocide**? Uncertain, but AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL supports the United Nations High Commissioner on Human Rights’ call for an international commission of inquiry to find out.
5. AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL believes there is “intent to collectively ‘punish’ the civilian populations, perceived of being associated or linked with the armed political groups” but stops short of a knee-jerk finding of genocide.

DARFUR: PRELIMINARY CONCLUSIONS

We hope that those of you who were interested in learning more about the crisis in Darfur have been able to read through all of this report. We have amassed information from a variety of sources: Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, Africa Action, AllAfrica.com, the Sudanese Embassy Web Site, the Peace and Justice Foundation, the United Nations News Service and others. After reading, re-reading and pondering over 400 printed pages of information, we have tried to compile all of this into the brief report you now hold in your hands.

This situation is indeed a difficult one for an Afrikan-centered activist to deal with on many levels. We look at Afrika, our ancestral home, and yet another example of what the ravages of war have done to it.

We have been brought face-to-face with “tribalism”, a dirty word to many Pan-Afrikanists. What has caused this murderous acrimony between “Afrikan” and “Arab” people, all of whom are as Black as coal, live in the same land and practice the same religion? We are reminded of the forced migration of Afrikans, millennia ago, by European incursions into Kmt (“Egypt”), as chronicled in *The Destruction of Black Civilization* by Chancellor Williams. The 1884 Berlin Conference and the arbitrary

borderlines drawn up for the convenience of Europe, without regard to the way Afrikans lived, forced now-different communities together, leading to many of the “tribal” wars we now see.

Our near-total displacement from our ancestral spiritual systems has led to more confusion as the West seems bent on encircling Muslim countries in a worldwide crusade that sometimes masquerades as a “War on Terror”. But are those of us who support “Muslim” governments blinded to atrocities committed by a military regime that may only *pretend* to be committed to Islamic principles?

And to those who call for US military intervention: Are you forgetting this country’s history of aggression against nations with the very three things Sudan seems to have in abundance (oil, a regime that is easy to demonize, and freshwater from the great Nile River)? Iraq had oil, Saddam Hussein and the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers. Venezuela has oil, President Hugo Chavez (the target of US-connected military and political actions) and is dangerously close to the Amazon River in South America. When you ask the US to pursue a hawkish agenda against Sudan, do you remember the old saying “Be careful what you wish for”?

For those of you who were paying attention this past spring when the Pentagon mistakenly (Oops!) declassified a report that predicted wars over food and water by 2050, are any alarms going off in your head? If the West can take control of the natural resources of Asia, South America and Afrika, where does that leave the so-called Third World?

That having been said, the evidence seems to indicate that at least war crimes and crimes against humanity are occurring. The testimony implicates the Janjawid in the killing of grievous numbers of civilians. Many organizations are also blaming the Sudanese government for, at the very least, failing to protect its citizens from these attacks and making it impossible for anyone else to do so either. The government has at least lost control of enough of its fighting forces that some have taken to assisting the Janjawid, and it *may* be actively working *with* them. The UN has expressed its concerns through its Special Representative to Sudan. The African Union and various agencies that are committed entirely to rendering aid to the refugees have indicated the inability of the Sudanese government to stabilize the situation or even to ask for help. *Can all of these organizations be lying??*

The government seems, at least, to be criminally negligent in protecting its citizens. Meanwhile, the rebel organizations have likewise failed to protect the very people for whom they claim to be fighting. They all seem more interested in punishing their enemies than in serving, or even saving, their own people. These groups all need to be reminded that it’s *their responsibility to put their citizens first and protect them*, before other nations intervene and “do it for them”.

It’s unfortunate that no coordinated Afrikan force seems truly able to bring this crisis under control. The UN may be able to, if it can muster the political will among its members to act, but even then, these nations may more likely attack Sudan and re-establish colonialism than present true face-saving options to end the crisis. Of special concern would be any intervention that is dominated or too heavily influenced by the United States. The US has a history of “taking over” coalitions, and we could then be facing another US-backed coup in Afrika. This is yet another example of the potentially dire consequences of a weak UN and nonexistent Afrikan Unity. It seems that all most of us can do, as was suggested at the start of this article, is pray. ■

Reparations Revisited, Continued from Page 1

kept the Conference moving smoothly and interspersed important background information on the basic concepts of the Reparations Movement and the meaning of the word “Ndaba” between the various presentations made.

Minister Farrakhan Speaks

The day began and ended with the **Honorable Minister Louis Farrakhan** of the NATION OF ISLAM.

At the morning session, held at Morgan State University, Minister Farrakhan’s opening remarks spoke of the contributions each of the participants brought to the day’s efforts. “Each one of you has never been before and will never be again. This is our time ... to pass on to a succeeding generation our gifts to the world.” He exhorted the assembled activists to take heart and to continue the struggle, recognizing the White Supremacist base of the leadership of the US regardless of the man or political party in control of the White House. The current state of affairs, he noted, is temporary regardless. “The White man’s world is falling ... and the speed at which we rise is the speed at which he falls, [so he must] stomp you down and turn you against yourself. ... Anything amongst us that will pull us down is our enemy.”

Dr. Mary Frances Berry on Ms. Callie House

Dr. Mary Frances Berry has done much research on the life and accomplishments of **Ms. Callie House**, co-founder of the EX-SLAVE PENSION, BOUNTY AND MUTUAL ASSISTANCE ASSOCIATION (with **Rev. Isaiah Dickerson**) and considered the Mother of the Reparations Movement.

Among the projects Ms. House undertook was to begin compiling a list of slaves, complete with their slaveowners and plantations, so that, when the Reparations Movement finally succeeded, these names would stand in immortal testimony to their claims. As over 600,000 signatures were collected and chapters sprang up across the country, the US government became concerned. 600,000 Blacks would “tear up the country” when they realized that the government never had any intention of paying what it owed them. Thus was born the idea of charging that Ms. House knew the government would never pay up and that her solicitations for donations based on such an expectation amounted to fraud.

When Rev. Dickerson died, Ms. House was essentially left alone to fend for herself, yet another example of the dangers of one or two leaders becoming the “heart and soul” of any movement. Meanwhile, other prominent Blacks, such as Booker T. Washington and the few Black members of Congress at the time, opposed her struggle, preferring to promote education and voting rights bills instead.

Ms. House retained lawyer Cornelius Jones to represent her in court. Jones was harassed by the government and Ms. House was convicted of mail fraud. The government claimed, falsely, that she had pled guilty to the charges and imprisoned her in Jefferson City, Missouri. When she was released from prison, she returned to her “old shotgun house” in Tennessee where she worked in her old job as a washerwoman until she died.

Dr. Berry is currently writing a book on Ms. Callie House’s life, and is also seeking a pardon for Ms. House from the state of Tennessee. The **Honorable Marcus Mosiah Garvey’s** movement, she says, directly descended from Ms. House’s efforts, as

did the modern reparations movement. “All the people who work for reparations today are really the Children of Callie House.”

The Ndaba Movement Working Groups

The participants divided themselves into eight Working Groups. Attendees gravitated to those groups that interested them. We attended the Criminal Injustice Working Group because of our specific concerns about the Death Penalty, Police Brutality and Political Prisoners. After two discussion sessions sandwiched around a lunch break, each of the Working Groups made a presentation to the general body in an afternoon Plenary Session. We summarize their presentations below.

Faith Working Group

This Working Group, facilitated by **Rev. Reggie Williams**, offered a number of “faith-based” strategies, including national days of prayer and fasting and of “holding our dollars back” from the consumer-oriented system; interfaith speakers bureaus featuring Muslim Imams, Christian Ministers and Afrikan Traditional Spiritual Leaders to speak about reparations; Scriptural texts from the various Holy Books that support the idea of reparations; reparations organizing models for local faith communities to use and control locally; interdenominational alliances; models for physical, psychological and spiritual healing “that affirm us”; acknowledgement of our pain and atoning for our own transgressions and shortcomings; a bibliography so we can form coordinated study groups; redefinition of holidays from an Afrikan spiritual perspective; and pursuit of the House Resolution to study the need for reparations (HR40).

Legislative Working Group

The facilitators of this Working Group were **Kendrick Bellamy** and **Somari Grace**. Some of the legislative strategies discussed included adding precision to the language of HR40; study of legislative efforts; community grassroots organizing; identification of local grassroots candidates who will campaign around the issue of reparations; letters to politicians supporting reparations; support of *A Year of Black Presence (AYBP)*, the mobilizing arm of N’COBRA, in which the halls of Congress are besieged during the entire session, every day, by Black people demanding that Congress give the issue of reparations a fair hearing; preparations for Reparations Awareness Day on February 25; cooperation with the Congressional Black Caucus, Hispanic, Progressive and Asian Caucuses to press the issue of CBC hearings about reparations; and continuation of N’COBRA’s Petition Drive.

Organizational Collaboration Working Group

Thomas Muhammad facilitated this Working Group. Among the plans discussed were a Black Buying Blackout, with no participation in the mainstream consumer economy on the two shopping days of December 11 and December 18, 2004; a series of local Ndabas to bring in more local involvement; supporting N’COBRA’s Buy Black on Black Fridays campaign (Visit buyblackforfridays@aol.com for more information); supporting the upcoming **7th Annual Land Loss Summit in Tillery, North Carolina** from February 18 through 20, 2005, done in conjunction with CONCERNED CITIZENS OF TILLERY and the BLACK FARMERS AND AGRICULTURALISTS ASSOCIATION; monthly Petition Rallies; and ratification of the Ten Point Platform that had been proposed at **Ndaba III** in Houston, Texas.

Ayare-Sa Working Group

The word "Ayare-sa" was coined by the group's co-facilitator, **Dr. Marimba Ani** (author of the groundbreaking *Yurugu: An Afrikan-Centered Critique of European Cultural Thought and Behavior*) to define an Afrikan-centered concept of healing. She and **Lamont Muhammad** presented their group's findings.

The first thing was to promote the *Ma'at/Maafa/Sankofa* Model. *Ma'at* is what we get from Kmt (the more Afrikan-centered name for the ancient Afrikan "Egyptian" civilization). *Ma'at* represents our health and wholeness as a people. We are, however, surrounded by illness. *Maafa*, also the term used for the Great Disaster of the Middle Passage, represents a disease process that we know from slavery, lynching, economic rape and mentacide. In *Maafa*, we're off-center and disconnected from our cultural source. *Yurugu* is a virus that attacks the cultural immune system and that comes from the European cultural system. It makes us dependent on this society. None of us has escaped the effects of *Yurugu*. Finally, *Sankofa* represents the healing language, looking back to our roots, as the Sankofa bird does, to repair our cultural system and restore our health.

In any group formed by Afrikan people, a focus on our internal healing is required. "We've been made sick so we can't easily bond together," Dr. Ani said. "We need to recognize this disease, [the] Internal enemy to be guarded against" as mentioned in the Holy Q'uran.

Some specific recommendations included a cleansing ceremony to be incorporated into organizations to "get rid of the disease processes"; following the example of Ancestor Ken Bridges, founder of the Matah Network, to "correct our lack of love and trust for each other"; remembering that when we correct each other, we are really correcting "the disease *within* us"; organizing Healing Places and Male-Female Relationship Healing Groups for ourselves and our organizations; moving beyond fear and curing the "internal diseases that stop us before we begin" so we can begin to practice unconditional love; establishing a Database of Healers; and beginning to follow the efforts of AFRICANS UNITED FOR SANITY NOW, who are investigating the use of drug and shock treatment by mental health clinics.

When we go back to our local organizations and groups (including the Ndaba IV Working Groups), we should begin using the language of *Ma'at/Maafa/Sankofa*.

We should also work to ensure accountability from one Ndaba to the next. "Don't just come and be passive," Dr. Ani warned. "Come to *work*, because it's through the *work* that the *healing* takes place."

Youth Working Group

Bro. Salim facilitated this Working Group. Some recommendations mentioned included a Youth for Reparations Day, February 12, 2005, to be organized in several cities across the US; the creation of a Reparations Kit for Youth, to include a Reading List of books for young people, including information on the definition and history of reparations and a description of key lawsuits, petitions, bills and organizations, as well as information on how to create and run organizations; and added support for the Petition Drive through greater youth involvement.

Education Working Group

Sshem Saa and **Hannibal Afrik** were the moderators of this Working Group. They began by stressing the need to capture the

hearts and minds of the students in the schools, colleges and universities about reparations. They also spoke about the perils of quasi-independent Afrikan-centered schools whose existence depends on licenses and accreditation from mainstream political organizations that can withdraw them almost at a whim. THE GARVEY SCHOOL in Banneker City (Washington, DC), a Charter School which lost its charter and thus was systematically destroyed several years ago by the actions of a newspaper journalist and the DC School Board, is an example of just how dangerous an "independent" Afrikan perspective can be. Educator **Yaa Asantewa Nzingha**, a New York teacher who was fired from her job for teaching her students that they were primarily Afrikans, is another. (She is now a Board Member of the Association for the Study of Classical Afrikan Civilizations, or ASCAC.)

This Working Group is undertaking the establishment of Study Groups in our organizations, churches and public schools, complete with a core curriculum and the promotion of books that "can help open up our minds" as specific objectives.

Legal Strategies Working Group

Attorney **Lionel Jean-Baptiste** moderated this Working Group and made its presentation. One point that was made early is that as much mass education as possible must be done. The purpose of the litigation against government entities and private companies was as much to confront the system and put the information out so the masses would be informed about their legal rights and about how to bring their own lawsuits if necessary. The aim of simply winning the cases was also important, but it was not the only aim, especially since the courts chose to disregard most of the cases anyway, even the recent case surrounding the Tulsa Race Riots that destroyed **Black Wallstreet** in 1921. At the moment there are 1,000 Black attorneys who could be involved in these cases but so far they are not. Even so, mass political and economic action is necessary in tandem with the litigation. The Jewish Holocaust lawsuit was about to be dismissed by the courts, but political and economic pressure was applied that was so severe the courts buckled. We need that kind of three-pronged attack if we are to be successful as well.

Attorney Jean-Baptiste emphasized that "if we don't come out of this with an action plan for the next Ndaba and for the 10th anniversary of the Million Man March, then all of this is just ceremony." We must advance the process "in a way that gives legs to the things that we're trying to do."

Research and Scholarship Working Group

Dr. Raymond Winbush of Morgan State University and **Barbara Young** of N'COBRA-New York facilitated this Working Group and made its presentation. They made a number of recommendations, such as establishing a Web site for the NDABA RESEARCH GROUP, or "NRG"; creation of an Institute for Reparations and Information Strategies, based on the Reparations Petition; establishment of the Callie House Research Plan and a means to accept financial contributions to help fund the research; creation of Reparations Commissions throughout the US, including a massive bibliography, before Ndaba V; an eye-catching informational brochure to get people interested in reparations and the Ndaba Movement; and attempts to persuade prominent talk show hosts such as Oprah Winfrey to produce a show about Callie House and the Reparations Movement.

Criminal Injustice Working Group

Minister Abdullah Muhammad was the Working Group facilitator and made its presentation. After reviewing information from Ndaba III in Houston, Texas, the following decisions were announced: embracing the Jericho Statement on Political Prisoners, Prisoners of War and Political Exiles, carried over from Ndaba III; writing to political prisoners and prisoners of war about the work of the Criminal Injustice Working Group; organizing Political Prisoner forums; consulting the web site www.prisonactivist.org; transitional pre-release and post-release programs to provide job training, health care and drug treatment to recently-released prisoners; consulting the Million Family March National Agenda, available in book form or at www.finalcall.com and books such as *Torchlight for America* (Minister Farrakhan) and *The Aging Prisoners*, as well as the Eight Steps to Atonement from the Million Man March; and building for the 10th anniversary of the Million Man March, scheduled for October 16, 2005.

We participated in this Working Group and made our concerns known, though our desire for a comprehensive review of *all* aspects of the Criminal Injustice System (we created a list of at least 13 *aspects* that need to be analyzed) could not be carried out, mainly due to time constraints. While we are quite pleased that the initial emphasis has been placed on the plight of America's political prisoners such as **Marshall "Eddie" Conway**, **Mumia Abu-Jamal**, **Leonard Peltier** and others, we hope that in the future such an analysis will be done on the entire Criminal Injustice System so that all of its parts can be dealt with in an organized and effective way.

Mass Gathering at the Prince Hall Grand Lodge

We were not able to attend the Mass Gathering at the PRINCE HALL GRAND LODGE due to other responsibilities. Our focus in this article was on the organizing efforts *behind* the Ndaba Movement and the future realization of those plans as opposed to speeches made to galvanize the public. According to **Louis Fields** of BALTIMORE BLACK HERITAGE TOURS, INC., the event was an inspiring one attended by close to 3,000 people. Minister

Farrakhan spoke for over two hours and energized the crowd. We only hope that the energy that was created at the Mass Gathering will carry over into concrete efforts toward reparations and Afrikan Liberation. Too often, this is not the case.

An Overall Look at Ndaba IV

Thus the Fourth Big Sit-Down for Reparations concluded. But not the important work of advancing the cause of reparations. The exact dates for **Ndaba V** have yet to be announced, but **Atlanta, Georgia** has been designated as the Host City for the conference.

Dr. Raymond Winbush and his committee deserve credit for the hard work they performed to bring this convention to Tubman City and to make it successful. The variety of organizations represented speaks well for the prospects of the Ndaba to continue to grow, if all of these organizations are truly given a voice in organizing efforts. There was a strong NOI presence here, which was good; there were also representatives of the NATIONAL BLACK UNITED FRONT (NBUF), the NEW BLACK PANTHER PARTY (NBPP), the ORGANIZATION OF ALL AFRIKAN UNITY-BLACK PANTHER CADRE (OAAU-BPC), REALITY SPEAKS, and various church, political, and community groups. These and other organizations in attendance represent socio-political viewpoints that may be seen as radical even by a group that seeks an Afrikan-centered context such as the Ndabas for its work. Such groups cannot be made to feel intimidated into silence just because their opinions may pull the others out of their respective comfort zones, and their analyses must be considered in any group process if the Reparations Movement is to avoid falling into stereotyped thinking. Minister Farrakhan in his opening remarks made reference to the unique gifts we all bring to any organization or process. Those words are important to remember as the Ndaba Movement carries its work forward to Atlanta, Georgia in 2005.

The time has long passed for the Children of Callie House to act like the real family that we are and to rise up to defend that "old shotgun house" in which too many of our Brothers and Sisters still live. ■

In Support of "Eddie", *Continued From Page 1*

spoke before we all heard from Mumia himself, speaking from his jail cell on Pennsylvania's Death Row at the State Correctional Institution at Greene.

After that, we were all treated to a performance of music and poetry by the Blackout Arts Collective, four talented young Sisters who combined spoken word, singing and musicianship to deliver messages of encouragement and resistance.

Paul Wolfe is a historical researcher and Web page author. His Web site, www.cointel.org, offers a rich collection of FBI documents, court cases and other testimony to the age of domestic surveillance and repression. He spoke to the audience briefly about COINTELPRO, the FBI's infamous Counter-Intelligence Program that destroyed the Black Panther Party, the American Indian Movement and other activist organizations. Anti-BPP propaganda, including cartoons and a coloring book, were highlighted in his talk.

Sister Shayna Roberts of the Partnership for Social Justice and Critical Resistance-Baltimore spoke to the young (under-30)

people in attendance, those who would not remember the early days of COINTELPRO and the repression directed against people like Eddie. She gave a stirring call to action to those who often ask, "Why should I care about what happened before I was born?"

Paul Coates Tells Eddie's Story

Next came Paul Coates, former defense captain of the BPP Baltimore Chapter and a close friend of Eddie's. Now the founder and director of Black Classic Press, he spoke a great deal about his time in the BPP with Eddie.

He began by acknowledging that this event had "moved me as few other events have" over the last 35 years. He was clearly gratified that so many had come to this event to show their support for Eddie.

In talking about the history of the Baltimore Chapter of the BPP, he mentioned a number of names of the members of that organization: John Clarke, Raymond Jones and Leland McCutcheon are also mentioned in the book *The Black Panther Party*

Reconsidered. He also mentioned Warren Hart, one of the Chapter's organizers but also an NSA agent.

Eddie had been "in and out of the Party" during one stretch, Baba Coates said, and he didn't know why at the time. He later found out that Eddie had been traveling to California to report his discovery that agents had infiltrated the Baltimore Chapter and, as a result of his reports, Warren Hart was expelled from the BPP. At the same time, another man had been branded an informant, apparently by a COINTELPRO tactic known as "bad-rapping", whereby loyal members of organizations were framed as agents to distract attention away from the real agents and to destroy organizational unity. The member in question would later be tortured and killed by other members who were either convinced of his status as an informant or agent or who were themselves participating in the efforts to destroy the organization. Twenty-one members of the Chapter were later arrested, including Paul and Eddie. Ultimately, Warren Hart, Zeke Boyd and five other agents and police informants were found to have been involved in the murder. It was clear to Paul that the Baltimore City Police Red Squad had controlled several of the members who beat and tortured the alleged informant. "All that stuff is documented," he said to the audience. The charges against Eddie, Paul and the other Panthers were dropped.

Efforts to neutralize Eddie, however, continued. Eddie was arrested in April 1970 for the murder of Paul Sager and the wounding of Stanley Sierakowski, two Baltimore City police officers who were responding to a domestic dispute in East Baltimore. Jack Johnson was also arrested for the shooting. He initially fingered Eddie for participation in the attack, but recanted his testimony and refused to testify against him even in exchange for his freedom.

The State of Maryland, however, did not need Johnson's testimony, for it had "information" and, on top of that, it had literally stacked the deck against Eddie. First, the "information". Charles Reynolds was placed in Eddie's cell with him, over Eddie's objections, for four days while awaiting extradition to Michigan on fraud charges. Once in Michigan, Reynolds made arrangements to speak with the State's Attorney and claim that Eddie had confessed to the shooting of the officers. Reynolds had said that Paul "gave Eddie cough syrup and marijuana and ordered Eddie to kill the cops," as Baba Coates recalled.

The fact that Eddie had no lawyer present did not trouble the State; nor did the fact that this tactic was commonly used to implicate members of BPP and AIM over the years when real evidence was not available. The State now had testimony to Eddie's "confession". Now, all they needed was an eyewitness.

That "eyewitness" came when police officer Roger Nowlin was brought into police headquarters. He had spotted someone in a nearby alleyway that night for about 30 seconds and allegedly exchanged gunfire with the man. Nowlin would be shown two stacks of photographs, 12 photos in all, in the police station. Nowlin picked Eddie's photo out of the stacks after looking at them for some time. The curious thing is that two photos of Eddie were included in the stacks, one in each stack. Thus, the "stacked deck" method of manufacturing an "eyewitness" to Eddie's presence on the scene that day.

Jack Johnson was also arrested for the police shooting. He had initially fingered Eddie for involvement, but recanted his testimony and refused to implicate Eddie in court, even when offered his freedom in return. Thus, Johnson is serving in prison

with Eddie. "This case against Eddie will fall. It will fall because the spirit of Eddie Conway will make it fall ... a spirit that will not be crushed."

"I'm real clear that I'm here right now because Eddie Conway is my Brother," Baba Coates concluded. "I'm committed to Eddie because he is so vital to us and we should never, ever give him up." He expressed his appreciation and hope for the next generation of activists and freedom fighters. "You're the legacy we've died for, you're the legacy we've prayed for and you're the legacy we deserve."

Testimony and Prose for Eddie

Ms. Addie Chambers, a veteran of the Baltimore BPP, talked about how she likes "to give young people history, because we're supposed to pass it on." Never forget slavery, she said. Move on, but never forget the history. It holds lessons that she strives to pass on to the children. That these lessons have not been learned is clear. "They just built a brand new prison for the babies down there on Gay Street, and then they move them on into the [adult prison] system." And, although she stated that "we didn't have an election, we had a farce," she also warned that it "didn't matter who would've won, we'd still be in trouble. A Democrat or a Republican? A dog is a dog." No offense to all the canines in the world was meant. She ended with marching orders: "We've got to free our people, and we ought to start with Eddie Conway."

Sister Olu Butterfly, director of Poetry for the People, a spoken word poetry collective, kicked a few verses "In case there are any humans left in this room." Her critique of White Supremacy went something like this: "We should be embarrassed to allow 10% of this world to run it... White Supremacists are just Crazy Black Folks, Backwards Afrikans if you will. ... Luckily, sittin' on my throne has not made them King yet! ... When the time comes, We will be Therapists for The Rapists."

Eddie's Son Speaks

Bro. Ronald Conway, Eddie's son, took the podium to speak. Working through his emotions and clearly touched by the turnout to honor his father, the Coppin State College graduate and current northwest Ohio college professor talked about "how it feels to be the son of Marshall 'Eddie' Conway." His cup is "half full" when he sees children with no fathers. It is "completely empty" when he thinks of children playing with their fathers, since he has not had *his* father since the age of 5. Graduating from college, getting married, having a son (Jabari Marshall Conway), "I knew my father would not be there." He recalled the first time he walked around the block "alone" as a child, only to learn later that his father had followed him and was watching over him the entire time. Now, Eddie is constantly watching him, "from the other side of the street. And I realize that it's not about me, but it's about all the milestones that *he* missed. I don't want him to have to watch his grandson grow up from a distance."

Afterward, there was an open dialog featuring lawyers, activists and organizers. Yusef Bey talked about the "Life Means Life" executive order that had been announced by then-Maryland governor Parris Glendening in response to a murder committed in 1993 by a work-release inmate. The order made it practically impossible for Eddie to receive the parole that he had earned years ago. The Baltimore Lifers Coalition is working to have the executive order rescinded. ■



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