

# Martin and Malcolm Reunited

This time of year holds great significance for Afrikan-centered activists and revolutionaries, as it includes the 36th-year commemoration of the assassination of the **Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. (April 4th)** and the 79th birthday of **Malcolm X (May 19th)**. As contemporaries, their interaction was often an intense one, since they seemed to disagree on issues from non-violence to integration to spirituality.



But did they, really? And did their disagreements remain static or did they start to "come together" with time? We contend that their views did indeed begin to converge as the years went by. We also believe that, had Malcolm X not been cut down on February 21, 1965, he and Dr. King would ultimately have formed a powerful coalition that not only might have prevented Dr. King's

murder three years later, but also could have changed the United States that might have prevented many of the unfortunate events of the last 30-plus years.

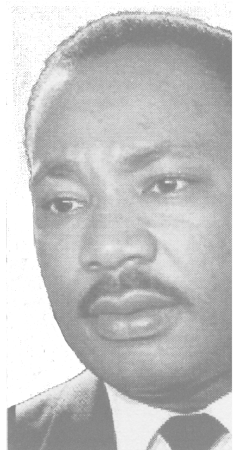
We chose ten issues on which Dr. King and Malcolm X expressed their views regarding the situation of Afrikan people in America and the struggle of the world's peoples against oppression. We examine quotes from both men to demonstrate the differences but also the increasing similarities in their views. We end with quotes from them concerning their relationship to each other, and finally their thoughts as their time on earth grew short.

## BLACK UNITY

*In the last two years of Malcolm's life, he began to support coalitions with organizations and individuals, including Dr. King and the NAACP, which he had once considered weak in their commitment to Afrikan liberation. Most of these quotes come from late in Malcolm's short life.*

## Malcolm X:

"Our people have made the mistake of confusing the methods with the objectives. As long as we agree on objectives,



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## WE'RE BACK!

It's been awhile since our last issue. Ca\$h flow problems, then an equipment failure and finally, the Sasser Worm (courtesy of your Friendly Neighborhood Computer Hackers) all worked to put us under for a few months. Finally, we were able to recover sufficiently to get back to press. So, we are finally relieved to say: **We're Back!**

We want to thank those of you who have waited patiently for our re-release, and for those who offered assistance to us in our efforts to get up and running again. We've got work to do. Now let's get to it!

## THE ANCESTORS' CALL

Mama Anditu Siwatu: Heart and Soul of Uhuru, 1937-2003

From an Obituary Contributed by Paul Coates

On December 19, 2003, revolutionary activist **Mama Anditu Siwatu** passed on to the plane of the Ancestors. Our loss as a people is now Eternity's gain, and her energy and passion will be sorely missed by the Afrikan community for whom she fought with every fiber of her being.

She was born Shirley A. Parker on May 20, 1937 in Harriet Tubman City (Baltimore, Maryland) to the late James Allen Parker and Marie Net Reynolds Parker. She attended the Baltimore City Public Schools and moved on to Bay College and Sojourner-Douglass College, where she received her degree, concentrating in social work and counseling.

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## Happy Birthday, Mumia

Philly Activists Gather for Mumia Abu-Jamal

PHILADELPHIA, PA., APRIL 24, 2004: The procession had already met at Malcolm X Park at 50th and Pine Streets, and had traveled several blocks to the Kingsessing Recreation Center at Kingsessing and 50th in West Philadelphia, by the time we had arrived. I had picked up elder **Nasiru Ah-Raashidiin** in East Baltimore late that morning and, once we had finally arrived in the "City of Brotherly Shove" (as one activist calls it), I was uncertain of the best route to take to reach the scene of this important gathering. **Mumia Abu-Jamal**, award-winning journalist, successful author, grandfather, long-time activist, Veteran Panther, MOVE supporter, death-row inmate and political prisoner, was fifty years old this day. And the activists who had gathered here from different parts of the eastern United States as

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we should never fall out with each other just because we believe in different methods, or tactics, or strategy. We have to keep in mind at all times that ... [w]e are fighting for recognition as free humans in this society."

"When you go to a church and you see the pastor of that church with a philosophy and a program that's designed to bring Black people together and elevate Black people, join that church! If you see where the NAACP is preaching and practicing that which is designed to make Black nationalism materialize, join the NAACP. Join any kind of organization--civic, religious, fraternal, political or otherwise--that's based on lifting ... the Black man up and making him master of his own community."

"We ... have a hard enough time in our own struggle for justice, and already have enough enemies as it is, to make the drastic mistake of attacking each other and adding more weight to an already unbearable load."

"I point these things out, brothers and sisters, so that you and I will know the importance in 1963 of being in complete unity with each other, in harmony with each other, and not letting the man maneuver us into fighting one another. The situation I have been maneuvered into right now between me and the 'Black Muslim' movement, is something that I really deeply regret, because I don't think anything is more destructive than two groups of Black people fighting each other. (1963)

#### AFRIKANS OR AMERICANS

*Dr. King believed in the possibility of Afrikan people attaining the American Dream even until his death. Malcolm considered it more of an Amerikkkan Nightmare and was an early proponent of the term "Afrikan in America".*

#### Dr. King:

"I say to you today, my friends, that in spite of the difficulties and frustrations of the moment, I still have a dream. It is a dream deeply rooted in the American dream."

--I Have a Dream - Address at March on Washington; Aug. 28, 1963. Washington, D.C.

#### Malcolm X:

"I'm not going to sit at your table and watch you eat, with nothing on my plate, and call myself a diner. Sitting at the table doesn't make you a diner, unless you eat some of what's on that plate. Being here in America doesn't make you an American .... No I'm not an American, I'm one of the 22 million Black people who are the victims of Americanism. One of the 22 million Black people who are the victims of democracy, nothing but disguised hypocrisy.

... I'm speaking as a victim of this American system. And I see America through the eyes of a victim. I don't see any American dream; I see an American nightmare."

"We're not Americans, we're Africans who ... were kidnapped and brought here against our will from Africa. We didn't land on Plymouth Rock - that rock landed on us."

#### BLACK ELITES

*While Dr. King's involvement with the Black Elite was to encourage their commitment to the nonviolent struggle, Malcolm was harsher in his criticism of them. But he also recognized their potential to rise up once they realized that their status would not protect them from racism, hatred and violence.*

#### Malcolm X:

"You ever notice how some Negroes will brag, 'I'm the only one out there, I'm the only one on my job.' Don't you hear them say that? ...

"The masses of our people still have bad housing, bad schooling, and inferior jobs, jobs that don't compensate with sufficient salary for them to carry on their life in this world. So that the problem for the masses has gone absolutely unsolved. The only ones for whom it has been solved are [the Black elites], who are very skillfully trying to make Africans think that the problem of Black men in this country is all solved.

"And this is the worst thing the White man can do to himself is to take one of these kind of Negroes and ask him, 'How do your people feel, boy?' He's going to tell that man that we are satisfied. That's what they do, brothers and sisters. They get behind the door and tell the White man we're satisfied. 'Just keep on -- keep me up here in front of them, boss, and I'll keep 'em behind you.' That's what they talk when they're behind closed doors. 'Cause, see, the White man doesn't go along with anybody who's not for him. He doesn't care whether you're for right or wrong, he wants to know, are you for him. And if you're for him, he doesn't care what else you're for. As long as you're for him, then he puts you up over the Negro community. You become the spokesman. ...

"... So, it is very important for you and me to see that the only way that our problem is going to be solved, it has to be with a solution that will benefit the masses, not the ... so-called 'upper class.'

"Actually, there's no such thing as an upper-class Negro, because he catches the same hell as the other class Negro. All of them catch the same hell, which is one

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of the things that's good about this racist system -- it makes us all one." (1963)

### WHITE AMERICAN RACISM & OPPRESSION

*Both men charged White America with crimes against its citizens of color. Both men also noted the often-treacherous duplicity of White "moderates" and "liberals" who rarely backed their pronouncements favoring freedom, justice and equality for Black Americans with any meaningful action. Even as Dr. King described Abraham Lincoln in a more romantic light, Malcolm regarded Lincoln as just another White racist who saw the abolition of slavery as the only way to preserve the Union.*

*While early on Malcolm popularized the concept of the "blond haired, blue eyed devil" who is genetically predisposed to acts of racism, he would later moderate this view, first limiting his critique to White America, then proclaiming that one could only determine a person's nature by examining his deeds (which was still an indictment against White American racism). Finally, after his pilgrimage to Mecca, he would say that by learning and understanding Islam, White America might cast off its racist nature, atone for its past sins and join the brotherhood of man.*

#### Dr. King:

"The Negroes of America had taken the President, the press and the pulpit at their word when they spoke in broad terms of freedom and justice. But the absence of brutality and unregenerate evil is not the presence of justice. ..."

"... Many of the ugly pages of American history have been obscured and forgotten. ... America owes a debt of justice which it has only begun to pay. If it loses the will to finish or slackens in its determination, history will recall its crimes and the country that would be great will lack the most indispensable element of greatness--justice. ..."

"... A good many observers have remarked that if equality could come at once the Negro would not be ready for it. I submit that the White American is even more unprepared."

--Where Do We Go From Here: Chaos or Community?, 1967.

"Over the past few years I have been gravely disappointed with the White moderate. I have almost always reached the regrettable conclusion that the Negro's great stumbling block in his stride toward freedom is not the White Citizen's Counciler or the Ku Klux Klanner, but the White moderate, who is more devoted to 'order' than to justice; who prefers a negative peace which is the absence of tension to a positive peace which is the presence of justice; who constantly says, 'I agree with you in the goal you seek, but I cannot agree with your methods of direct action'; who paternalistically believes he can set the timetable for another man's freedom; who ... constantly advises the Negro to wait for a 'more convenient season'. Shallow understanding from people of good will is more frustrating than absolute misunderstanding from people of ill will. Lukewarm acceptance is much more bewildering than outright rejection."

--Letter From Birmingham Jail, April 16, 1963

"Almost one hundred and one years ago, on September the 22nd, 1862, to be exact, a great and noble American, Abraham Lincoln, signed an executive order, which was to take effect on January the first, 1863. This executive order was called the Emancipation Proclamation and it served to free the Negro from the bondage of physical slavery. But one hundred years later, the Negro in the United States of America still isn't free."

--Speech at the Great March on Detroit, June 23, 1963

"When we ask Negroes to abide by the law, let us also declare that the White man does not abide by law in the ghettos. Day in and day out he violates welfare laws to deprive the poor of their meager allotments; he flagrantly violates building codes and regulations; his police make a mockery of law; he violates laws on equal employment and education and the provisions of civil services. The slums are the handiwork of a vicious system of the White society; Negroes live in them, but they do not make them, any more than a prisoner makes a prison."

--The Trumpet of Conscience, 1967

#### Malcolm X:

"... [M]any, many people are completely misinformed about Lincoln and the Negro. That war involved two thieves, the North and the South, fighting over the spoils. The further we get away from the actual incident, the more they are trying to make it sound as though the battle was over the Black man. Lincoln said that if he could save the Union without freeing the slaves, he would. But after two years of killing and carnage he found out he would have to free the slaves. He wasn't interested in the slaves but in the Union. As for the Emancipation Proclamation, sir, it was an empty document. If it freed the slaves, why, a century later, are we still battling for civil rights? ..."

"The fact that I prefer the candor of the Southern segregationist to the hypocrisy of the Northern integrationist doesn't alter the basic immorality of White supremacy. A devil is still a devil whether he wears a bed sheet or a Brooks Brothers suit...."

"They don't stand for anything different in South Africa than America stands for. The only difference is over there they preach as well as practice apartheid. America preaches freedom and practices slavery. America preaches integration and practices segregation. ... As between the racists and the integrationists, I highly prefer the racists. I'd rather walk among rattlesnakes, whose constant rattle warns me where they are, than among those Northern snakes who grin and make you forget you're still in a snake pit. Any White man is against Blacks. The entire American economy is based on White supremacy. Even the religious philosophy is, in essence, White supremacy. A White Jesus. A White Virgin. White angels. White everything. But a Black Devil, of course. The 'Uncle Sam' political foundation is based on White supremacy, relegating non-Whites to second-class citizenship. It goes without saying that the social philosophy is strictly White supremacist. And the educational system perpetuates [it]. ..."

"I say, sir, that you can never make an intelligent judgment without evidence. If any man will study the entire history of the relationship between the White man and the Black man, no evidence will be found that justifies any confidence or faith that the Black man might have in the White man today. ..."

"As I see the law of justice, it says as you sow, so shall you reap. The White man has reveled as the rope snapped Black men's necks. He has reveled around the lynching fire. ... We Muslims believe that the White race, which is guilty of having oppressed and exploited and enslaved our people here in America, should and will be the victims of God's divine wrath. All civilized societies in their courts of justice set a sentence of execution against those deemed to be enemies of society, such as murderers and kidnappers. The presence of 20,000,000 Black people here in America is proof that Uncle Sam is guilty of kidnapping--because

we didn't come here voluntarily on the Mayflower. And 400 years of lynchings condemn Uncle Sam as a murderer. ..."

"As soon as the White man hears a Black man say that he's through loving White people, then the White man accuses the Black man of hating him. The Honorable Elijah Muhammad doesn't teach hate. The White man isn't important enough for the Honorable Elijah Muhammad and his followers to spend any time hating him. The White man has brainwashed himself into believing that all the Black people in the world want to be cuddled up next to him. ... When we tell him we don't want to be around him, we don't want to be like he is, he's staggered. ... What I want to know is how the White man, with the blood of Black people dripping off his fingers, can have the audacity to be asking Black people do they hate him. That takes a lot of nerve."

--Playboy Interview, May 1963

"I can't turn around without hearing about some 'civil rights advance'! White people seem to think the Black man ought to be shouting 'hallelujah'! Four hundred years the White man has had his foot-long knife in the Black man's back - and now the White man starts to wiggle the knife out, maybe six inches! The Black man's supposed to be grateful? Why, if the White man jerked the knife out, it's still going to leave a scar!"

"If America can't atone for the crimes she has committed against the twenty-two million 'Negroes,' if she can't undo the evils she has brutally and mercilessly heaped upon our people these past four hundred years, then America has signed her own doom ... and our own people would be foolish to accept her deceitful offers of integration into her doomed society at this late date!"

--God's Judgment of White America (The Chickens Come Home to Roost), Dec. 4, 1963, edited by Imam Benjamin Karim

"But still, I wouldn't judge them just because they're White, or they'd call me a racist. [I'm] judging by their deeds, by their conscious behavior -- and you know how they've been consciously behaving in the Congo, and how they consciously behave in Vietnam, and how they consciously behave right now in Alabama and Mississippi. So you and I got to get conscious, and start behaving in a way that we can offset this thing before it's too late -- and this is what they don't want to hear."

--Speech at Ford Auditorium, Feb. 14, 1965, transcribed and edited by the Malcolm X Museum and Noaman Ali

### INTEGRATION vs. BLACK NATIONALISM

*Dr. King disbelieved in Black Nationalism. Malcolm saw it as the only solution for Black people in a country that clearly hated them. Malcolm's statements no doubt served as a precursor to the modern Reparations Movement and also establish him as an early advocate for what would become the PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF NEW AFRICA, a separate Black homeland comprised of five former southern states. However, if America atoned for its history, righted the wrongs that existed in the present and embraced the true meaning of brotherhood from now on, perhaps Black and White could coexist on the same soil. Thus we see a slight convergence of the two men's views on yet another subject.*

#### Dr. King:

"Now there is a magnificent new militancy within the Negro community all across this nation. And I welcome this as a marvelous development. The Negro of America is saying he's determined to be free and he is militant enough to stand up. But this

new militancy must not lead us to the position of distrusting every White person who lives in the United States. There are some White people in this country who are as determined to see the Negro free as we are to be free. This new militancy must be kept within understanding boundaries. ...

"... I can understand from a psychological point of view why some caught up in the clutches of the injustices surrounding them almost respond with bitterness ... and they talk about getting away from it in terms of racial separation. But even though I can understand it psychologically, I must say to you this afternoon that this isn't the way. ... No, I hope you will allow me to say to you this afternoon that God is not interested merely in the freedom of Black men and Brown men and Yellow men. God is interested in the freedom of the whole human race. And I believe that with this philosophy and this determined struggle we will be able to go on in the days ahead and transform the jangling discords of our nation into a beautiful symphony of brotherhood."

--Speech at the Great March on Detroit, June 23, 1963

#### Malcolm X:

"I would like to point something out so that we'll understand each other better. I don't want you to think in the statements I made that I'm being disrespectful towards you as White people. I'm being frank. And I think that my statements will give you a better insight on the mind of a Black man than most statements you get from most people who call themselves Negroes, who usually tell you what they want you to hear with the hope ... that will make them draw closer to you and create a better possibility of getting from you some of the crumbs that you might let fall from your table. Well, I'm not looking for crumbs so I'm not trying to delude you."

"How can America atone for her crimes? The Honorable Elijah Muhammad teaches us that a desegregated theater or lunch counter won't solve our problems. Better jobs won't even solve our problems. An integrated cup of coffee isn't sufficient pay for four hundred years of slave labor, and a better job in the White man's factory or position in his business is, at best, only a temporary solution. The only lasting or permanent solution is complete separation on some land that we can call our own. ...

"If we are a part of America, then part of what she is worth belongs to us. We will take our share and depart, then this White country can have peace. What is her net worth? Give us our share in gold and silver and let us depart and go back to our homeland in peace. We want no integration with this wicked race that enslaved us. We want complete separation from this race of devils. But we should not be expected to leave America and go back to our homeland empty-handed. After four hundred years of slave labor, we have some back pay coming, a bill owed to us that must be collected."

--God's Judgment of White America (The Chickens Come Home To Roost), Dec. 14, 1963, edited by Imam Benjamin Karim

"First of all, the White man must finally realize that he's the one who has committed the crimes that have produced the miserable condition that our people are in. ... He must atone--and this can only be done by allowing Black men, those who choose, to leave this land of bondage and go to a land of our own. But if he doesn't want a mass movement of our people away from this house of bondage, then he should separate this country. He should give us several states here on American soil, where those of us who wish

to can go and set up our own government, our own economic system, our own civilization. Since we have given over 300 years of our slave labor to the White man's America, helped to build it up for him, it's only right that White America should give us everything we need in finance and materials for the next 25 years, until our own nation is able to stand on its feet. Then, if the Western Hemisphere is attacked by outside enemies, we would have both the capability and the motivation to join in defending the hemisphere, in which we would then have a sovereign stake. ... The world since Adam has been White--and corrupt. The world of tomorrow will be Black--and righteous. In the White world there has been nothing but slavery, suffering, death and colonialism. In the Black world of tomorrow, there will be true freedom, justice and equality for all. And that day is coming--sooner than you think."

"I believe in the brotherhood of man, all men, but I don't believe in brotherhood with anybody who doesn't want brotherhood with me. I believe in treating people right, but I'm not going to waste my time trying to treat somebody right who doesn't know how to return the treatment."

"The economic philosophy of Black nationalism only means that our people need to be re-educated into the importance of controlling the economy of the community in which we live, which means that we won't have to constantly be involved in picketing and boycotting other people in other communities ... to get jobs."

"It is not a case of our people ... wanting either separation or integration. ... [T]hese words actually cloud the real picture. The 22 million Afro-Americans don't seek either separation or integration. They seek recognition and respect as human beings."

"I believe in recognizing every human being as a human being ... and when you are dealing with humanity as a family there's no question of integration or intermarriage. It's just one human being marrying another human being or one human being living around and with another human being."

"Never have I witnessed such sincere hospitality and the overwhelming spirit of true brotherhood as practiced by people of all colors and races here in this Ancient Holy Land, the home of Abraham, Muhammad and all other prophets of the Holy Scriptures. For the past week, I have been utterly speechless and spellbound by the graciousness I see displayed all around me by people of all colors. ...

"There were tens of thousands of pilgrims, from all over the world. They were of all colors, from blue eyed blonds to Black skin Africans. But we were all participating in the same rituals, displaying a spirit of unity and brotherhood that my experiences in America had lead me to believe never could exist between the White and non-White. ...

"You may be shocked by these words coming from me. But on this pilgrimage, what I have seen, and experienced, has forced me to re-arrange much of my thought patterns previously held, and to toss aside some of my previous conclusions. This was not too difficult for me. Despite my firm convictions, I have always been a man who tries to face facts, and to accept the reality of life as new experiences and new knowledge unfolds it. I have always kept an open mind, which is necessary to the flexibility that must go hand in hand with every form of intelligent search for truth. ...

"We were truly all the same (brothers) -- because their belief in one God had removed the 'White' from their minds, the 'White' from their behavior, and the 'White' from their attitude.

"I could see from this, that perhaps if White Americans could accept the Oneness of God [through Islam], then perhaps, too, they could accept in reality the Oneness of Man -- and cease to measure, and hinder, and harm others in terms of their differences in color.

"With racism plaguing America like an incurable cancer, the so-called 'Christian' White American heart should be more receptive to a proven solution to such a destructive problem. Perhaps it could be in time to save America from imminent disaster -- the same destruction brought upon Germany by racism that eventually destroyed the Germans themselves.

"Each hour here in the Holy Land enables me to have greater spiritual insights into what is happening in America between Black and White. The American Negro never can be blamed for his racial animosities -- he is only reacting to four hundred years of conscious racism of the American Whites. But as racism leads America up the suicide path, I do believe, from the experience that I have had with them, that the Whites of the younger generation, in the colleges and universities, will see the handwriting on the wall and many of them will turn to the spiritual path of truth--the only way left to America to ward off the disaster that racism inevitably must lead to."

--Letter From Mecca, 1964

"I am against every form of racism and segregation, every form of discrimination. I believe in human beings, and that all human beings should be respected as such, regardless of their color.

"In the past I permitted myself to be used ... to make sweeping indictments of all White people, the entire White race and these generalizations have caused injuries to some Whites who perhaps did not deserve to be hurt. Because of the spiritual enlightenment which I was blessed to receive as a result of my recent pilgrimage to the Holy city of Mecca, I no longer subscribe to sweeping indictments of any one race. I am now striving to live the life of a true ... Muslim. I must repeat that I am not a racist nor do I subscribe to the tenets of racism. I can state in all sincerity that I wish nothing but freedom, justice and equality, life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness for all people."

"I am not a racist in any form whatsoever. I don't believe in any form of discrimination or segregation." (1964-65)

### NON-VIOLENCE VS. SELF-DEFENSE

*One area where Malcolm and Dr. King maintained their difference of opinion was the question of non-violence. Any changes were seen more in terms of Malcolm's decision to stop criticizing Dr. King for using different methods to reach essentially the same goal. Meanwhile, Dr. King was showing that his commitment to non-violence did not mean he would crawl before his oppressors; he would stand tall in the face of hostility and physical attack. This peaceful but bold stance surely impressed many who had at one time thought of Dr. King as a compliant sheep.*

#### Dr. King:

"Darkness cannot drive out darkness; only light can do that. Hate cannot drive out hate; only love can do that. Hate multiplies hate, violence multiplies violence, and toughness multiplies toughness in a descending spiral of destruction. ... The chain reaction of

evil--hate begetting hate, wars producing more wars--must be broken, or we shall be plunged into the dark abyss of annihilation.

".... Like an unchecked cancer, hate corrodes the personality and eats away its vital unity. Hate destroys a man's sense of values and his objectivity. It causes him to describe the beautiful as ugly and the ugly as beautiful, and to confuse the true with the false and the false with the true."

--Strength To Love, 1963.

"And so I stand here to say this afternoon ... that in spite of the darkness of this hour, we must not despair. We must not become bitter, nor must we harbor the desire to retaliate with violence. No, we must not lose faith in our White brothers. Somehow we must believe that the most misguided among them can learn to respect the dignity and the worth of all human personality."

--Eulogy for the Martyred Children, Sept. 18, 1963, Birmingham, Alabama

"Now the other thing that we must see about this struggle is that by and large it has been a nonviolent struggle. ... For we've come to see the power of nonviolence. We've come to see that this method is not a weak method, for it's the strong man who can stand up amid opposition, who can stand up amid violence being inflicted upon him and not retaliate with violence.

"You see, this method has a way of disarming the opponent. It exposes his moral defenses. It weakens his morale, and at the same time it works on his conscience, and he just doesn't know what to do. If he doesn't beat you, wonderful. If he beats you, you develop the quiet courage of accepting blows without retaliating. If he doesn't put you in jail, wonderful. Nobody with any sense likes to go to jail. But if he puts you in jail, you go in that jail and transform it from a dungeon of shame to a haven of freedom and human dignity.

"As a result of the nonviolent Freedom Ride movement, segregation in public transportation has almost passed away absolutely in the South. As a result of the sit-in movement at lunch counters, more than 285 cities have now integrated their lunch counters in the South. I say to you, there is power in this method.

"And I think by following this approach it will also help us to go into the new age that is emerging with the right attitude. For nonviolence not only calls upon its adherents to avoid external physical violence, but it calls upon them to avoid internal violence of spirit. It calls on them to engage in that something called love. And I know it is difficult sometimes. When I say 'love' at this point, I'm not talking about an affectionate emotion. It's nonsense to urge people, oppressed people, to love their oppressors in an affectionate sense. I'm talking about something much deeper. I'm talking about a sort of understanding, creative, redemptive goodwill for all men.

"We are coming to see now, the psychiatrists are saying to us, that many of the strange things that happen in the subconscious, many of the inner conflicts, are rooted in hate. And so they are saying, 'Love or perish.' But Jesus told us this a long time ago. And I can still hear that voice crying through the vista of time, saying, 'Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, pray for them that despitefully use you.' And there is still a voice saying to every potential Peter, 'Put up your sword.' History is replete with the bleached bones of nations, history is cluttered with the wreckage of communities that failed to follow this command. And isn't it marvelous to have a method of struggle

where it is possible to stand up against an unjust system, fight it with all of your might, never accept it, and yet not stoop to violence and hatred in the process? This is what we have."

--Speech at the Great March on Detroit, June 23, 1963

#### **Malcolm X:**

"Concerning nonviolence: It is criminal to teach a man not to defend himself, when he is the constant victim of brutal attacks. It is legal and lawful to own a shotgun or a rifle. We believe in obeying the law.

"It doesn't mean that I advocate violence, but at the same time, I am not against using violence in self-defense. I don't call it violence when it's self-defense, I call it intelligence.

"If violence is wrong in America, violence is wrong abroad. If it is wrong to be violent defending Black women and Black children and Black babies and Black men, then it is wrong for America to draft us, and make us violent abroad in defense of her. And if it is right for America to draft us, and teach us how to be violent in defense of her, then it is right for you and me to do whatever is necessary to defend our own people right here in this country.

"I don't mean go out and get violent; but at the same time you should never be nonviolent unless you run into some nonviolence. I'm nonviolent with those who are nonviolent with me. ...

"I don't favor violence. If we could bring about recognition and respect of our people by peaceful means, well and good. Everybody would like to reach his objectives peacefully. But I'm also a realist. The only people in this country who are asked to be nonviolent are Black people."

### **THE STRUGGLE OF THE OPPRESSED AND U.S. DOMINANCE**

*Dr. King often spoke to the conscience of America as he condemned the United States' increasing militarism. Malcolm expressed his views more by addressing the crowds of Afrikan-Americans about the need to stand up and resist the US war-and-oppression machine. Thus, similar messages were given to both sides of the "racial divide" in America.*

#### **Dr. King:**

"A nation that continues year after year to spend more money on military defense than on programs of social uplift is approaching spiritual death."

--Where Do We Go from Here: Chaos or Community?, 1967.

"Somehow this madness must cease. We must stop now. I speak as a child of God and brother to the suffering poor of Vietnam. I speak for those whose land is being laid waste, whose homes are being destroyed, whose culture is being subverted. I speak for the poor in America who are paying the double price of smashed hopes at home and death and corruption in Vietnam. I speak as a citizen of the world, for the world as it stands aghast at the path we have taken. I speak as an American to the leaders of my own nation. The great initiative in this war is ours. The initiative to stop it must be ours."

-- Beyond Vietnam, April 4, 1967.

#### **Malcolm X:**

"It is incorrect to classify the revolt of the Negro as simply a ... conflict of Black against White or as a purely American problem. Rather, we are today seeing a global rebellion of the oppressed against the oppressor, the exploited against the exploiter."



"The same rebellion, the same impatience, the same anger that exists in the hearts of the dark people in Africa and Asia is existing in the hearts and minds of 20 million Black people in this country who have been just as thoroughly colonized as the people in Africa and Asia."

"You're not supposed to be so blind with patriotism that you can't face reality. Wrong is wrong, no matter who says it."

"Truth is on the side of the oppressed."

"You can't separate peace from freedom because no one can be at peace unless he has his freedom."

### PAN-AFRIKANISM

*Malcolm spoke more directly on this subject, but Dr. King had made references to Pan-Afrikanism as he spoke about the struggles of Afrikan countries against US aggression and our need for solidarity with them.*

#### Malcolm X:

"The only way we'll get freedom for ourselves is to identify ourselves with every oppressed people in the world. We are blood brothers to the people of Brazil, Venezuela, Haiti ... Cuba--yes Cuba too."

"One of the things that made the Black Muslim movement grow was its emphasis upon things African. This was the secret to the growth of the Black Muslim movement. African blood, African origin, African culture, African ties. And you'd be surprised - we discovered that deep within the subconscious of the Black man in this country, he is still more African than he is American."

"Twenty-two million African-Americans - that's what we are - Africans who are in America."

### REVOLUTION

*Both men spoke of revolution. Dr. King focused on non-violent revolution, while Malcolm reserved the right to engage in armed struggle should the need arise, a stance that would inspire the Deacons for Defense, the Lowndes County Community Organization and finally the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense. Dr. King sought to avoid armed struggle at all costs, but often acknowledged the potential for it, especially when he would quote former President John F. Kennedy's statement that "those who make non-violent revolution impossible make violent revolution inevitable" (Dr. King: Beyond Vietnam, April 4, 1967).*

#### Dr. King:

"The price that this nation must pay for the continued oppression and exploitation of the Negro or any other minority group is the price of its own destruction. For the hour is late. The clock of destiny is ticking out, and we must act now before it is too late."

"... And so this social revolution taking place can be summarized in three little words. They are not big words. One does not need an extensive vocabulary to understand them. They are the words "all," "here," and "now." We want all of our rights, we want them here, and we want them now."

"... there are some things so dear, some things so precious, some things so eternally true, that they are worth dying for. And I submit to you that if a man has not discovered something that he will die for, he isn't fit to live."

--Speech at the Great March on Detroit, June 23, 1963

#### Malcolm X:

"Who ever heard of angry revolutionists all harmonizing 'We shall overcome ... Suum Day ...' while tripping and swaying along arm-in-arm with the very people they were supposed to be angrily revolting against? Who ever heard of angry revolutionists swinging their bare feet together with their oppressor in lily-pad park pools, with gospels and guitars and 'I have a dream' speeches? And the Black masses in America were--and still are--having a nightmare."

"We declare our right on this earth, to be a man, to be a human being, to be respected as a human being, to be given the rights of a human being in this society, on this earth, in this day, which we intend to bring into existence by any means necessary."

"I for one believe that if you give people a thorough understanding of what confronts them and the basic causes that produce it, they'll create their own program, and when the people create a program, you get action."

"Brothers and sisters, let me tell you, I spend my time out there in the street with people, all kind of people, listening to what they have to say. And they're dissatisfied, they're disillusioned, they're fed up, they're getting to the point of frustration where they are beginning to feel: What do they have to lose? And when you get to that point you're the type of person who can create a very dangerously explosive atmosphere. This is what's happening in our neighborhood, to our people. I read in a poll taken by Newsweek magazine this week, saying that Negroes are satisfied. ... Maybe I haven't met the Negroes he met. Because I know he hasn't met the ones that I've met."

"... He invents statistics to create an image, thinking that that image is going to hold things in check. You know why they always say Negroes are lazy? 'Cause they *want* Negroes to be lazy. They always say Negroes can't unite because they *don't want* Negroes to unite. And once they put this thing in the mind, they feel that the Negro gets that into him and he tries to fulfill their image. If you say you can't unite him, and then you come to him to unite him, he won't unite because it's been said that he's not supposed to unite. ..."

"When they think that an explosive era is coming up, then they grab their press again and begin to shower the Negro public, to make it appear that all Negroes are satisfied. Because if you know that you're dissatisfied all by yourself and ten others aren't, you play it cool; but you know if all ten of you are dissatisfied, you get with it. Well, this is what the man knows. The man knows that if these Negroes find out how dissatisfied they really are--and all of them, even Uncle Tom is dissatisfied, he's just playing his part for now--this is what makes them frightened. It frightens them in France, it frightens them in England, and it frightens them in the United States."

"And it is for this reason that it is so important for you and me to start organizing among ourselves, intelligently, and try to find out: What are we going to do if this happens, that happens, or the next thing happens? Don't think that you're going to run to the man and say, 'Look, boss, this is me.' Why, when the deal goes down, you'll look just like me in his eyesight; I'll make it tough for you. Yes, when the deal goes down, he doesn't look at you in any better light than he looks at me." (1963)

"The White man knows what a revolution is. He knows that the Black Revolution is worldwide in scope and in nature. ... The Cuban Revolution - that's a revolution. They overturned the

system. Revolution is in Asia, revolution is in Africa, and the White man is screaming because he sees revolution in Latin America. How do you think he'll react to you when *you* learn what a real revolution is?"

"If the government of White America truly repents of its sins against our people, and atones by giving us our true share, only then can America save herself! But if America waits for Almighty God Himself to step in and force her into a just settlement, God will take this entire continent away from her; and she will cease to exist as a nation. Her own Christian Scriptures warn her that when God comes He can give the 'entire Kingdom to whomsoever He will' ... which only means that the God of Justice on Judgment Day can give this entire continent to whomsoever He wills! ... White America, wake up and take heed, before it is too late!"

--God's Judgment of White America (The Chickens Come Home to Roost), Dec. 4, 1963, edited by Imam Benjamin Karim

### COURAGE

*Dr. King and Malcolm both decried the country's slow creep toward truth and justice and warned that we would need much more courage in the future than most of us had thus far shown. That warning still holds true today.*

#### Dr. King:

"We know through painful experience that freedom is never voluntarily given by the oppressor; it must be demanded by the oppressed. Frankly, I have yet to engage in a direct-action campaign that was 'well timed' in the view of those who have not suffered unduly from the disease of segregation. For years now I have heard the word 'Wait!' It rings in the ear of every Negro with piercing familiarity. Thus 'Wait' has almost always meant 'Never'. We must come to see, with one of our distinguished jurists, that 'justice too long delayed is justice denied.'

"We have waited for more than 340 years for our constitutional and God-given rights. The nations of Asia and Africa are moving with jetlike speed toward gaining political independence, but we still creep at horse-and-buggy pace toward gaining a cup of coffee at a lunch counter."

--Letter From Birmingham Jail, April 16, 1963

"These children [four little girls killed in the church firebombing--Ed.] -- unoffending, innocent, and beautiful -- were the victims of one of the most vicious and tragic crimes ever perpetrated against humanity. Yet they died nobly. They are the martyred heroines of a holy crusade for freedom and human dignity.

"And so this afternoon in a real sense they have something to say to each of us in their death. They have something to say to every minister of the gospel who has remained silent behind the safe security of stained-glass windows. They have something to say to every politician who has fed his constituents with the stale bread of hatred and the spoiled meat of racism. They have something to say to a federal government that has compromised with the undemocratic practices of southern Dixiecrats and the blatant hypocrisy of right-wing northern Republicans. They have something to say to every Negro who has passively accepted the evil system of segregation and who has stood on the sidelines in a mighty struggle for justice. They say to each of us, Black and White alike, that we must substitute courage for caution."

--Eulogy for the Martyred Children, Sept. 18, 1963, Birmingham, Alabama

#### Malcolm X:

"You don't have to be a man to fight for freedom. All you have to do is to be an intelligent human being."

"If you're not ready to die for it, put the word 'freedom' out of your vocabulary."

"The price of freedom is death."

"When a person places the proper value on freedom, there is nothing under the sun that he will not do to acquire that freedom. Whenever you hear a man saying he wants freedom, but in the next breath he is going to tell you what he won't do to get it, or what he doesn't believe in doing in order to get it, he doesn't believe in freedom. A man who believes in freedom will do anything under the sun to acquire ... or preserve his freedom."

"Usually when people are sad, they don't do anything. They just cry over their condition. But when they get angry, they bring about a change."

### ON EACH OTHER

*Early on, Malcolm had strongly criticized Dr. King for his insistence on non-violence, his quest for integration, his devotion to Christianity and his continuing faith in an American Dream. Later in life, he seemed to appreciate Dr. King as the "other side of the coin", perhaps even a partner in a national game of "Good Cop-Bad Cop" that they were playing on the American collective psyche. At any rate, as Malcolm himself would say late in his life, the goals of the two men were similar in many ways, and apparently that was enough to begin to close the gap between them.*

#### Malcolm X on Dr. King:

"He got the peace prize, we got the problem ... If I'm following a general, and he's leading me into a battle, and the enemy tends to give him rewards, or awards, I get suspicious of him. Especially if he gets a peace award before the war is over."

"I'll say nothing against him. At one time the Whites in the United States called him a racist, and extremist, and a Communist. Then the Black Muslims came along and the Whites thanked the Lord for Martin Luther King."

"Dr. King wants the same thing I want -- freedom!"

"I want Dr. King to know that I didn't come to Selma to make his job difficult. I really did come thinking I could make it easier. If the White people realize what the alternative is, perhaps they will be more willing to hear Dr. King."

#### Dr. King on Malcolm X:

"You know, right before he was killed he came down to Selma and said some pretty passionate things against me, and that surprised me because after all it was my territory there. But afterwards he took my wife aside, and said he thought he could help me more by attacking me than praising me. He thought it would make it easier for me in the long run."

### ON THEIR DESTINIES

*Both men seemed to sense when their time was running out. In his writings and demeanor, Malcolm seemed to know those who had been pursuing him had cornered him at last, and in Dr. King's later speeches, he would often make references to his own mortality. Malcolm had sent some of his on-stage bodyguards away just before he walked out to his doom. Dr. King would be felled as he stood, alone and without his own protectors, on a*



*hotel balcony. Did they both sense that This was the time? Did each finally decide, at the spur of the moment, to spare others the ultimate price that they knew they would have to pay?*

#### Malcolm X:

"For the freedom of my 22 million Black brothers and sisters here in America, I do believe that I have fought the best that I know how, and the best that I could, with the shortcomings that I have had ... I know that societies often have killed people who have helped to change those societies. And if I can die having brought any light, having exposed any meaningful truth that will help destroy the racist cancer that is malignant in the body of America then all of the credit is due to Allah. Only the mistakes have been mine. ... "I always knew it would end like this." (1964-65)

"It is a time for martyrs now, and if I am to be one, it will be for the cause of brotherhood. That's the only thing that can save this country." (1964-65)

#### Dr. King:

"I left Atlanta this morning, and as we got started on the plane, there were six of us, the pilot said over the public address system, 'We are sorry for the delay, but we have Dr. Martin Luther King on the plane. And to be sure that all of the bags were checked, and

to be sure that nothing would be wrong with the plane, we had to check out everything carefully. And we've had the plane protected and guarded all night.'

"And then I got into Memphis. And some began to ... talk about the threats that were out. What would happen to me from some of our sick White brothers?

"Well, I don't know what will happen now. We've got some difficult days ahead. But it doesn't matter with me now. Because I've been to the mountaintop. And I don't mind. Like anybody, I would like to live a long life. Longevity has its place. But I'm not concerned about that now. I just want to do God's will. And He's allowed me to go up to the mountain. And I've looked over. And I've seen the promised land. I may not get there with you. But I want you to know tonight, that we, as a people will get to the promised land!

"And I'm happy, tonight. I'm not worried about anything, I'm not fearing any man. Mine eyes have seen the glory of the coming of the Lord!"

--I See The Promised Land, before the March for Sanitation Workers, Memphis, 1968

*Quotes used in this article are available at [www.mlk.com](http://www.mlk.com) and a variety of web sites featuring quotes from Malcolm X.*

## THE ANCESTORS' CALL

### Mama Anditu Siwatu, Continued From Page 1

She and Samuel Hayes were blessed with three children, as well as helping raise children of her friends and siblings.

Her service as a community activist is perhaps best exemplified by her service as president of the INTERNATIONAL PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC UHURU MOVEMENT (INPDUM). She was also a Veteran of the Baltimore Chapter of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY, a member of the MARSHALL "EDDIE" CONWAY SUPPORT COMMITTEE, the AFRICAN PEOPLE'S SOCIALIST PARTY (APSP), THREE GENERATIONS OF STRUGGLE, the REPUBLIC OF NEW AFRIKA (RNA) and an honorary member of ANCESTORS' ROOTS. She was also a recipient of the **Queen Mother Moore Award**.

### Spirit of Afrika: Rev. Dr. Ishakamusa Barashango, 1938-2004

**Rev. Dr. Ishakamusa Barashango** was born on April 27, 1938 in Richard Allen City (Philadelphia, PA). He suddenly departed this life on Wednesday, Jan. 14, 2004.

Baba Barashango received degrees in Religion from Oakwood College in Huntsville, Alabama and Northeastern Seminary in Takoma Park, Maryland, and Honorary Ph.D's from the College of Doctors of the New Afrikan University Network System in Washington, DC, and the Sankore Institute under the auspices of Texas Southern University in Houston, Texas. In July of 2000, Baba was elevated to the level of Grand-Master Scholar while traveling in Kemet.

In 1969, Baba founded the TEMPLE OF THE BLACK MESSIAH, SCHOOL OF HISTORY AND RELIGION, working with Black People from many diverse religious persuasions.

Baba was co-founder of the FOURTH DYNASTY PUBLISHING COMPANY of Silver Spring, Maryland, a vanguard scholarly Afrikan-American publishing movement. As a minister, historian, educator, author, and motivational speaker for over 40 years,

Baba skillfully combined the lessons of Afrikan people's glorious history with the realities of today's world and demonstrated through dynamic presentations how to use this knowledge to enhance our present quality of life.

In August 1996 he married **Lydia Umyemi** and they established the TEMPLE OF THE BLACK MESSIAH, NEW WORLD CHURCH OF ALL FAITHS in Richard Allen City.

The Afrikan Family will sorely miss the unique gifts of his wit leadership and wisdom.

### Warrior-Scholar: Dr. Jacob Carruthers, 1930-2004

**Dr. Jacob Hudson Carruthers**, scholar, historian, researcher, educator and staunch defender of Afrikan civilization and thought, passed on to join the Ancestors on the morning of January 4, 2004, at his home in Chicago, Illinois at the age of 73.

Born in Dallas, Texas, he pursued collegiate studies at Sam Houston College in Austin, Texas, Texas Southern University, the University of Texas Law School and the University of Colorado at Boulder.

After two years as an assistant professor at Kansas State College, he joined the staff of Northeastern Illinois University's Center for Inner City Studies (CICS) in 1968. The CHICAGO SCHOOL OF AFRICAN-CENTERED THOUGHT and the resulting COMMUNIVERSITY owe their existence in no small part to Dr. Carruthers' vision.

He was a founder of the AFRIKAN WORLD HISTORY PROJECT of the ASSOCIATION FOR THE STUDY OF CLASSICAL AFRIKAN CIVILIZATIONS (ASCAC), and was a Founding President of ASCAC. He also co-founded the Kemetite Institute and *Teaching About Africa*, a teacher training program used in the Chicago Public Schools. He worked with a number of other great Afrikan scholars, and in 1981, he was named the high priest of the TEMPLE OF THE AFRICAN COMMUNITY in Chicago.

He led many study tours to Kemet in the Nile Valley, Ethiopia, Zimbabwe, the Ivory Coast, Senegal and elsewhere in West Afrika.

In December 2000, Dr. Carruthers gave a lecture on the History of Pan-Afrikanism at the **Eastern Regional Conference of ASCAC**, held at UMOJA NYUMBA SHULE in Harriet Tubman

## "Happy Birthday, Mumia" [Continued From Page 1]

well as from France were determined to celebrate and to renew their commitment to fight ever harder for justice for this champion of the underdog, this Voice of the Voiceless, as he continues his struggle to have his case reviewed and his name cleared for a murder he did not commit.

Mumia has resided on Pennsylvania's death row since 1981, when he was arrested and convicted of killing Philadelphia Police Officer **Daniel Faulkner** in a trial that is considered by human rights activists around the world to have been plagued by misconduct from police, prosecutors and judicial officials. Mumia was a member of the PHILADELPHIA BLACK PANTHER PARTY at a time when the police force was engaged in violent crackdowns against political dissenters. His continuing support of the MOVE ORGANIZATION drew the wrath of Frank Rizzo, who rose from the post of Philadelphia's Police Chief to its Mayor on a platform of uncompromising law enforcement that was so infested with corruption, racism and violence that the city became nationally notorious. Mumia's groundbreaking interviews and documentaries about MOVE and his unwavering advocacy of grassroots revolutionary thought made him a political target during the later years of the FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION'S infamous COINTEL-PRO (Counter-Intelligence Program).

Despite conflicting physical evidence, coerced eyewitnesses who have recanted their testimony and a sworn confession from a man named **Arnold Beverly** that he, and not Mumia, had killed Officer Faulkner, Pennsylvania authorities refuse to re-open Mumia's case. Several officials who have the power to hear his case were also members of the original prosecution team.

The April 24th event was billed as a "birthday celebration" for Mumia, and an impressive list of invitees appeared for Mumia's birthday celebration to provide their perspectives on Mumia's struggle, and the struggle of oppressed people around the world.

**Robert Bryan**, Mumia's attorney, gave the assembled crowd a legal update on his case. "I have filed a petition on March 8 in the United States Supreme Court that's pending. It raises the ... statement by the trial judge [**Albert Sabo**, who was quoted that he was "going to help them fry the nigger" by the court stenographer--Ed.]. If they decide not to hear it, we will be going back into the United States District Court here in Philadelphia, raising that issue. Another issue before the Supreme Court ... is, one of the judges on the Pennsylvania Supreme Court [**Ronald Castille**--Ed.], which turned down relief last October, was formerly the District Attorney here in Philadelphia. And it seems like [a] conflict of interest ... to wear a hat as a prosecutor,

City. An article on his lecture appears in the February 2001 issue of **KUUMBAReport**.

Dr. Carruthers leaves a wife, four children, an extended family and an entire Diaspora of Afrikans to learn from, and be inspired by, his scholarship and example.

and say 'I want this man to die, I want him to be executed', and then to turn around and sit as a judge, and be very polite, and say 'Oh, I can be fair'. That's poppycock. ...

"[T]his is one case which I remind you will be a loss if we just save his life. Of course I want Mumia to live. But I want more than that. ... I want him to come home to his family. I want him to come home to his community....

Remembering his first meeting with Mumia in 1985 when he was unable to represent him, he noted that by 1991, "it was very clear to me that *innocence* was the prevailing issue in this case, along with racism and police corruption. ...

"I look forward to the day when there's a rally in which it's not me telling you that he says thank you, but it's he himself, speaking to all of us, saying thank you for fighting for the cause of freedom and freeing political prisoners everywhere."

Mumia's editor and publicist for his latest book spoke about him, and she had this to say: "We are here to celebrate a great man. A man who is brilliant, he's strong, he's beautiful, he's challenging, he's a revolutionary, but most of all, he's *innocent*! Mumia writes ten hours a day. He answers letters, he responds to people ... he writes books, he writes commentaries that are heard

in over 200 cities throughout the world. But there's one place where he's rarely heard, and that's in the United States. They are determined to keep his message about ... his innocence and about his incarceration from the American people. ... If we don't spread the message, *they're* not going to do it. And it's up to us ... not only to be here in this community where he lived, but ... to send messages with our children into the schools ... we have to take leaflets about Mumia's innocence into the colleges ... who don't know *squat* about Mumia. And if we don't bring messages of the truth to those colleges, those kids are not gonna be on fire. And we have to *put* them on fire. We have to go to the churches that we belong to, and that we don't belong to, with leaflets, respectful leaflets. I don't care if people think that Mumia is guilty. He deserves a new trial. Or if you think he's innocent, and he's been screwed. Or if you think he *might* be guilty. We have to listen to everybody and get them to realize that this man has been *framed*. It didn't start with Sabo. ... It started on the day that he lay bleeding on the ground in Philadelphia, and every cop in Philadelphia knew this man, and when they saw him on the ground, they said, 'We've got the guy we want'. They didn't care who killed [Philadelphia Police Officer Daniel Faulkner]. They *know* who killed him. It was *not* Mumia. From that minute, that man was framed. From that minute, they made prostitutes lie. They [got people who stood up for Mumia] run out of town. ... This is about a frame-up. ... He's a compassionate man with a big heart, and he needs to know that you love him."



An assortment of Veterans of the Black Panther Party were in attendance, including members of New York's BLACK PANTHER COLLECTIVE and the ORGANIZATION OF ALL AFRIKAN UNITY-BLACK PANTHER CADRE (OAAU-BPC) from Tubman City (Baltimore, MD). Veteran Panther **Njingha Conway**, wife of longtime political prisoner and Veteran Panther **Marshall "Eddie" Conway**, spoke for the group. **Fred Hampton Jr.**, the son of Ancestor and Veteran Panther **Fred Hampton**, traveled from Chicago to address the crowd.

The event was moderated by **Bro. Mario Africa** of MOVE, who noted the degree to which Afrikan people in South Afrika know about our political prisoners while we in the US are more concerned with Michael Jackson and R. Kelly than we are about our freedom fighters.

Among the entertainment for the afternoon were the **Universal Drum and Dance Ensemble**, who performed a spirited set of Afrikan drummers and dancers of all ages, complete with a stilt dancer who towered ten feet above the others, and the **Impact Repertory Theatre**, a group of young people organized in Harlem, New York by Veteran Panther **Jamal Joseph**, who performed contemporary R&B- and hip hop-flavored conscious music. Another group from Albany, New York brought the festivities to a fitting close with several emotional and thought-provoking songs.

Sister **Ramona Africa** of MOVE pointed out to the assembled crowd that lip service will no longer suffice to free Mumia or to achieve truth and justice: "We can't just march. We can't just talk. We've got to *work*."

## The Afrika REPORT

### Turmoil in Haiti: A Brief Synopsis

**A**t 5:30 AM Sunday, February 29, Haitian President **Jean-Bertrand Aristide** was whisked away from the Presidential Palace and into a waiting car. The car took him to an airstrip where a passenger jet, arranged by US officials, flew him off to Antigua, then a US air base, and finally to the Central African Republic (CAR), a little-known Afrikan country that has endured at least nine coups in the last 30 years, a country US citizens are discouraged from visiting. Accompanying him: his wife, **Mildred**, his brother-in-law, two personal bodyguards, and several members of a United States delegation who had visited his home early that morning to deliver a message: Get out now, or die.

**Guy Philippe** and **Louis Jodel Chamblain** were coming.

Philippe and his forces had been quickly taking over the country in a series of battles that had ravaged the towns of Gonaives and Cap-Hatien, shot up police stations, broken prisoners out of jail and caused at least 40 deaths. Now they were stationed just outside the Haitian capital city of Port-au-Prince. In an interview given to the *Washington Post* the week before, the former police officer and accused mastermind of a failed coup attempt in 2001 had stated his intentions: Aristide had two options, "imprisonment or a firing squad."

The second-in-command of the rebel forces, Chamblain was once one of the top commanders of the FRONT FOR THE ADVANCEMENT AND PROGRESS OF HAITI (FRAPH), a paramilitary death squad, inspired by the US CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY (CIA), that had terrorized pro-Aristide Haitians after the fall of the dictatorship of **Jean-Claude "Baby Doc" Duvalier**. Chamblain was convicted in absentia for several murders and Aristide had been requesting his extradition from the Dominican Republic for years.

After the collapse of last-ditch efforts at a peaceful compromise that had been promoted by US officials and members of the CARIBBEAN COMMUNITY AND COMMON MARKET (CARICOM), Philippe, Chamblain and their group stood poised to strike. Suspicions remain that the opposition GROUP 184 coalition never intended to agree to any compromise, using the precious few days as a stalling tactic for Philippe and Chamblain to all but assure a military victory.

**Rep. Mark Foley**, R-Fla., was quoted by the *Associated Press* (AP) as saying "he was either leaving in a Lear jet or in a casket. He chose the jet."

**Ira Kurzban**, a Miami lawyer who represented the Haitian government and has accused the Bush Administration of arming Philippe's forces with M-16s and other weaponry in the Dominican Republic, said the warning Aristide received was that the United States was "not going to do anything to stop these guys, and they're going to kill you."

On March 1, Aristide himself would make a statement from the CAR, where security was so tight he himself could not leave without the knowledge and approval of US officials. The rebels had "chopped down the tree of peace, but it will grow again, as its roots are L'Ouverturian," a reference to Haitian hero **Toussaint L'Ouverture**, one of the leaders of the revolution that had toppled the French and Spanish slave holders and led to the establishment of Haiti as the only free Afrikan country in the Western Hemisphere on January 1, 1804.

Members of the CONGRESSIONAL BLACK CAUCUS (CBC), specifically Congresswomen **Barbara Lee** and **Maxine Waters** and Congressmen **John Conyers** and **Charles Rangel**, expressed their outrage over the toppling of Aristide.

"[H]e told me he did not resign," Waters said in a March 1 statement. "He said he was kidnapped by American military and US diplomats and military officials and was being held in the Central African Republic. Mr. Aristide said that **Luis G. Moreno**, deputy chief of mission at the US Embassy in Port-au-Prince, came to his home in the wee hours of the morning with other diplomats and with US Marines. He said he was told to leave and leave now or he and many Haitians would be killed. ...

"I am deeply saddened that the United States government appears to be complicit in the overthrow of President Jean Bertrand Aristide. The Bush Administration refused to lead an international peacekeeping force to end the violence in Haiti and allow President Aristide to finish his term in office; then the Administration forced him out of the country in the dark of night."

**Randall Robinson**, a close friend of the Aristides and former president of TRANSAFRICA who had at one time gone on a hunger strike to protest former President George H.W. Bush's Haiti policy, relayed more of Aristide's statement: "He said he was taken at gunpoint. Now I don't know that hands were laid on

him. I think when you have big guns, the hands aren't necessary, you get the point. ... The point is he was taken against his will."

CARICOM chairman and Jamaican Prime Minister **P.J. Patterson** released a statement Feb. 29th that "we are bound to question whether his resignation was truly voluntary, as it comes after the capture of Haiti by armed insurgents and the failure of the international community to provide the requisite support. The removal of President Aristide in these circumstances sets a dangerous precedent for democratically elected governments anywhere and everywhere, as it promotes the removal of duly elected persons from office by the power of rebel forces."

Representatives of the STEELE FOUNDATION, a private company contracted by Aristide to provide personal security, had been told by the US Embassy that US Marines would not render assistance if the rebels stormed the palace. In fact, US officials had blocked a last-minute attempt by Steele to send reinforcements to Haiti to bolster their own defenses. US officials had warned the reinforcements off after suspicions had arisen that they were coming to Haiti to lead a counterattack against the advancing rebel army, a claim Steele Foundation officials denied.

Meanwhile, the Bush Administration was busily denying that Aristide had been kidnapped. Secretary of State **Colin Powell**, referring to Aristide as "a man who was democratically elected, but he did not democratically govern or govern well," declared on March 1, "He wanted to speak with his wife, which he did, he came back to us and said it was his decision based on what his security people were telling him. We made arrangements for his departure, he wrote a letter of resignation, a leased plane was brought in for him and he departed. He was not kidnapped. We did not force him onto the airplane. He went on the airplane willingly and that's the truth."

On Monday, March 8, PACIFICA RADIO'S *Democracy Now!* host **Amy Goodman** conducted the most extensive English-language interview to date with Aristide, who said, "It wasn't a resignation. It was a kidnapping and under the cover of coup d'etat. ... At the US Embassy in Haiti I saw American soldiers. I saw former soldiers who are linked to drug dealers like Guy Philippe and to killers already convicted, Chamblain. They all did the kidnapping using puppets like Guy Philippe ... And basically, this night, I didn't see Haitians, I saw Americans."

### Redefining Haiti

As the Haitian government struggled to reinvent itself in the image of the coup leaders, all elements of Aristide's LAVAS Party were being either rendered silent or eradicated. Violence in the streets of Gonaives, Cap-Hatien and Port-au-Prince continued, and as the media continued to warn of violent pro-Aristide gangs called "*chimères*", Aristide supporters were increasingly turning up at morgues across the country--some bound and gagged with a bullet in the back of the head. Immediately after Aristide's departure, his home and that of Prime Minister **Yvon Neptune** were vandalized and burned.

Supreme Court Justice **Boniface Alexandre** was sworn in as the new interim President in accordance with the Haiti Constitution, and **Gerard LaTortue** was later chosen as Prime Minister. Early next year, a new parliamentary body would be elected, and finally, a permanent President and Prime Minister.

Despite claims that he wanted no leadership role in the "new Haiti", Philippe remained in control of an armed militia that seemed to be serving as the "new" Haitian Army.

### A Daring Return to the Caribbean

On Sunday, March 14, a plane carrying Waters, Robinson, Kurzban, *Democracy Now!*'s Goodman, Jamaican emissary **Sharon Hay-Webster** and *Washington Post* reporter **Peter Eisner** landed in the CAR to take Aristide, his wife, brother-in-law and personal bodyguards Jamaica. They had finally obtained approval for Aristide to leave the CAR Sunday night. On Monday afternoon their plane touched down at Jamaica's Norman Manley International Airport.

The Bush Administration responded quickly. National Security Advisor **Condoleezza Rice** stated that if anything were to happen to US forces in Haiti and Jamaica had not expelled Aristide that the US would exact serious consequences against Jamaica. Apparently, the Bush Administration was concerned that the supposedly "unpopular" Aristide would somehow inspire violence against US forces in Haiti. It was also unclear what these "consequences" would be.

LaTortue recalled Haiti's ambassador to Jamaica and halted Haiti's participation in CARICOM, which had called for an independent investigation into Aristide's removal. Jamaica joined Venezuela in refusing to recognize the new Haitian government. US officials would later chide LaTortue for his lack of diplomatic skills.

### What's Next?

To be sure, the state of affairs in Haiti is far from settled. Kurzban is calling for the US government to investigate and prosecute those responsible for facilitating the coup, a move which Powell has rejected. A number of Caribbean journalists, most notably venerable Jamaican writer **John Maxwell** and *Haiti-Progres* editor **Kim Ives**, as well as US journalists **David Gramm** (*The Atlantic Monthly*), *The Black Commentator*'s **Kevin Pina**, *The Nation*'s **Alan Nairn** and Amy Goodman of *Democracy Now!*, have produced exposes of the CIA's role in creating and funding FRAPH; the shielding of convicted murderers and former FRAPH leaders **Jean Tatoune** and **Emanuel "Toto" Constant**; the connections the current rebel leaders have with FRAPH, the former Duvalier regime and US interests; and what appears to be a large web of disinformation on a variety of assassinations and massacres that occurred before, during and after Aristide's time in office, and also helped spark the uprising that overthrew him.

And the voices of the Haitian people have not been fully heard, be they for or against Aristide. One indication could be Aristide's overwhelming electoral victory in the May 2000 presidential elections, though accounts of a drop in popularity since then have to be considered. And there are voices in Haiti that seem to have been in favor of Aristide's ouster. **Paul Pumphrey** of the Washington, DC-based organization BROTHERS AND SISTERS INTERNATIONAL, which sponsors fact-finding trips and holds meetings regarding Haiti and other Afrikan countries, has alleged corruption in Aristide's government and states that only 5% of Haiti's population had voted in that May 2000 election, an indication of the people's actual *opposition* to Aristide rather than their endorsement of him. Musician **Wyclef Jean**, who is from Haiti, was reported to have been a backer of the rebels, though even he might object to the way in which this latest "regime change" was brought about.

Clearly, this situation is much more convoluted than it appears to be, and the coverage in the major media has been

simplicistic at best. We at **KUUMBAReport** are continuing to research and follow the situation in Haiti and will report in greater depth on this in a future issue.

*Information for this article was gathered from these sources: HaitiAction.net, Haiti-Progres, The Atlantic Monthly, Democracynow.org, The Nation, Theblackcommentator.com, Green Left Weekly, Human Rights Databank, NYNewsday.com, Brothers And Sisters International, CNN, Associated Press and The Washington Post.*

## Liberia's Difficult Transition

**O**n Saturday, February 7, the Chairman of the NATIONAL TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT OF LIBERIA (NTGL), **Charles Gyude Bryant**, spoke at a Town Hall Meeting at Staten Island College in New York. The event was sponsored by the UNION OF LIBERIAN ASSOCIATIONS OF AMERICA (ULAA). Chairman Bryant, a longtime political activist and the most recent former chairman of the LIBERIAN ACTION PARTY, was in the middle of a visit to the United States to raise funds to help stabilize and rebuild the war-torn Afrikan country, having just emerged from over a decade of civil wars that marked the previous regimes of **Samuel Doe** and **Charles Taylor**.

**Roberta P. Rashid**, National President of ULAA, delivered a brief statement outlining ULAA's concerns. "ULAA's objective was simple: create international awareness for the plight of the Liberian people and nation. Liberians are tired of war, and will not support anyone seeking to take power through the barrel of a gun. Please create [a process] so the Liberian constitution is in fact a government for the people, of the people and by the people, but does not a people for the government, of the government and by the government. ..."

Chairman Bryant's address was straightforward.

"We ... have come to the end of over 15 years of war. I say this because the reasons that drove us to the battlefields and the taking up of arms do not exist any more. The way we function in this transitional government will allow for those who disagree with us to say so. And for the first time, we have more newspapers writing about how they disagree with me than we ever have in Liberia. And the good thing is that we don't have any journalists in jail, we don't have anybody who speaks his conscience in jail, and we don't have anybody who criticizes us in jail.

"But you all know about a peace agreement. It requires that the parties to the conflict, all of the political parties and the unarmed civilians form this government, and it was through that process of selection that I got chosen to head the country for this brief period, and show that we'll maintain the peace, go out and disarm the country, and set the conditions to hold elections in ... October, and turn over in January of 2006. *And that will happen.*

"We've come [here] at the invitation of the Secretary-General, United States and the World Bank, to present a plan to help sustain this peace we are building on, and to lay a solid foundation for progress. That plan was presented to the international community [and we] were able to raise over half a billion dollars. I assure you that, just as we cooperated with the international community to put this plan together, we will cooperate with them to ensure accountability, transparency, and results.

"We've got big troubles at home. ... A lot of people were abused. ... For a long time ... people worked for the government, and were not paid. Monies were used to support flamboyance of

the few, while the bulk of the people suffered. We are trying to reverse these sorts of things. Since we've been there, we've been paying civil servants on time. ...

"We also have huge demands for the basic community services. Public schools are closed. Health clinics do not exist, especially government clinics. So we have the daunting task of trying to reopen schools, reopening health clinics, and not just in Monrovia but throughout the country, and for undeveloped [places that are] out in the country, we will do our best to send missions so that we can begin to open schools ...

"We're also trying to revive the judiciary ... many times, people do not feel secure about the laws, simply because we've had a corrupt judiciary. We're trying to [change] that. We've got a good team now, a good core of people heading the Supreme Court ... so that when people come to Liberia to invest, they will have confidence that the laws will protect their investments.

"We have to correct dozens of abuses. We ask for your prayers. We ask for your support. We want to thank you because many of you were the means of livelihood for people back home...

"When some council members from the council here came into the room briefly, they told me of your honorableness. And we are proud of you. And we thank you for showing that Liberians are a proud, decent and civil people."

A brief Question and Answer Session followed.

On plans to extradite former President **Charles Taylor**, who is under indictment by the INTERNATIONAL CRIMINAL COURT for war crimes and is currently in hiding in Nigeria: "[Nigerian] President **[Olusegun] Obasanjo** said a newly elected government can make a request for Charles Taylor. Charles Taylor was removed from Liberia through the process that brought me into office. ... [A]nd at the appropriate time we will have an elected government. ... I cannot run for office. I do not *wish* to run for office. I wish to go back to be like you [private citizens] and enjoy my life."

**Dr. Margaret Kromah**, a public health specialist from Baltimore, had this to say: "The refugees from our country are facing an epidemic of Hepatitis B ... and it is a disease that is not talked about much like HIV, but people contract it pretty much like HIV. And it is known as The Refugees' Disease. ... Hepatitis B--Yellow Jaundice--is very, very deadly, and we see that it has killed so many Liberians, especially since the war, because it is so easily spread from person to person. ... I'm hoping that your entourage and you will speak to the Minister of Health to start Hepatitis B vaccinations so [we may] avoid a major human cancer that has a vaccine to prevent it ... I would encourage you *all* to please, *please* get vaccinated against Hepatitis B.

"And [at] a Liberian women's conference [in Minnesota], and it was brought to our attention that, of all the immigrant groups in the state of Minnesota, Liberians had the highest rate of HIV/AIDS. There is something going on wrong back home. People are not getting the message. And would you please go along with your entourage, pass the word along that education is a key to preventing the [spread] of HIV/AIDS?" The Chairman promised to act on her plea.

The event ended with a choir group leading the audience in singing the Liberian National Anthem. A fund-raising dinner followed. We will be following developments as Liberia works to restore the dream of the freed Afrikan slaves who had founded it and who had earned independence on July 26, 1847.

## The Afrikan Heritage Walk-A-Thon: Celebrating Victories Past, Present and Future

THE GREAT BLACKS IN WAX MUSEUM was a place of joy and optimism on Friday, May 14th. The AFRIKAN HERITAGE WALK-ATHON that had been held last May was a great triumph in that it was successfully organized and accomplished by its small but dedicated group of organizers. And now, on this day, just over two weeks before the next WalkATHon on Saturday, May 29th, about thirty activists gathered in the ballroom to offer congratulations to the nine organizations who would be awarded a share of the proceeds from the 2003 event. The awardees were:

- 1) **The Great Blacks In Wax Museum Learning Center**, a beacon of Afrikan history for the community for decades;
- 2) **The Afrikan Ancestors Living Theater Ancestors Village**, under the wise leadership of **Baba Zarikote**;
- 3) **The International Capoeira Angola Foundation**, bringing the knowledge of this Afrikan martial art to Tubman City;
- 4) **Alkebu-Lan Rites of Passage Collective**, turning young boys into men under the tutelage of **Baba Kumasi Johnson** and **Baba Andre**;
- 5) **Shashamane Settlement Community Development Foundation** out of Bannaker City (Washington, DC), which supports an Afrikan-Centered School in Ethiopia;
- 6) **Maarifa Elementary and Middle School**, with 30 years of dedicated service to Tubman City's Afrikan youth under **Mama Kay Stancil's** leadership;
- 7) **The School of African Awareness**, an institution in Zimbabwe founded by Zimbabwean activist **Baba Sabelo Sibanda**;
- 8) **Movement Unlimited Performing Arts Company Inc.**, offering a variety of fun activities for children in the ROGNEL HEIGHTS CULTURAL CENTER in Tubman City;
- 9) **Umoja Nyumba Shule** in West Tubman City, founded by **Baba Hakim Muhammad**, which has hosted several important

Afrikan-Centered events and was nearly destroyed by arson in December 2001.

The total amount raised by the 2003 event and the resultant cash awards were modest by corporate standards, but were deeply appreciated by all the recipients and are indicative of greater victories to come. We look forward to an even more successful WalkATHon on May 29th, which will begin at 7:00 AM at the Great Blacks In Wax Museum, 1601 East North Avenue in Tubman City, and will end at Coppin State College on West North Avenue. Vendors and performers will be set up at Coppin State College.

The **Afrikan Heritage WalkATHon**, a **501(c)3 Tax-Exempt Organization**, was established to raise funds for a variety of causes critical to the preservation and development of Afrikan education, health and community organizations. The 2003 event focused on Afrikan-Centered Education. To donate funds to the WalkATHon or for more information, please call (410) 547-8019 or (443) 885-3561.

The dedicated efforts of the Organizing Committee must be acknowledged. **Olu Ekundayo, Ertha Harris, Kwame James Fleming, Ras Marcus, Babatunji Balogun, Yusef Bey, Ademola Ekulona, Kamau IandI Atayero, Victory Swift** and others on the Committee deserve great credit and praise for their tireless and selfless work. A variety of sponsors also helped make this event a success.

We will be presenting profiles of some of the awardees from the 2003 Afrikan Heritage WalkATHon, starting with a discussion with the organizers of Alkebu-Lan Rites of Passage Collective in our next issue, as they bring yet another group of young Afrikan boys to manhood.



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## THE GLOBAL AFRIKAN CONGRESS: PAN-AFRIKANISMS LATEST HOPE

**F**rom the AFRICAN BLOOD BROTHERHOOD to the UNIVERSAL NEGRO IMPROVEMENT ASSOCIATION, from the PAN-AFRICANIST CONGRESS to the ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY, Afrikan people have endured often-painful fits and starts in our efforts to achieve true *kujichagulia* (Self-Determination), Self-Reliance and Total Freedom. The roadside is littered with the bones of now-defunct organizations that simply could not maintain the focus and commitment needed for the long road to a restoration of Afrikan civilization and culture. Some were destroyed by force of arms as a determined oppressor sent wave after wave of attacks against them. Others lost all their vitality when a single prominent person was removed. Still others collapsed from their own weight and individual ambitions.

But Afrikan people are resolute. We continue to press on in the hope that, with better organization and greater commitment, we will one day succeed where our predecessors failed. The August 2001 WORLD CONFERENCE AGAINST RACISM (WCAR), organized under the auspices of the UNITED NATIONS (UN), helped give rise to another such promising worldwide Afrikan organization, the **GLOBAL AFRIKAN CONGRESS (GAC)**.

In 1997, the decision had been made to pursue a global conference investigating worldwide racism, oppression and xenophobia. A series of "Preparatory Conferences" was held in 1999 and 2000, by which time a prominent Afrikan and Afrikan-American contingent had formed to pursue, among other things, a worldwide acknowledgement of the Transatlantic Slave Trade (The Maafa) as a "crime against humanity" and to demand reparations for Afrikans and Afrikan descendants around the world. The DECEMBER 12TH MOVEMENT out of New York and Minister Silas Muhammad's LOST-FOUND NATION OF ISLAM were two early involved groups. These Conferences resulted in the formation of the AFRIKAN AND AFRIKAN DESCENDANTS CAUCUS, made up of organizations from around the world, that would press the worldwide Afrikan perspective at the August 2001 WCAR.

The United States would effectively "steal the show" at the WCAR, first refusing to send a high-level delegation, then walking out altogether when the issues of Israel and Afrikan enslavement were brought to the forefront. As it turned out, indignation against the United States would be short-lived, as terrorists would strike New York and Washington, DC. on September 11, 2001.

Still, the issues from that WCAR remained in need of resolving, and despite the impending wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, activists in the Pan-Afrikan community continued to organize. On October 2 - 6, 2002, the AFRIKANS AND AFRIKAN DESCENDANTS CONFERENCE was held in Bridgetown, Barbados. **David Comissiong**, the director of the Commission for Pan-African Affairs in Barbados, had envisioned "an international organization of African descendant groups that could work out some collective strategies to use in combating racism, discrimination and the continued oppression of Black people worldwide" (from the GAC web site). The name he used for it was the Global African Congress.

To be sure, the formation of a single worldwide organization is rarely achieved without controversy, such is the state of psychological confusion of our people. Some sought a strict Black Nationalist organization, completely independent of any influence from Europeans or others, while others wanted more of a UN-oriented "anti-separatist" focus. Some insisted that the new organization should focus on a narrow concept of reparations, while

others saw a broader concept of "repair". Cultural and spiritual differences abounded. But by the end of the Barbados conference, the GAC was indeed born, "an international organization to collectivize the efforts of Afrikan people to achieve reparations, respect, solidarity and an end to racism and oppression" (from *Comments on the Origins of the Global Afrikan Congress* by **David L. Horne**, from the GAC-USA web site).

The Barbados conference resulted in the election of an International Steering Committee, made up of 17 members from Afrika, North America, South America, The Caribbean, Europe and Asia-Oceania, along with two Youth representatives.

The Mission Statement of GAC reads: "The purpose of this Afrikan (people indigenous to Africa) and Afrikan descendant organization is to fight for justice, equality, emancipation and the economic development of Afrika, Afrikans and people of Afrikan descent globally and to place them on an equal footing with the rest of the developed world, thereby preserving their resources for their own benefit; and to fight for the total elimination of all forms of exploitation, servitude, degradation, discrimination and all its damages and consequences" (from *The Bridgetown Protocols*, the report from the Barbados conference).

Principles of Unity, an overall structure and a Constitution were developed, and the planning for GAC's FIRST CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE, scheduled for October 2004, were begun.

Here, as often happens with diverse organizations, differences in opinion and perspective emerged that threatened the group's unity. As of this writing, the Constitutional Conference is slated to be held in Paramaribo, Suriname in South America, but a strong vocal contingent has been calling for it to be held on the Mother Continent, with Zimbabwe and Ghana having been proposed. Security and scheduling concerns were cited by several of the elected representatives as the primary reasons for the current choice of Suriname, along with that country's prominent Afrikan population, its Afrikan president, and the continued existence of Maroon colonies in the country. However, the intention to hold the first Conference in Afrika had been made clear in 2002 in Barbados, and Zimbabwe was a favorite of many because of president **Robert Mugabe's** decision to take back the land from the minority Whites who had held it since apartheid and redistribute the bulk of it to the poor Black farmers.

As can often happen when communication lines break down and strong opinions and emotions come into play, arguments broke out and will hopefully be settled. Committed people who have worked very hard for years to bring GAC to where it is today are struggling through this period of determining the nature and direction of the organization's leadership. This, the formative period of GAC's collective personality, is a critical time. Outside forces will do whatever they can to disrupt the consolidation and establishment of any strong Pan-Afrikan organization. We will continue to follow the progress of GAC and other organizations, and we will hope that the dedicated work of all the activists that have come this far will be rewarded through the birth of a strong worldwide voice for Afrikan people.

*For those who would like more detail on the Global Afrikan Congress, please visit the following Web Sites:*

GAC Worldwide--<http://www.globalafrikancongress.com>

GAC USA--<http://www.gacnarusa.org>