



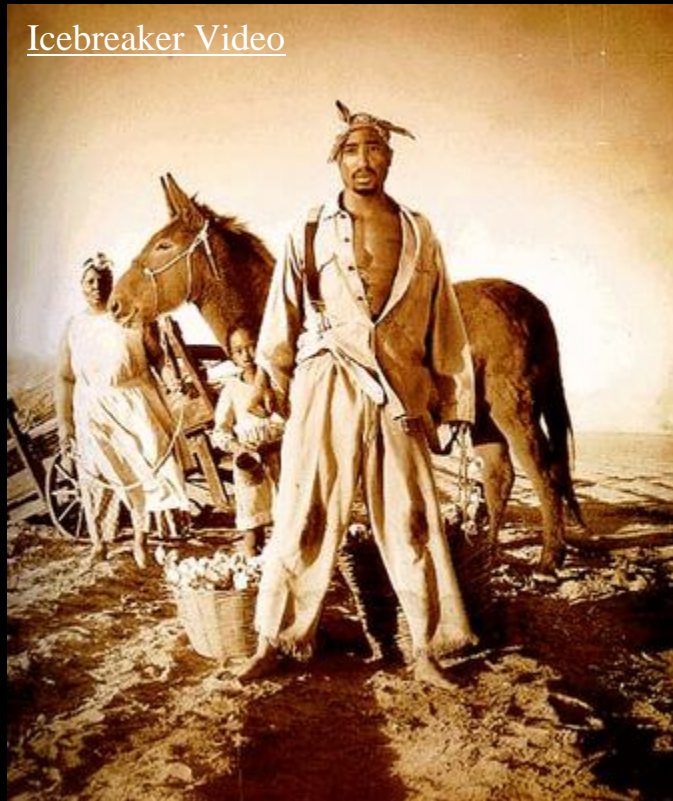
RBG Communniversity

A Guidebook for

Reparations

Studies

[Icebreaker Video](#)



THIS DOWNLOADABLE RESOURCE IS PART OF:

[The RBG Maafa \(European Holocaust of Afrikan Enslavement\) and Reparations Collection](#)

PRESCRIPT:

For 246 years, enslaved Afrikan (our ancestors) endured inhuman living conditions, torture and rape, legally enforced servitude, and other horrendous crimes against humanity. Meanwhile, countless American corporations sponsored and/or benefited from the uncompensated labor and exploitation of these slaves.

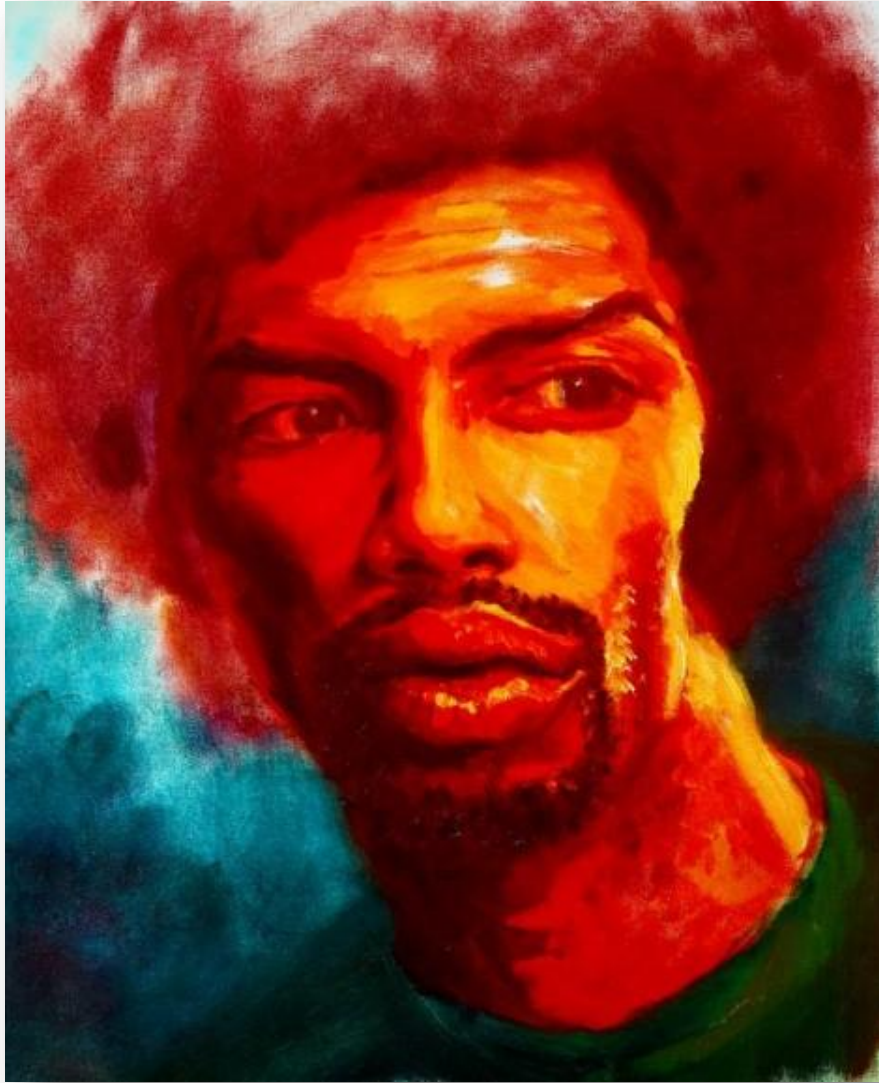
In 1863, “President Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation began the process of freeing” the more than 4 million slaves of Afrikan descent in the United States. But while chattel slavery was abolished, sharecropping, "black codes", Jim Crow laws, lynching, psychic violence and socio-structural and institutional racism perpetuated restrictions upon the “freed” Afrikans nonetheless. Dozens of corporations continued to this very day to benefit from unpaid labor of our ancestors, allowing these companies to flourish, while unemployment sores to all time post-chattel highs as I write. Citing the persisting legacy of slavery, suffering and death we as descendants of these slaves must continue to fight for reparations and reconciliation on behalf of the approximately 35 million living descendants of our enslaved ancestors.

Although I personally believe that the immorality of the American system, business and culture of white supremacy / racism will never see fit to give us reparations; the principles and documentation of our fight for such a just cause must be carried forward. At the end of the day, I agree 101% with Minister Malcolm X when he says “Nobody can give you freedom. Nobody can give you equality or justice or anything. If you're a man, you take it.” (From: [Malcolm X Speaks, 1965](#)) Thus, as we struggle against continued U.S. colonization New Afrikans must have a determined sense of history in regard to the New Afrikan Nation’s historical struggle, movement in and relationship to the United States. The work that has been done and is being done towards reparations is “bread and butter knowledge”. Without such knowledge; our practice will continue to be confused and chaotic, lacking the historical continuity which serves to give practical guidance to our struggle and movement on the road to full independence. It is with these notions in mind that I have compiled this booklet. A tremendous amount of scholarly, diligent and valuable work has been done by our people over the past 30 years on the issue of reparations, especially by the still active **National Coalition Of Blacks for Reparations in America (N'COBRA)**. As a teacher and inspire of our youth, I believe young New Afrikan revolutionaries and activist must get up to speed on sequence, progress and details of this potent work to best “carry the torch and keep the fire burning”

The booklet is comprised of an interactive introduction drawn by myself, as to so-called “break the ice”; followed by select resources published over the past 30 years by **National Coalition Of Blacks for Reparations in America**.

By placing this data in a single document for download, it is my hope and intention that our young people will come into a new revelation as to the strength of our spirit to fight for what is right, and become energized to learn from the historical principals that have been at the center of the reparations movement. And for those of us that have been around a while longer, I desire to resurrect fond memories and transmit a rational hope for the future as you guide in your wisdom. And most of all, I intend to catalyze all New Afrikans to **“Be Down with the Reparations Clique”**.

Gil Scott Heron asks...



...Who'll pay reparations on my soul?



QUOTES REGARDING REPARATIONS



N'COBRA

<http://www.ncobra.org/>

“We must prepare African people and communities for the demands of the new millennium. Reparations are needed to repair the wrongs, injury, and damage done to us by the US federal and State governments, their agents, and representatives. These have proved that their vision for African people in America is joblessness, more prisons (more killer kkkops), more black women and men in private prisons, AIDS and violence. "The US Eurocentric educational system has failed to prepare African children for liberation, nation-building, and self-determination. This educational system produces people who are anti-black; including many blacks who are self-alienated and anti-black. We want our resources, our inheritance, to do for ourselves without US Federal and State involvement."

John Hope Franklin, Historian



http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_Hope_Franklin

"Most living Americans do have a connection with slavery. They have inherited the preferential advantage, if they are white, or the loathsome disadvantage, if they are black; and those positions are virtually as alive today as they were in the 19th century. The pattern of housing, the discrimination in employment, the resistance to equal opportunity in education, the racial profiling, the inequities in the administration of justice, the low expectation of blacks in the discharge of duties assigned to them, the widespread belief that blacks have physical prowess but little intellectual capacities and the widespread opposition to affirmative action, as if that had not been enjoyed by whites for three centuries, all indicate that the vestiges of slavery are still with us."

Joseph Anderson, Member of the National Council of African American Men



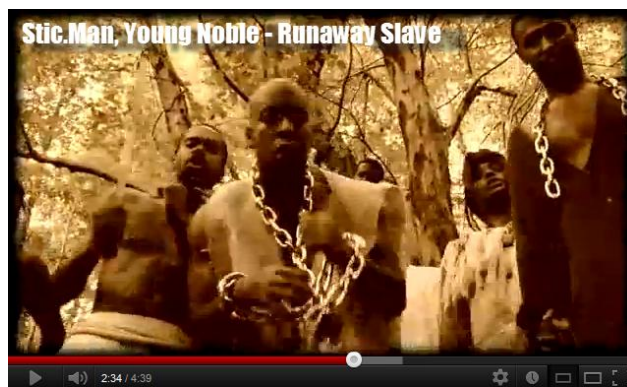
<http://www.tulsareparations.org/TulsaRiot.htm>

"The arguments for reparations aren't made on the basis of whether every white person directly gained from slavery. The arguments are made on the basis that slavery was institutionalized and protected by law in the United States. As the government is an entity that survives generations, its debts and obligations survive the lifespan of any particular individuals... Governments make restitution to victims as a group or class."

Ernest Allen, Jr. and Robert Chrisman



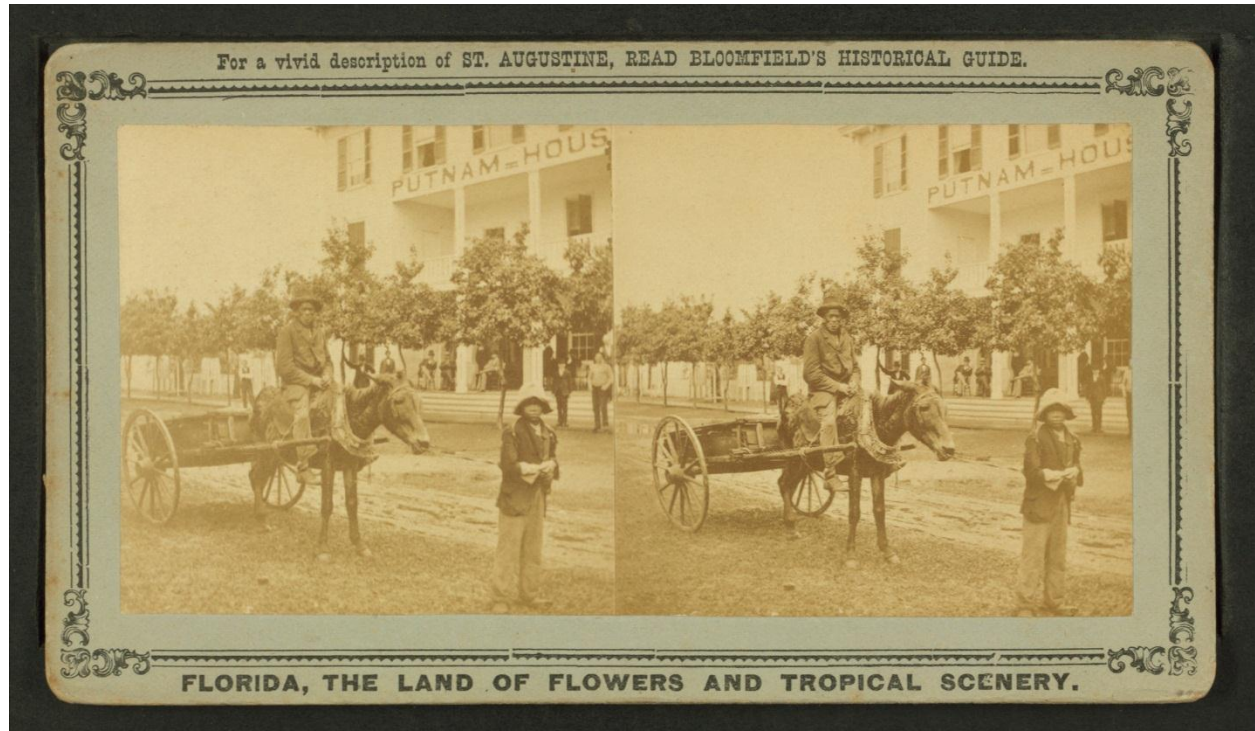
"Most blacks suffered and continue to suffer the economic consequences of slavery and its aftermath. As of 1998, median white family income in the U.S. was \$49,023; median black family income was \$29,404, just 60% of white income."



Oscar Brown Jr., *Forty Acres and a Mule* ([Play the Video](#))



I'm not bitter, neither am I
cruel But ain't nobody paid
for slavery yet I may be
crazy, but I ain't no fool.
About my forty acres and
my mule... One hundred
years of debt at ten percent
'Per year, per forty acres and
per mule Now add that up...



15th Amendment, or the Darkey's millenium-40 acres of land and a mule, from Robert N. Dennis collection of stereoscopic views ([Expand to full screen view](#))



[Forty Acres and a Mule](#) refers to the short-lived policy, during the last stages of the American Civil War during 1865, of providing arable land to black former slaves who had become free as a result of the advance of the Union armies into the territory previously controlled by the Confederacy, particularly after Major General William Tecumseh Sherman's "March

to the Sea." General Sherman's [Special Field Orders, No. 15](#), issued on January 16, 1865, provided for the land, while some of its beneficiaries also received mules from the Army, for use in plowing.

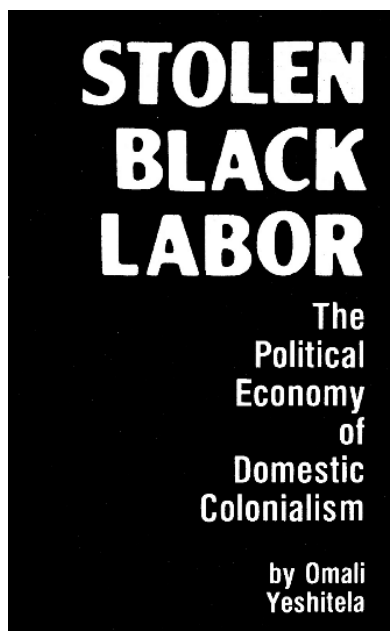
The Special Field Orders issued by Sherman were never intended to represent an official policy of the United States government with regards to all former slaves and were issued "throughout the campaign to assure the harmony of action in the area of operations." Sherman's orders specifically allocated "the islands from Charleston, south, the abandoned rice fields along the rivers for thirty miles back from the sea, and the country bordering the St. Johns River, Florida." Brigadier General Rufus Saxton, an abolitionist from Massachusetts, was appointed by Sherman to oversee the settling of the freed slaves. By June 1865, about 10,000 freed slaves were settled on 400,000 acres (160,000 ha) in Georgia and South Carolina.

After the assassination of President Abraham Lincoln, his successor, Andrew Johnson, revoked Sherman's Orders and returned the land to its previous white owners. Because of this, the phrase "40 acres and a mule" has come to represent the failure of Reconstruction policies in restoring to African in American the fruits of their labor.

Robin D.G. Kelley, *Freedom Dreams*



"If we think of reparations as part of a broad strategy to radically transform society -- redistributing wealth, creating a democratic and caring public culture, exposing the ways capitalism and slavery produced massive inequality -- then the ongoing struggle for reparations holds enormous promise for revitalizing movements for social justice."



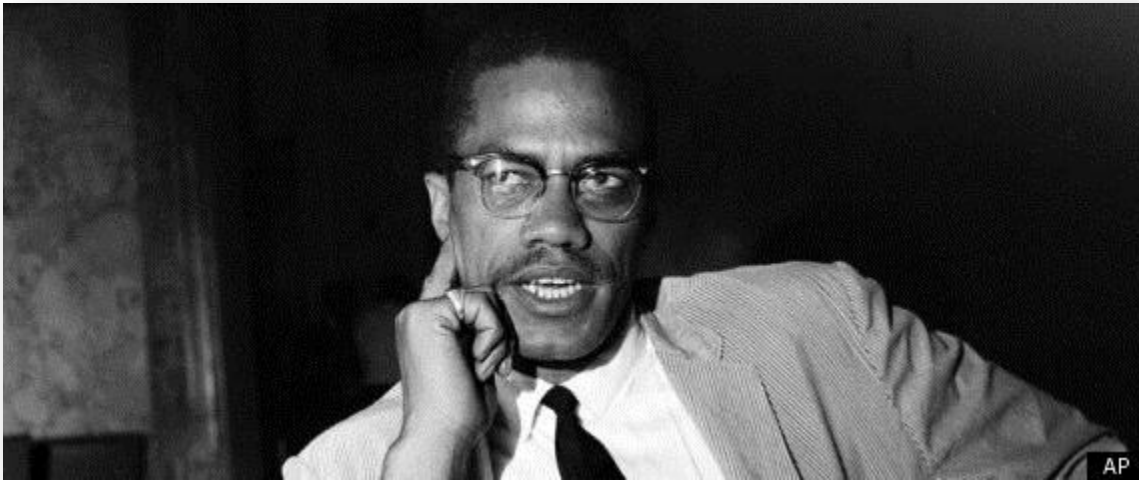
Huey Newton, The Black Panther Party Ten-Point Program



"We want an end to the robbery by the white man of our Black Community. We believe that this racist government has robbed us and now we are demanding the overdue debt of forty acres and two mules. Forty acres and two mules was promised 100 years ago as restitution for slave labor and mass murder of black people. We will accept the payment in currency which will be distributed to our many communities. The Germans are now

aiding the Jews in Israel for the genocide of the Jewish people. The Germans murdered six million Jews. The American racist has taken part in the slaughter of over fifty million black people; therefore, we feel that this is a modest demand that we make."

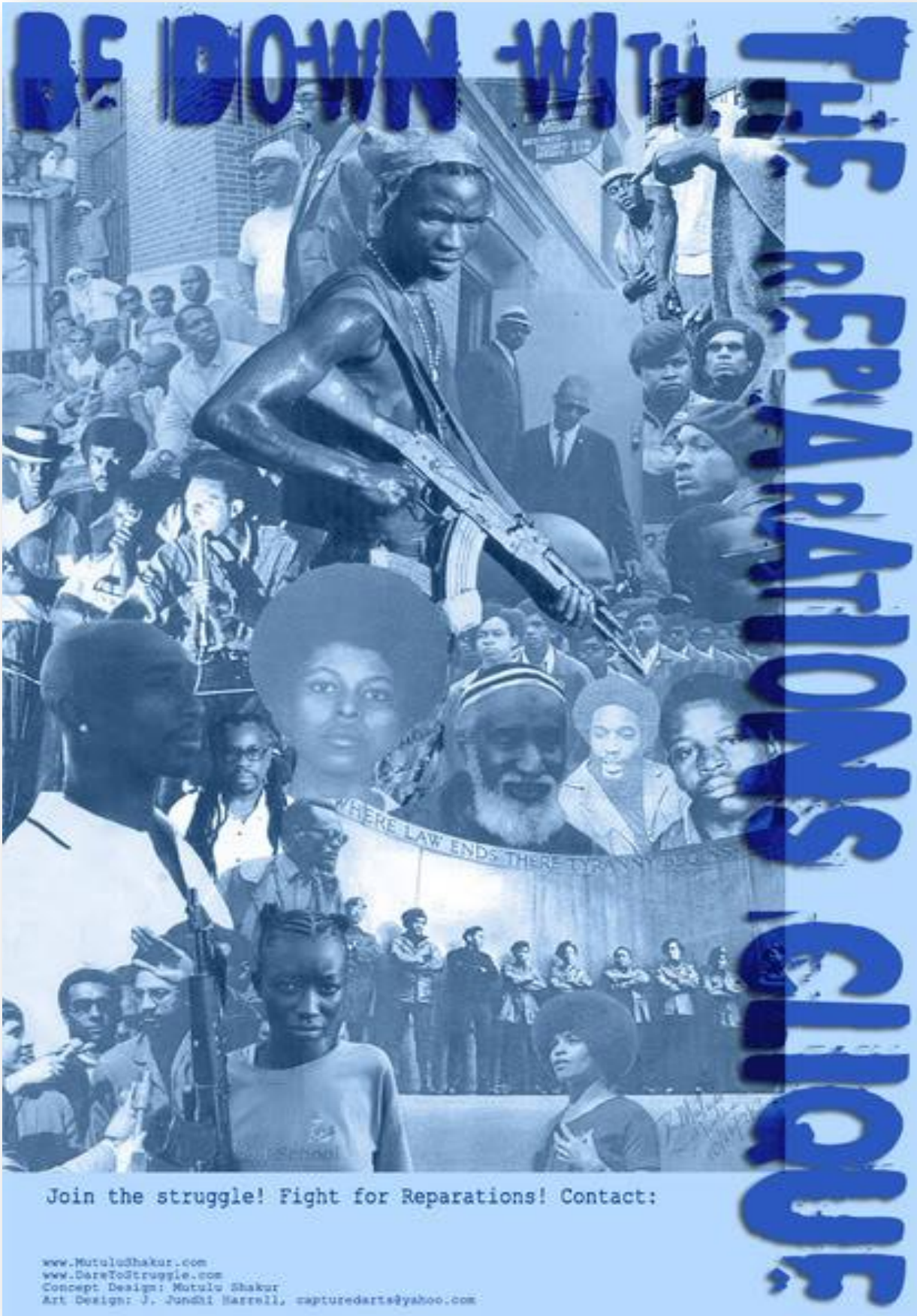
Malcolm X



"If you are the son of a man who had a wealthy estate and you inherit your father's estate, you have to pay off the debts that your father incurred before he died. The only reason that the present generation of white Americans are in a position of economic strength...is because their fathers worked our fathers for over 400 years with no pay...We were sold from plantation to plantation like you sell a horse, or a cow, or a chicken, or a bushel of wheat...All that money...is what gives the present generation of American whites the ability to walk around the earth with their chest out...like they have some kind of economic ingenuity.



"Your father isn't here to pay. My father isn't here to collect. But I'm here to collect and you're here to pay."



BE DOWN WITH

THE REPARATIONS CLIQUE

Join the struggle! Fight for Reparations! Contact:

www.MutuluShakur.com
www.DareToStruggle.com
Concept Design: Mutulu Shakur
Art Design: J. Jundhi Harrell, capturedarts@yahoo.com

◆ Black Reparations Times ◆

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July 25, 2003

N'COBRA 14TH NATIONAL CONVENTION

N'COBRA ELECTIONS REPORT

The Annual Meeting included the election of two at large National Board Members, the National Board Secretary and the male National Co-Chair. N'COBRA members had the opportunity to submit nominations by completing forms circulated to chapter chairpersons, regional representatives and national board members prior to the annual conference. The forms were also circulated during the conference, to ensure all interested members were given an opportunity to participate in the process

The following people were elected to the National Board of Directors:

Hannibal Afrik –
National Board Co-Chair

Ajamu Sankofa –
National Board Secretary

Herman Ferguson –
National At Large Board Member

Lady Claudia Nelson – National
At Large Board Member

N'COBRA Holds 14th Annual Convention

By J.Damu

DALLAS—A Five year Plan has been adopted by the nation's principle reparations organization to bring the issue of black reparations before the people and Congress of the United States.

tives to build increased support for Congressman John Conyer's African-American Reparations Study Bill (H.R. 40), the launching of Black Fridays to support black businesses and a strengthened media approach to reparations

will take the reparations movement to a new level, said Ajamu Sankofa, the newly elected National Secretary of N'COBRA.

“Now N'COBRA members, let's seize this time and roll up our sleeves and get busy implementing this plan. Our plan will not work if we do not work the plan. We are moving to the next higher level of Reparations activism! The ancestors are pushing us. Can you feel it?”



Hannibal Afrik ▲ Lady Nelson ▲ Ajamu Sankofa

In addition to the legal work already being implemented by the National Coalition of Blacks for Reparations in America (N'COBRA), new initia-

he said.

Dorothy Benton Lewis, N'COBRA's national co-chair said “Now we must go forth and multiply.”

Discussion and reports within the well attended convention seemed to indicate the two most significant accomplishments of N'COBRA during the past

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Black Reparations Times®

A Quarterly N'COBRA Publication of the Information & Media Commission

DEDICATED TO BRINGING YOU REPARATIONS INFORMATION IN ALL ITS VARIED FORMS AND APPROACHES

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MISSION

The Commission will serve as the official organizational link for the dissemination and exchange of information on N'COBRA policies, Reparations issues, strategies and actions important to winning Reparations for African descendants in the U.S. and the Diaspora; assist in educating N'COBRA members and the general public about our just demands; and assist in the development of mass based support for Reparations.

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Publications: REPARATIONS NOW!
{Quarterly Membership Newsletter}
ENCOBRA {Annual magazine/journal}
BLACK REPARATIONS TIMES
{Quarterly publication}

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(both .org are same)

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We encourage public discussions, led by the injured, to determine an equitable remedy for the African Holocaust of Enslavement. All African descendants have a right and responsibility to work towards defining and achieving Reparations. The opinions and actions reported in Black Reparations Times are those of the person(s) representing them and in no way should be viewed as N'COBRA's unless clearly stated. © 2003 all rights reserved

LEGISLATIVE COMMISSION WORKSHOP

Saturday, June 21, 2003

Submitted by Keslie Spottsville

Attendees: Barbara Leonard (New Orleans), Ella Forbes (Philadelphia), Harold Hunter (DC Metro), Stephanie Patterson (Indianapolis), Akuyaa Addy (Houston), Keslie Spottsville (Kansas), Jamila Onyiah (Chicago), Joe Epps (Indianapolis), Al Pertilla (Metro NY), J. Damu (San Francisco), Obidike Kamau .

J. Damu and Milton McGriff co-chaired the workshop in the absence of co-chairs Nkechi Taifa and Kibibi Tyehimba.

An overview of A Year of Black Presence (AYBP) was provided which addressed several challenges ahead for AYBP. Milt McGriff spoke briefly about a campaign being developed in Philadelphia to remember approximately 5,000 Ancestors lynched between 1859 and the present. The Philly chapter has started placing their individual names on plaques. Several hundred paper plaques were developed for the AYBP visit to Capitol Hill on May 21 and presented to several congresspersons in asking for their support for HR40.

The participants agreed by consensus that there should be an action agenda after we return to our chapters. A contact list was created and Keslie Spottsville agreed to serve as the communications center for those in attendance. The participants agreed on five points to report back to the plenary session:

1. **FUNDRAISING.** Fundraising should be a top priority for N'COBRA generally and for the AYBP effort specifically. Approximately \$22,000 was spent on AYBP in 2003 and that much more will be needed for 2004. A fundraising plan will be developed by McGriff over the summer for Philly N'COBRA that will be available to all chapters, along with materials obtained from the Association of Fundraising Professionals. Chapters are urged to join AFP. (Note: There is also an organization called the Council of Fund Raising Executives (CFRE) that provides essentially the same kind of educational information to its members.) Also meetings are scheduled with the National Center for Black Philanthropy, Inc. As we develop a well-trained cadre, we may be able to train our own fundraisers within a few years.

“A companion bill to HR40 must be introduced in the Senate (which is all white)”

2. **DIVISE ACTIONS TO ATTRACT COMMUNITY SUPPORT.** Chapters should create actions in their community designed to get positive attention and garner community support. For instance, after meeting with a Congressional member or aide, a chapter may feel it beneficial to hold a demonstration, do informational picketing, or something else to let the community know about N'COBRA, AYBP, HR40, and the congressional member all at once. Philly N'COBRA found that creating forums with keynote speakers such as Rep. John Conyers, TransAfrica president Bill Fletcher and author C.J. Munford were helpful in attracting support. Any chapters taking this route should certainly feel free to contact them.

3. **LOCAL CONCRETE EFFORTS.** Increase membership. Get your Congressional representatives signed on to HR40 as a co-sponsors. The bill needs 218 votes, but we would like to end this year with between 60 and 70 co-sponsors. Schedule meetings with your Representatives and ask for their support. Simultaneously, have people in the Congress member's district call and write (by fax if you're sending it to the DC office; they are still having post-9/11 delivery problems). A companion bill to HR40 must be introduced in the Senate (which is all white). Start devising a similar strategy to get to your senator's support. It's harder to get someone to introduce a bill than to sign on as a co-sponsor, but it still has to get done.

4. **ORGANIZE AN AYBP COALITION IN YOUR CHAPTER.** Appoint or vote on an AYBP coordinator in your chapter (YOU are an excellent candidate!) and approach other organizations about joining the AYBP effort as we prepare for 2004. In 2004, we

(Continued on page 30)

ASANTE SANA N'COBRA Board, Members and Reparationists

From Brother Jahahara Amen-RA Alkebulan-Ma'at

Greetings of IMANI (FAITH) Esteemed Elders, Sister and Brother Leaders, Youthful Warriors, Wrong-fully-Imprisoned Soldiers, and Unjustly-Incarcerated Family Members:

May our magnificent Mother-Father Creator Of All and In All—and beloved Ancestors from yesteryear and yesterday—find you and (y)our Afrikan nations in the best of spirit and health. i feel so blessed to be with you this weekend in the capitalist prison state of texas, for our 14th Annual N'COBRA Convention. Likewise, i join with you in commemorating the 138th Anniversary of Juneteenth Emancipation Day (the result of another in a series of crimes against our humanity by this government, which did not inform and implement for *over two and a half years* its proclamation “freeing” Afrikans from chattel enslavement).

For almost a decade, i have had the opportunity to serve in the leadership of N'COBRA. Certainly, it has been challenging. WE have struggled extremely hard over the years to place Reparations deep in to the thoughts, hearts and daily lives and practices of Afrikan people and organizations. So much has been accomplished by our team of dedicated volunteer leaders, with minimal resources and, sometimes, it seems, unlimited energies. i am especially proud to have been one of several organizers and/or initiators of the N'COBRA effort in four major metropolitan areas: Chicago, New York, Oakland/San Francisco Bay Area, and Los Angeles; and to visit and share with members and chapters from coast-to-coast, border-to-border. Indeed, it has been a high honor to represent N'COBRA on numerous occasions throughout this confederacy called the united states (at churches, mosques, temples, housing projects, schools, universities, jails, union halls, in congress and state capitols and city halls, at mass rallies and town hall meetings, on street corners, in the community press and corporate media, and even while performing my music in front of thousands at a sold-out Madison Square Garden); as well as around our earth (in Afrika, canadian capitalist prison states, Europe, in so-called south america, Mexico, in the sovereign nations and current colonies of Puerto Rico/Vieques and Hawai'I).

Of course, i am especially grateful to have had a voice and a vote on the N'COBRA Board to propose my ideas and actions that I felt would help advance the Reparations movement and mass awareness. These include our 1997-98 “Stepping It Up For Reparations” Capitol Hill lobby days in support of H.R. 40 (which is now being taken to a much higher and consistent level with our “A Year of Black Presence” campaign, coordinated by Brother Milton McGriff of N'COBRA Philadelphia); our 2001-2002 initiation of “Unity Summits of Reparations Organizations” (which will now be addressed through the Institute of the Black World, led by Baba Dr. Ron Daniels and Baba Professor James Turner); a proposal for mass marches for Reparations at the United Nations in New York and/or in Washington, DC on 17 August 2002, Ancestor MARCUS GARVEY's birthday (which was shared with participants during the 2001 United Nations' “World Conference Against Racism,” including the Durban 400 which was then calling for a mass mobilization in October 2002); as Co-Chair with Sister Dr. JoAnn Watson of our Information & Media Commission (which has already been incredibly professionalized through the leadership of our dynamic Brother Wautella ibn Yusuf); and regular Board Retreats and Strategic Planning (which our Co-Chair Sister Aurevouche Dorothy Benton Lewis and other Board members have also long advocated for).

As i prepare to leave the N'COBRA Board of Directors, i/WE once again offer our utmost appreciation to the many bodacious Reparationists and Self-Determinationists from the past century who have inspired us in this wicked land of white supremacy, including (but certainly not limited to): ALL OF OUR ANCESTORS (particularly MAMA CALLIE HOUSE, REV. ISIAH DICKERSON and the extraordinary NATIONAL EX-SLAVE MUTUAL PENSION AND BOUNTY SOCIETY; CYRIC BRIGSS and the AFRICAN BLOOD BROTHERHOOD; GARVEY and the UNIVERSAL NEGRO IMPROVEMENT ASSOCIATION; MINISTER ELIJAH MUHAMMAD and the NATION OF ISLAM; WILLIAM PATTERSON, HARRY HAYWOOD, JOHN PITTMAN, et al and the COMMUNIST PARTY USA; QUEEN MOTHER AUDLEY MOORE; EL HAJJ MALIK EL SHABAZZ (BROTHER MINISTER MALCOLM X) and the ORGANIZATION OF AFRO-AMERICAN UNITY; REV. DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.; DEACONS FOR DEFENSE; HUEY P. NEW-

TON, FRED HAMPTON, BOBBY HUTTON, et al and the BLACK PANTHER PARTY FOR SELF-DEFENSE; KWAME TURE, STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE and ALL AFRICAN PEOPLES REVOLUTIONARY PARTY; etc, etc. Much love and respect as well to our many contemporary organizations and individuals who are offering their unique Gifts of insightful analyses, reparations proposals, and dynamic activism (such as the warriors of the Provisional Government of the Republic of New Afrika and National Conference of Black Lawyers, which were the two principal organizers of N'COBRA; New Afrikan People's Organization; African People's Socialist Party; Baba Dr. Maulana Karenga and US; National Black United Front; December 12th Movement; Malcolm X Grassroots Movement; Congressman John Conyers; Minister Louis Farrakhan; National Black Farmer's Association; Black Agriculturalists Association; Jericho Amnesty Movement; Black Radical Congress; National Action Network; current Councilman and next New York City Mayor Brother Charles Barron; Brother Randall Robinson; my former councilperson in Chicago's southside Third Ward, Sister Dorothy Tillman; and so many, many others). When WE fully OVERstand and come together in a true spirit and power of UMOJA (UNITY without "uniformity"), there will be no stopping our complete victory and liberation.

So, while i will no longer be serving on the N'COBRA Board, i am a lifetime member and do plan to remain active and closely connected to our righteous Reparations movements. In addition to addressing some critical personal/family issues, my intention is to focus my energies and efforts in the following ways. First, i pledge to contribute and fun(d)raise a minimum of \$10,000 over the next five years (at least \$2,000 per year) to support our N'COBRA capacity-building efforts. Second, to help expand our movements to win the long overdue release, amnesty and restitution for our hundreds of long-suffering political prisoners, prisoners-of-war and political exiles. Third, to work with others to completely eliminate the immoral and criminal "debt" that Europe and the u.s. are using to continue enslaving continental and diasporan Afrikan nations; and organize for a return of a portion of the stolen wealth to the real owners. Fourth, to offer some support to the efforts of our Afrikan farmers and communities in our just struggles to free some of our Creator's land for us to grow, build and prosper on. And, finally, i will re-issue past works and music, much of which is centered around our movements for self-determination and Reparations.

Elders and Sisters and Brothers, let me say from the depths of my heart, ASANTE SANA (Many, Many Thanks) to all of you, our brilliant and beautiful N'COBRA family. i/WE am forever indebted to our outstanding leaders and workers—like our founder, Baba Imari Obadele, Sister Aurevouche, Sister Adjoa Aiyetoro, Baba Hannibal Afrik, Baba Kolonji Olusegun, Sister Kupenda "A Love Supreme" Olusegun, Mama Erline Arikpo, Sister Johnita Scott, Baba Chowke Lumumba, General Rashid, Sister Nkechi Taifa, General Mwesi Chui, Sister Njere Alghanee, Baba Omowale Satterwhite, Ancestors DR. JOHNNY YOUNG, CHARSHIE MACINTYRE, and COLONEL H.L. MAXWELL, Brother Alvin Brown, Brother Carlton "Bashiri" White, Sister JoAnn Watson, Elder Raymond "Reparations Ray" Jenkins, Brother Khalif Khalifah, Brother Cicero Love, Brother Onjae Mu'id, and so many others—for their inspiration and tremendous contributions to this mighty cause. And, BIG, BIG UPS and great appreciation to our new generation of N'COBRA Board leadership that is already advancing us to new and greater heights, including Brothers Wautella, James Rodgers III, Ajamu Sankofa, Kamau Jywanza and Sisters Lady C. Nelson, Mashiriki Jywanza, Taiwo Kugichagulia-Seitu, Kibibi Tyehimba... and the list is growing and growing. It has been a pleasure to be one *of*, and one *with*, you.

Allow me to close by simply saying: i'll see you on the battlefields for truth, justice, self-determination and healing for Afrikan people... through Reparations. With our Creator and Ancestors on our side, Victory is certain. Ase`. Amen.

Hetep (Peace, Love and Continued Blessings),

Brother Jahahara Amen-RA Alkebulan-Ma'at
Outgoing N'COBRA National Co-Chair and Lifetime Member
Juneteenth Emancipation Day: 19 June 6243 (2003)

c/o Foundations For Our Nu Afrikan Millennium (FONAMI)

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BUILDING THE NATIONAL REPARATIONS UNITED FRONT

Baba Hannibal Afrik,
National Co-chair, N'COBRA

In the spirit of the Honorable Marcus Garvey, Queen Mother Moore and the Honorable Elijah Muhammad, a historic meeting was convened in Chicago, IL on July 26, 2003. At the request of Dr. Conrad Worrill, Chair, National Black United Front, a call was sent by Nation of Islam leader, Minister Louis Farrakhan to Reparations group leaders and activists. The meeting was held at the Salaam Restaurant.

N'COBRA's leadership was well represented by National Co-chairs Dorothy Benton-Lewis and Baba Hannibal Afrik, National Secretary Ajamu Sankofa, Esq., Board members, Dr. Imari Obadele and Mother Erlene Arikpo, Congress of Economic Development Commissioner Rev. Albert Sampson, and Dr. Worrill, of the Chicago Chapter.

A diverse group of scholars, religious figures, elected officials, youth leaders, legal strategists, grass-roots and national organizational representatives dialogued freely about the viability and broad, comprehensive scope of the current Reparations Movement for social and economic justice.

Dr. Ronald Walters submitted a profound proposal on Operational Unity which established the foundation for a national, coordinated mobilization of the descendants of enslaved Africans in America.

The success of this meeting is characterized by the collective decision to regroup and participate in a national work session and public Town Hall Rally on October 4, 2003 in Jackson, MS. This event will be hosted by the Mississippi Reparations Committee and supported by the newly-forming Jackson Chapter of N'COBRA.

Minister Farrakhan also committed to devote a special section in each issue of the Final Call newspaper to provide an update on the progress of the Reparations Movement. This provides a weekly forum for critical information on scholarly research, projects and direct-action programs across the country. It will also serve as a communications network and clearinghouse for the international Reparations Movement, on the continent and throughout the diaspora.

This historic gathering of collective wisdom and commitment has introduced a new chapter of accomplishment in building a National Reparations United Front. In the name of our sacred ancestors, let us go forward with renewed vitality and spiritual direction to achieve Reparations, in our lifetime!

PAMOJA TUTASHINDE (Together, we will win)

July 27, 2003



The Reparations

Movement is Growing

- ♦ *WHEN— the media reports 80% of Blacks support Reparations*
- ♦ *WHEN— Brooklyn NY has a billboard using the word Reparations at one of the busiest intersections*
- ♦ *WHEN— the UN confirms our ancestors' enslavement was a "crime against humanity"*
- ♦ *WHEN— Bush admits "slavery was one of the greatest crimes in history"*

UNITY IN THE MOVEMENT FOR AFRICAN REPARATIONS IN AMERICA

Preamble

African Unity

Unity is defined as a state of being one, being one in spirit, the quality or fact of being a totality or whole, especially a complex that is a union of its parts.

This is an objective definition, but unity is more often set in a context of one culture or another, defining what a group of people are trying to achieve by forging a situation in which they pool their resources.

Our unity is old: before Europe and before America were born. The foundation of our political systems was rooted in the concept of consensus. For example, when important issues were called for in the Ashanti culture, the chief called a meeting known as the *asetena kese*, which means “the big sitting-down.” In South Africa, among the Nguni, the practice is known as the “**Indaba**.”

The principle of consensus was strongest when it was voluntary. When it was coerced by the use of violent authority, it often promoted alienation, counter-violence or breakaway tribal formations. So, for the consensus to be strong, it had to serve the broadest needs.

Our historical project of attempting to use our unity begins, as Kwame Nkrumah said: beyond the fact that we have been divided by the oppressive force of European imperialism, or that we have a common purpose, “it is something that goes far deeper. I can best describe it as a oneness, in that we are all Africans.” So, in spite of our differences, he said: “I am convinced that the forces making for unity far outweigh those that divide us.” It is the basis of what we call Pan Africanism.

In the revolutionary period of African history, Samora Machel said that the achievement of unity followed three phases, unity - criticism - unity, which would lead to a higher stage of solidarity. He felt that inasmuch as the goal of the revolution was to liberate the masses, that the objective of unity was to defend the interests of the masses. Then he said: “Unity is then, not something static, a supernatural, an absolute value that we place on a pedestal to worship. [Rather] in the process of struggling for unity we have always said: we must know with whom we are uniting and why.”

Therefore, in the situation of attempting to achieve Reparations, we have the responsibility to search for the correct principles of consensus rooted in the history and culture of our people as the key to unity. And in this situation, “operational unity” is a necessary precondition, but political unity on key issues when necessary is the strongest posture that we can attain to reach this goal.

Unity in the Movement for Reparations

The quest for African Reparations is a sacred undertaking that began with the demands of our ancestors as a cry for justice from the pain and exploitation of their enslavement in America. Those of us who carry this sacred burden have moved from the stage of the demand of Callie House, Queen Mother Moore and N’COBRA labored without notice, often to criticism from our own people, to a period in history where the demand has taken on a shout in a strong new voice, that now includes and invites millions of peoples and hundreds of organizations into a new movement. As participants and therefore, stewards of this new movement, we should carry the sacred burden as a gift and a covenant of the past which has the power to transform us into a new people. This requires profoundly that in the search for dignity with the weapon of Reparations that we honor the dignity of those who passed this mandate on to us.

The task of maintaining the dignity and purpose of our movement for African Reparations in America must recog-

nize that any movement of peoples for justice is chaotic in that the cause that motivates them often does not allow for invitation, but conjures up an uncontrollable spirit that stirs emotion which acts as a catalyst to act. This feature of the movement has brought many into the pursuit of Reparations and we who are the carriers of the sacred trust of those who were enslaved should be accepting and wise in the leadership of this project. To this end, we create some principles of unity that may guide our quest for Reparations in this era of history.

1. Mutual Respect

We must begin with a mutual respect for the organizations and individuals who lend themselves to this movement and refrain from public criticism of the tactics of various organizations, recognizing that our strategies and goals are the same. Although there were often internal problems, that kind of civility was the core of the way in which other movement organizations behaved that were involved in successful movements such as the 1943 March on Washington, the 1960s Civil Rights movement and others. Civility is important not only because it dignifies the movement and gives to others the perspective that the participants believe that it is a serious cause. It is also important because it is the key to the mobilization of people and organizations who want to be associated with something positive, an act which enhances the potential to develop movement resources necessary to achieve the eventual goal.

2. Law Suits

Law suits have become a major spear of the movement for Reparations and it is important that we recognize the different venues in which various groups are working and adopt an attitude that what may be gained in one suit may advance the cause of Reparations in another. There should not be any pressure to combine efforts because of the distinct clients, approaches and other elements that different organizations pursue. But there should be an ethic which suggests that rejection of the demand or the acceptance of the demand for Reparations in one legal venue may have an impact on the entire legal project. Thus, the sharing of briefs and even prior consultation where necessary should be encouraged.

3. Popular Mobilization

There are many other avenues where the movement for African Reparations has become important and where activity is germinated on a consistent basis and where the movement could benefit from the sharing of effort in such areas as:

- public programs
- political actions – lobbying legislative bodies, etc.
- media events
- research and information

These are some of the fields of action where interaction among segments of the movement across the borders of organization or ideology could advance the entire project. Thus, if a program is envisioned, selecting individuals from different organizations to participate is an act of unity; calling upon all organizations to support big events that are planned by one organization or another is an act of unity; referring people from different organizations to be guest on various media events is an act of unity, and sharing either old or newly breaking research and information widely through available media of dissemination is an act of unity. All are acts of unity and unity in any movement is important in the success of achieving the goals to which all of us aspire.

If political unity can be used at times: on the same project, with the same tactics, and strategies with the same resources, that is the most powerful form. But wisdom must decide when operational unity or political unity is best. This is the reason for an occasional Summit, Ndaba, or a Great Sitting Down.

Dr. Ronald Walters

Distinguished Leadership Scholar
University of Maryland

Note: Submitted by Dr. Walters, a veteran Board member of N'COBRA, to the Chicago Reparations Summit hosted by Minister Louis Farrakhan on July 26, 2003.

National Coalition Of Black for Reparations in America



PRINCIPLES OF UNITY

As a collective of various organizations and philosophies, we will respect each other's autonomy in organization and philosophy. The central principles we unify and agree upon are:

1. Our primary goal is to achieve Reparations for Africans in America;
2. The so-called Trans-Atlantic "slave trade" was not trade but was in fact a Holocaust of Enslavement. It was morally wrong and a crime against humanity;
3. We define Reparations as a process of repairing, healing and restoring our people; therefore we continue our ancestors efforts to liberate us by focusing on repairing, healing and restoring the personal, family, and community damages that we suffered during the Holocaust of African Enslavement;
4. Africans in America are due Restitution for the Holocaust of African Enslavement and its vestiges; and
5. We support and work for the passage of HR-40, sponsored by Congressman John Conyers and other state and local legislative initiatives.

Reparations United Front

1. Functioning as a "Reparations United Front," is critical to maintaining a unified public posture. Members of the Collective (organizations and individuals) agree not to attack each other, especially regarding Reparations.
2. In instances where there may be differences of opinion, members will emphasize their commitment to Reparations, to minimize attempts to divide and neutralize the effectiveness of the Collective.
3. The Collective may elect not to recognize those who fail to abide by the aforementioned principles of unity. Everyone is encouraged to support the work of the Collective in ways most suitable for them, whether inside or outside the Collective.

We Believe

We believe the Reparations Movement can empower African Americans to continue our task of gaining social, economic, and cultural parity and liberation for individuals, families and communities. The movement provides an opportunity to address all issues impacting the Black Community by:

1. Creating a path for self, family and community development and liberation;
2. Providing a cause strong enough to unite Black People across socio-economic, and education barriers;
3. Recognizing and assisting with restoring the dignity of over 100 million Africans lost and sacrificed during the Holocaust of Enslavement and one hundred years of lynching that followed;
4. Providing an opportunity to expose the perpetrator of the Holocaust and educate the victims by creating dialogue locally and nationally that thoroughly examines our collective oppression (and mistakes), and exposes the perpetrator's responsibility in creating our past and current social condition;
5. Providing compensation for Black People locally and nationally;
6. We believe our people are ultimately responsible for our collective achievement of social, economic, and cultural parity and liberation. Restitution will only assist in our recovery and building process. The struggle for Reparations is a sacred responsibility that must be assumed by African descendants in the Americas; and
7. We believe there can be no Reparations without mass participation. Mass participation is essential to achieving Reparations (repairing, healing and restoring Black People) and Restitution (receiving compensation for the Holocaust and its vestiges).

Issued by N'COBRA National Office June 29, 2002

ACHIEVING REPARATIONS: The Significance of H.R. 40

By Kibibi Tyehimba, Co-Chair NCOBRA Legislative Commission

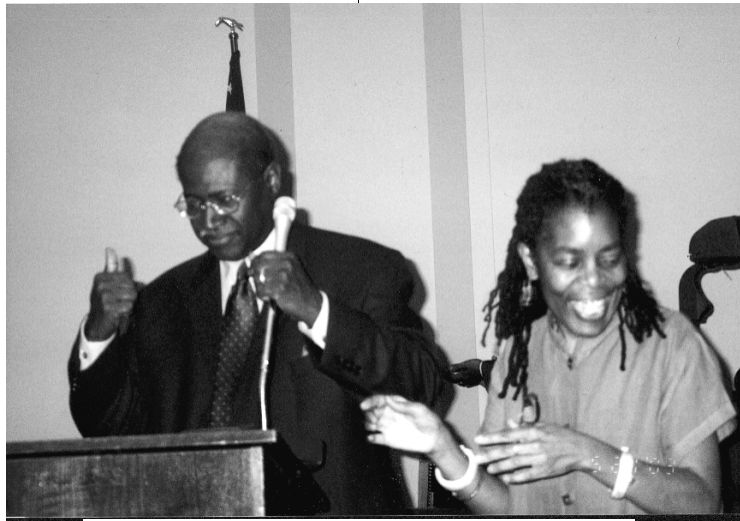
N'COBRA's work to bring about the passage of H. R.40 is an important organizing tool as this bill provides "a least common denominator", that can be used to educate, organize, and mobilize African descendants without getting bogged down in specifics about what should or should not be included in an equitable remedy, before we are able to first convince our people that we suffered a holocaust that the U.S. government supported and participated in for 265 years. H. R. 40 only seeks to establish a commission to study the era of enslavement. Once the Commission is established it is incumbent upon all of us to ensure that the issues are sufficiently addressed and no "penny-annny" settlement is offered or accepted, in light of the destruction that our people have suffered in this country.

The legislative approach to achieving Reparations is critical as it focuses on the U.S. government and forces a national public dialog about this country's past and present injustices against African people; it forces the government to admit to its citizens and the world that it condoned and committed crimes against humanity, and demands an apology; it forces the country to publicly acknowledge this era of enslavement and the tremendous contributions of African people through the development of truthful, thorough school curricula, national monuments, and museums; it forces the government to compensate the descendants of formerly enslaved Africans in order to restore, and repair our people; and finally it forces changes to present day systems and institutions that supported slavery in the past, and that are engaged in the exploitation of other peoples, even today, in ways that could encourage the enslavement of our people and other peoples around the world.

Bringing about the passage of H.R. 40 will be determined by how effectively we lobby our Congressional Representatives for their support of the

bill. An important strategy at the State and local level is the adoption of resolutions and bills that endorse the passage of H.R. 40 and/or that directly support the African Descendant demand for Reparations.

To date three states have already adopted Reparations resolutions---Louisiana, Florida, and California; and three other State resolutions are pending in Texas, New York and New Jersey. In addition, there are 21 cities that have adopted resolutions (Atlanta, Georgia; Baltimore, Maryland; Burlington, Vermont; Camden, Patterson, and Newark New Jersey; Philadelphia, PA; The District of Columbia; Chicago and Evanston, Illinois; Cleveland, Ohio; Dallas, Texas; Detroit, Michigan; Alameda County, Berkeley, Compton, Inglewood, Los Angeles, Oakland, Palo Alto, and San Francisco, California.



Dr. Ron Walters & Kibibi Tyehimba on Captiol Hill

We must bear in mind some important history---it took 12 years to get the MLK Holiday bill passed, and following the introduction of the first anti-apartheid bill by Berkley Congressman Ron Dellums, it took 19 years before Nelson Mandella was released from prison, and elections took place in South Africa. No one said it was going to be easy getting H.R. 40 or any other Reparations legislation passed. A tremendous amount of time, energy, and resources have been sacrificed over the past 13 years to bring about the passage of H.R. 40. It is absolutely critical that we see this battle through to its fruition.

Our immediate focus must be on the Congressional Black Caucus Representatives who still have not signed on to H.R. 40. They are:

1. Rep. Julia Carson Indiana (D) - 10th Congressional District(Indianapolis)
2. Del. Donna Christian-Christensen Virgin Islands (D)

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A Year of Black Presence (AYBP) Update

by Sister Lisa Davis of New Jersey People's Organization for Progress

On May 21st, 2003, The People's Organization for Progress of New Jersey (P.O.P.) joined the NY Metro, Philadelphia, and DC chapters of the National Coalition of Blacks for Reparations in America (N'COBRA), the Philadelphia Coalition for Reparations, and Patterson, New Jersey Reparations activists, to lobby Congress to support the passage of the Congressman John Conyers HR 40 Reparations Bill.

One of the major objectives of the day was to target those members of the Congressional Black Caucus that had not yet signed on as co-sponsors of H.R. 40 and to target the office of Congressman F. James Sensenbrenner of Wisconsin, the Chair of the House Judiciary Committee. According to Milton McGriff, creator of AYBP, and member of the Philadelphia Chapter of N'COBRA, Sensenbrenner steadfastly refuses to support Reparations and will not allow the bill to be brought up before the Judiciary Committee for a hearing. (The bill must first be voted out of this committee before it can go to the full House for a vote). On May 21, 2003 Sensenbrenner's legislative counsel, Chrystal Roberts, confirmed that Sensenbrenner does not support H.R. 40 and that he does not have to offer any reasons why.

Of the 38 Congressional Black Caucus members, there are 9 members that have yet to endorse the Reparations legislation. While it will ultimately be necessary to convince a majority of the House and the Senate to award Reparations for African Americans, it is even more important for African American elected representatives to be the most fervent supporters of the legislation. Their road to Congress was not paved with "freedom and opportunity," but rather with the blood and sweat of a people with an indomitable spirit determined to overcome the specious hands of oppression. African Americans are still confronted with that fight today, and if Black elected officials are not ready to fight for Black America, then they should not be in office.

Overall, May 21st was most eventful as it began with an assembly in which 250 lobbyists heard from many

speakers offering their support for Reparations. Speakers included Nation of Islam East Coast Representative, Minister Khadir Mohammad, NAACP Washington Bureau chief, Mr. Hilary Shelton, N'COBRA Co-Chair Ms. Dorothy Benton-Lewis, Mr. Lawrence Hamm of P.O.P., Dr. Ron Walters who is also a N'COBRA Board member and Congressman John Conyers. And while all spoke magnificently, the most riveting speech came from Congressman Conyers himself. Many in his generation are the grandchildren of people who were born in captivity. He passionately spoke of how his generation has paid their dues and how they are entitled to see Reparations in their lifetime! The audience responded with thunderous applause and a standing ovation.

Another touching highlight of the assembly was the call for African Americans organizing for Reparations to adopt an ancestor. P.O.P. and northeast region chapters of N'COBRA have begun the task of memorializing the documented cases of those whose lives were stolen by the brutality of racism. "In Memoriam" certificates were distributed for each African descendant victim documented in the book, "100 Years of Lynchings" by Ralph Ginzburg. As each African American accepted a certificate, they promised to reconnect to their past, and made a vow to recommit to the struggle on behalf of each ancestor so that their lives would not have been sacrificed in vain.

While supporting the overall agenda that morning, the People's Organization for Progress did have the chance to target some of the NJ Representatives. POP visited Congressman Donald Payne's office to thank him for co-sponsoring the Bill and to get some tips for rallying additional congressional support.

POP was also able to have an impromptu meeting with Senator Lautenberg as he unexpectedly encountered our members outside his office. He was most cordial and instructed us to meet with his legislative counsel, an African American by the name of Rudy Brioche. We left extensive information as to why the

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BUILDING THE GRASS ROOTS MOVEMENT: OPERATIONAL UNITY

By Al Pertilla, Legislative Affairs Coordinator for NYC Chapter of N'COBRA

The African American struggle for Reparations has reached a critical juncture. As the Reparations movement grows nationally and internationally, the question looming overhead is 'where do we go from here?'

Most observers would agree that up to the present time the struggle for Reparations has been relegated essentially to the Black nationalists within our communities. However, several recent developments changed that dynamic. The proliferation of various Reparations related law suits emphasizing the historical antecedents of the struggle, and the publication and popularity of Randall Robinson's book "The Debt" along with other significant publications all served to give the movement for Reparations new visibility.

Since January 2003, N'COBRA has accelerated its efforts to secure the passage of HR 40 (the Reparations study bill introduced in Congress by Rep. John Conyers of Michigan) through its new legislative initiative, "A Year of Black Presence (AYBP)". AYBP mobilizes Reparations supporters at the city, state and federal levels to lobby for the passage of resolutions and bills in support of Reparations. While there may be some debate as to the relative merit of HR 40, the reality is that passage of HR40 would represent a significant milestone on the road to securing reparations.

Since no single piece of legislation, lawsuit or any singular event or occurrence will guarantee that African descendants achieve Reparations, we must wage a fierce and intense struggle that encompasses the legal, the legislative, and the most important element of all, the development of a strong grass roots movement. At this juncture, educating our own communities is of utmost importance before we venture out to persuade the rest of America.

We must create and activate an apparatus within African American communities that informs and endows them with the understanding and commitment to struggle for Reparations. We must dispel the myths, misconceptions, falsehoods and misunderstandings about Reparations. We must challenge the apologists within our communities who would challenge the legitimacy of Reparations for African Americans, on behalf of our oppressors. And we must face the reality that there are

many seemingly informed and intelligent brothers and sisters within our communities who, for whatever misguided and ill-informed reasons, will put forth spurious arguments against Reparations. There is no need to cite and document who these poor souls are but we know that they exist and that there will be more of them as our movement progresses.

How do we go about building a broad-based mass movement for Reparations? We must first look back at our history and examine successful mass movements from the past—(SANKOFA). One of our strongest examples took place during the so called struggle for Civil Rights in the 60's. There are many practical and ideological connections between that struggle and the one that we must wage in the short term to achieve

"We must now inject that sense of operational unity within the Reparations movement"

Reparations. No, we will not and must not attempt to resurrect and re-create the civil rights movement but we must examine that important period and its relevance to our present conditions and objectives.

At the top of the list must be the idea that one major contributor to the Civil Rights movement was the definitive "big tent" philosophy operating within the movement, under which, most of the issues that we faced could be addressed. Yes, there were many organizations, much internal tension and, sometimes hostile disagreements within the loosely defined Civil Rights movement, but there were also strong unifying themes and objectives that held the struggle together in a spiritual sense. While we may not have agreed on all of the specific objectives, tactics, and strategies, we did agree to allow individuals and organizations the right and privilege of struggling within their own arenas, and based on their unique circumstances and understanding in order to push the movement forward.

We must now inject that sense of operational unity within the Reparations movement. In order to succeed we must broaden the base of involvement and under-

(Continued on page 24)

Dramatic Testimony for Reparations at the Texas State Capitol

Nine-year-old Talib Sterling Lands (Greater Calvary Baptist Church -Austin, Texas) received a loud round of applause in the State Affairs Committee hearing room after he testified, "I am nine years old, I don't want to have to come back when I am ninety still fighting for reparations". The hearing, which took place at the Texas State Capitol in Austin, Texas on Monday, March 31, 2003, was conducted to take testimony on the Ft. Worth State Representative Glenn Lewis HCR-28 Reparations resolution. Little Talib was flanked before and after his testimony with representatives from Houston, Dallas, Austin, San Antonio, Fort Worth and Tyler numbering approximately fifteen who all testified in favor of HCR-28. Thomas Muhammad (Africans and African-Americans for Enslavement Reparations - Dallas, Texas) a key organizer of state-wide reparations actions remarked, "I think with the variety of testimony coming from across the state we covered all bases on the demand for Reparations".

The nine-person committee was riveted by blown up graphic depictions of the African MAAFA A.K.A. The Transatlantic Slave Trade A.K.A. the worst crime against humanity known to the world. The laminated posters were displayed throughout the hearing chambers illustrating: life in Africa before the MAAFA, the Elmina Slave Dungeon, the Slave Ship named "SUFFER" and drawings of slave ships with Africans stacked and packed in every conceivable space. With the precision of a lawyer, the documentation of a scholar and the fire of a freedom fighter Kofi Taharka (National Black United Front - Houston Chapter and the Local Action Committee for Reparations (LAC)) started his testimony by reading the names of over twenty organizations, which comprise the LAC. He proceeded to make the demand for full and complete reparations with reference books, quotations, handouts of lynchings and the Associated Press story documenting the fact that the Capitol in Washington was built with enslaved African labor. "Putting this resolution on the floor of the Texas Legislature is the least you can do given the millions of our Holy African Ancestors who have died" he said.

Sister Mukumtagara Jendayi (All African Peoples Revolutionary Party, Ft. Worth) made the point "any

gains made by Africans in America have come with bloodshed, end of chattel slavery bloodshed, repeal of Jim Crowism bloodshed, right to vote bloodshed, the committee can take a step to possibly avert that reality with the passage of this resolution". Youth Director for Greater Calvary Baptist Church Richard

Lands told the committee "God's Judgment on this country will have a lot to do with its treatment of enslaved Africans". Brother Omowale Manu a native of Tyler, Texas laid out what he called "Continuity and Connectivity". He submitted his re-

search, which documents the State of Texas governmental and industry ties to slavery and white privilege, which began with Stephen F. Austin, continued through the Imperial Sugar Company and the Prison Lease System, which the state contracted with to build the Texas State Capitol in the late 1800's. The prison population then, coming directly out of chattel slavery was used as a labor force and was predominantly made up of Black people. Others testifying included: Oscar Vicks (San Antonio Reparations Committee), Lee Alcorn (Dallas Activist), and Members Greater Calvary Baptist Church. Letters of support were submitted to the committee from various organizations across the state. One person signed up to oppose the resolution but was a no show when the time came to speak. Throughout the presentations speakers made reference to the continuing vestiges of the enslavement including: racial profiling, police brutality, education, housing, prison system and health care.

The resolution HCR-28, which must be voted out of the committee in order to make it's way to the H o u s e

floor during this session is not the o n l y R e p a r a t i o n s l e g i s l a t i o n

in the Texas House. Representative Ron Wilson of Houston is the sponsor of HJR-25 a constitutional amendment that seeks redress for African-Americans and other parties that have been victims of historic injustices from the State of

(Continued on page 31)

"I am nine years old, I don't want to have to come back when I am ninety still fighting for reparations"

"God's Judgment on this country will have a lot to do with its treatment of enslaved Africans"

YOUTH CORNER:

Working for Reparations

THE BATTLE FOR REPARATIONS CONTINUES!

BY: Rashad Drakeford a 16 year old, high school sophomore from Queens, New York

This year is the Year of Black Presence (AYBP), the year that we as a people take a big step in the battle for reparations. The fight for reparations started a long time ago and on Wednesday, April 9th it continued. New York Metro Area Chapter N'COBRA (National Coalition of Blacks for Reparations in America) and the Corona East Elmhurst Branch of the NAACP Youth Council, two of the many groups participating in AYBP, left for Washington, D.C. at 3 a.m. in the morning.

Our goals were to go down to Washington D.C. and talk to our nation's representatives; tell them about the bill proposed by Rep. John Conyers; find out where they stand on the issue of African Americans getting reparations; and to get them to co-sponsor the bill. The bill that Rep. Conyers has proposed since 1989 is called H.R. 40, named after the government's promise of 40 acres and a mule to freed slaves. The bill seeks to accomplish four things:

o Acknowledge the fundamental injustice and inhumanity of slavery.

***"we as young people need to take
the lead in this battle for
reparations"***

o Establish a commission to study slavery, its subsequent racial and economic discrimination against freed slaves.



Harmony (seated in the middle) with other Toronto students

Toronto Youth Organizes for Reparations

This past Black history month, young sister Harmony Hussey and a group of "enlightened" students of Toronto Canada conducted a petition drive in support of Reparations. Despite reluctance from school administrators and teachers, the students persevered, and although the Principal was not supportive in the beginning, she was eventually persuaded by the students' persistence. For the last week of Black History month, the students staffed a table during lunch at the front of the school. The students distributed several hundred flyers with information about Reparations--what it is, who its for, why its necessary, how it should be paid.

Harmony reports that they encountered extreme apathy on the part of students. Most students weren't even interested enough to find out what Reparations was all about. Although the project was somewhat depressing, Harmony arrived at some very important realizations:

1. Members of her generation are far to apolitical, especially in western societies.
2. Any Reparations literature developed to capture the attention of members of her generation must be short, catchy, and to the point. Maybe there can be two versions of a document, one short version and one that provides a lot more detail.

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(Continued on page 25)

AYBP Update *(Continued from page 11)*

Senator should support this issue, in addition to asking him to sponsor a Senate version of the Bill. And while we were not able to meet with Senator Corzine or one of his counsels, contact was made with his office and he has been put on notice that Reparations is an issue that he will have to deal with. P.O.P will be following up with letters requesting to meet with both Senators to discuss the issue further. We will also be focusing on approaching other NJ Congressional representatives that have not yet endorsed the legislation.

The fight to pass H.R. 40 is a very revealing and scathing commentary of the depths of the racist pathology that continues to engulf this country. Of 435 members of the House, only 37 have endorsed this bill. Congressman John Conyers has been urging Congress to pass this bill for over 12 years, but to no avail! And yet the United States has passed many pieces of reparations legislation for other groups. Legislation was enacted in 1999 to set up a commission to study the harmful effects of WWII on Italian Americans. The US was instrumental in helping to negotiate billions of dollars in reparations for victims of the Nazi Holocaust and set up the Presidential Advisory Commission on Holocaust Assets which is dedicated to historical research and restitution. In 1998 Congress authorized this country to donate \$30,000,000 to the Holocaust Relief Fund. The Civil Liberties Act of 1988 was passed officially apologizing to the Japanese Americans and paying them reparations for internment during WWII. Additionally, nominal concessions have even been offered to Native Americans in the form of land grants, monies, etc. These are just a few of the many ways the US has supported and paid reparations on behalf of others.

Slavery and its subsequent Jim Crow racism were some of the worst crimes ever committed against humanity. Long after slavery was officially over, this country embarked upon an anti-black agenda that was legislated in the courts and in the Congress to deny Blacks political, social and economic opportunities. And African Americans continue to suffer the effects of America's racist legacy. African Americans are entitled to Reparations and the time for Reparations is now!

1921 TULSA MASSACRE WORKSHOP N'COBRA 14TH CONVENTION

by Adjoa A Aiyetoro, Chair,
Legal Strategies Commission

Laquita Cooper, N'COBRA member from Tulsa, Oklahoma and Adjoa A. Aiyetoro, Chair, Legal Strategies Commission, led the workshop. A summary of the 1921 massacre that resulted in the destruction of the Greenwood District in Tulsa, commonly known as Black Wall Street, was presented. The massacre was preceded by a never proven allegation that a young Black man had "attempted to assault" a white woman in an elevator. Prominent Black male leaders of the Greenwood District went to the jail to protect this young Black male from the fate of lynching. Between 1911 and 1921, 11 men had been lynched in Oklahoma, and only one of them was white. A white mob of mostly drunken men gathered before the jail. A white man, apparently associated with the police, began to disarm the Black men and not the white men. When one Black man refused to be disarmed a struggle ensued resulting in the death of a Black man. The Black men then were forced to retreat to Greenwood District – being pursued by the police, and a the white mob, many of whom had been deputized. The National Guard was called in and instead of protecting Greenwood residents' homes and businesses, many of them joined the white mob and local police in the destruction.

On February 24, 2003, the Reparations Coordinating Committee (RCC), co-chaired by N'COBRA Legal Strategies Commission Chair Adjoa Aiyetoro, Charles Ogletree and Randall Robinson, filed a lawsuit for reparations on behalf of the survivors and the descendants of the Tulsa massacre. The lawsuit seeks to establish an education fund for the African American residents of Greenwood District.

The workshop participants agreed that N'COBRA members should publicize N'COBRA's role in this litigation so that the masses will know that the grassroots organizers for reparations are involved, not simply famous attorneys such as Charles Ogletree and Johnny Cochran. This lawsuit was seen as important because it focuses on a vestige of slavery and talks about the massacre as a vestige of slavery.

The fight to pass H.R. 40 is a very revealing and scathing commentary of the depths of the racist pathology that continues to engulf this country.

Reparations According To:

Ahati N. N. Toure
Houston, Texas

For Afrikans who want to remain in the United States as American citizens, there has to be a negotiated change in the power arrangements of the state. Without a change in the power arrangements, Afrikans will remain victims of the European settlers. They have to become a controlling and ruling element in a new form of the state. In this new arrangement there must be certain protections of Afrikan rights in the area of cultural, social, political, and economic rights, according to the international human rights standards expressed in various UN conventions, and consistent with arrangements made in multi-ethnic European states like Canada (French and English), Belgium, etc. These rights must be explicitly guaranteed to Afrikans as a group, an explicit constitutional recognition of group rights peculiar to Afrikans as a group, and provide a certain portion of representation in various levels of government, control of government schools, etc. Of course, reparations, except in the most insignificant form, cannot be expected from the European settlers, absent a significant shift in power arrangements between Afrikans and Europeans in both the United States and the world.

The major problem with some proposals for reparations is that they do not contemplate an alteration in the power arrangements between Afrikans and the European settlers in the United States. This must be seen as fundamental to any meaningful discussion, understanding, and approach to reparations.

Second, for Afrikans who want to return to Afrika, it must be recognized that the United States illegally incorporated us into the European settler republic and, therefore, stole our nationality in Afrika with the passage of its constitutional amendments after the Civil War. Thus, part of the reparations must be a declaration of Afrikan nationality as a continuing right for all Afrikans forcibly exiled from their homeland. The Americans must pay for our resettlement in countries of choice in Afrika, and they must also pay an indemnity to the Afrikan countries to which we will be settling under conditions that must be controlled by us in a negotiated settlement between us, the European settlers (Americans), and the officials of the countries in which we will be resettling. My concern is that we will ensure a smooth transition and assimilation into Afrikan society, and some protection of our rights from persecution by Afrikan governments. As part of this negotiation, it

must be recognized under law our inalienable right to resettle and become assimilated as nationals of the countries in which we will be resettling. I am not advocating a compromise to the sovereignty and integrity of the state, but a process by which Afrikans returning can be re-assimilated into Afrikan society without penalty to either side. We want to avoid the madness of Liberia and Sierra Leone and the Anglo-Afrikan chauvinism, a consequence of the Afrikan internalization of white supremacy, that caused such tragic disruption in the 19th and 20th centuries, and that continue to reverberate today in these countries. At the same time, we do not want to be subjected to state persecution by the security apparatus of the states to which we will be returning. These things must be negotiated and worked out in advance.

Since Afrikan presence (of those Afrikans not voluntary immigrants) in the United States is illegal and involuntary, and is the consequence of a protracted crime against humanity, the Americans must also pay for resettlement of those Afrikans who want to go to some society (whether Afrikan or not) other than Afrika. That is, they must pay for Afrikans to receive political asylum from persecution in the United States.

Further, reparations must entail some negotiations regarding the release, resettlement, and rehabilitation of Afrikan political prisoners currently in US prisons.

All of this presupposes that Afrikans in the United States, so-called Black or African Americans, have the cultural, historical, and political consciousness to understand and find these proposals reasonable elements in a comprehensive reparations package. My own suspicion is that most Afrikans in the United States believe they are Americans and believe the European settlers are susceptible to some sensitivity to moral suasion based on their alleged heritage surrounding principles of democracy, justice, freedom, etc. despite centuries of experience to the contrary. As long as we live under this illusion, our thinking, actions, and strategies will remain sentimental and unrealistic as to the true nature of what will be necessary to achieve human liberation.

In short, it is my view that the key to reparations is power. Unless Afrikans move toward a change in power arrangements, all else will remain idle talk.

N'COBRA Holds 14th Annual Convention

(Continued from page 1)

year were the filing of the Tulsa, Ok, lawsuit for damages from the 1921 white terrorism against blacks and the highly visible and successful A Year of Black Presence support campaign for H.R. 40 on Capitol hill.



Alvin Brown, Midwest Region Rep

Adjoa Aiyetoro, Co-Chair of the national Reparations Coordinating Committee and N'COBRA's leading attorney reported that the Tulsa lawsuit was filed in February.

"The media tries to marginalize us," Aiyetoro said and "we need to be more aggressive in uplifting our role so that others know we are active." Aiyetoro said the media likes to focus on established personalities like Johnny Cochran, and Ogletree because they have had extensive media exposure in the past. By trying to marginalize N'COBRA, she said, the media tries to isolate the reparations lawsuits from grassroots movements.

The other new development in the reparations movement was the support campaign, A Year of Black Presence. This campaign, hugely successful by all accounts, was designed to put N'COBRA members in the face of Congress members all year long, arguing, cajoling and pressuring them to sign on to H.R. 40.

The Reparations Study Bill, first introduced into Congress in 1989 has never even been voted out of subcommittee. Some within the reparations movement

have written the bill off as too mild. N'COBRA and some others take a different tact.

"Because H.R. 40 is so weak," said Milton McGriff, national coordinator for the AYBP Coalition, "it is at the bottom of the reparations food chain, so to speak. It is the point where we can engage the most number of people."

McGriff went on to say the reparations movement is dealing with a Congress that cares little or nothing about black people. He said N'COBRA needs to educate people that reparations are not only long overdue but necessary in order for the black community to grow and prosper.

"We intend to get 100 percent of the Congressional Black Caucus to sign onto this bill before the end of the year," McGriff said. "It's sad that those CBC members who have not signed on come from southern states where our ancestors suffered much of the horror of life in America," he said.

The other new initiative that generated excitement and enthusiasm among the audience was the proposal to promote a campaign to support black businesses that support reparations.

Black Fridays would educate the black owned and operated business community to understand the funda-

"The media tries to marginalize us, we need to be more aggressive in uplifting our role so that others know we are active."

mental necessity of winning reparations if black people are ever to gain control of the economy of the Black community. Sankofa said that Black businesses would be encouraged to display the Black Friday poster, hand out cards promoting reparations and to work together to promote the benefits to the black community.

Beyond the issues of current litigation, building political support for H.R. 40, and Black Fridays other questions attracted intensive discussion at the convention.

(Continued on page 24)

N'COBRA 14TH NATIONAL CONVENTION

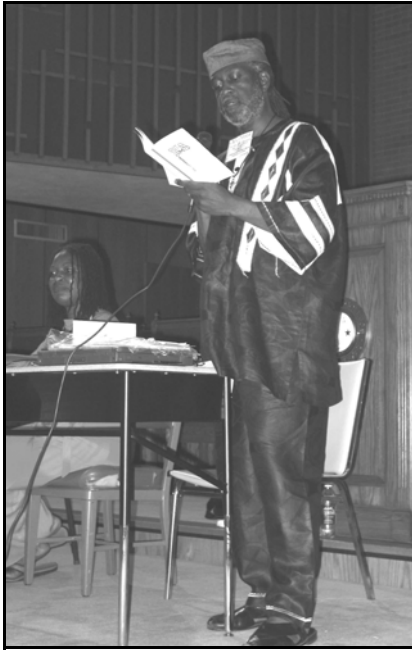


Seestah Imahkus & Kalonji Olusegun



Elder Vincent Roots Wilson and Seestah Imahkus
in step with the Reparations Movement

Jahahara Amen-RA Alkebulan-Ma'at



Johnita and Dr. Imari Obadele



Barbara and David Leonard received a Reparations Service Award

Dorothy Benton Lewis



N'COBRA 14TH NATIONAL CONVENTION



Omowale Satterwhite



Diane Ragsdale, Bobby Scott, Imahkus & Baba Afrik



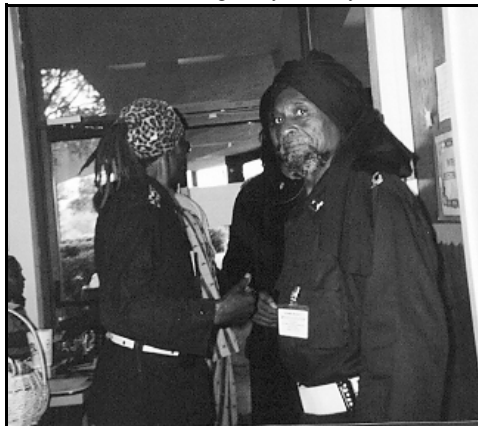
Rashieda Smith

Erline Arikpo & Njere Alghanee



International Caucus: Ciki Thomas, Canda; Mashariki Jywanza, US; Seestah Imahkus, Ghana; Imhotep Alkebulan, US; Ester Stanford, UK; Kalonji Olusegun, US; Baba Hannibal Afrik, US and others

Black Legionary Security



D. Kimble, I. Alkebulan & Erline Arikpo

GEORGE W. BUSH, GOREE ISLAND AND REPARATIONS

Black Legal Scholar-Activists

We are lawyers and scholars who recognize the statement made by George W. Bush on July 8th at Goree Island as a factual and accurate acknowledgment of the legal basis for the US to pay reparations to the descendants of the Transatlantic slave trade, when he admitted that, "slavery was one of the greatest crimes in history", and also admitted that it was enslaved, unpaid labor that created the "prosperity" of the United States. Ironically, it was the US government's refusal to acknowledge this very fact that led the US delegation to walk out of the UN World Conference Against Racism (WCAR) in Durban, South Africa in 2001.

Reparations and the Importance of the International Arena

Over the past several years a combination of events - the grassroots movement, scholarly contributions, lawsuits, legislative resolutions, international meetings and resolutions - have forced the issue of reparations for the descendants of enslaved Africans into the mainstream political agenda of the United States. But, of all these factors, those in the international arena have been key. It is in international fora, rather than in the domestic arena, where the US has chosen to wage its struggle opposing reparations.

In 1998, the US delegation successfully defeated an attempt by the African Group to have the UN Commission on Human Rights adopt a resolution declaring "The Transatlantic Slave Trade and Slavery A Crime Against Humanity."

In 2000, President Clinton, to avoid addressing the issues of slavery and reparations, refused to convene a national US conference to prepare for the 2001 UN World Conference against Racism.

In 2001, the US withdrew from the World Conference Against Racism rather than be associated with any final document that recognized slavery as a crime against humanity. The World Conference adopted the Durban Declaration and Program of Action which recognized that the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade and Slavery were crimes against humanity. The Durban Declaration was a tremendous victory for African people worldwide in the struggle for reparations. In 2003, at Goree Island, Mr. Bush finally uttered the truth. No matter how he phrased it, history is "human" history and thus a "greatest crime in history" is a crime against

humanity. He quoted President John Adams who referred to slavery as "an evil of colossal magnitude." Furthermore Mr. Bush admitted that it was enslaved, unpaid labor that created the "prosperity" of the United States.

George W. Bush's Goree admission firmly places the United States within the ambit of international law on the issue of reparations. Crimes against Humanity have no statute of limitations. Victims of such crimes are undeniably due compensation. The history of Black existence, oppression and resistance since the end of the Civil War should have taught US society this lesson - i.e. that there can be no real racial reconciliation without restitution: (i) for the damage done and wealth stolen during slavery and (ii) for the enforced disadvantage that the "vestiges of slavery" have continued to place on the descendants of the original victims. In its recent decision in *Lawrence v. Texas*, the US Supreme Court looks to the law of the European Court of Human Rights, thereby acknowledging that, in a globalized world, the US must recognize a role for international law within US domestic law.

Mr. Bush's pronouncements will mean nothing if they do not spur us to increased work in all spheres of activity - the legal, the legislative, the academic and the grassroots - in the movement for reparations.

List in Formation:

- * Wendy Brown, Esq., Professor of Law at Tulane Law School
- * Margaret Burnham, Associate Professor of Law, Northeastern University School of Law (for identification only)
- * Joan Gibbs, Esq., Chief Counsel, Center for Law and Social Justice of Medgar Evers College, CUNY
- * Lennox S Hinds, Esq., Vice-President; Permanent United Nations Representative; International Association of Democratic Lawyers, Professor Rutgers University
- * Lionel Jean Baptiste, Esq., Jean-Baptiste and Associates, Illinois
- * Gerald Lemelle, Esq., Deputy Executive Director, Advocacy, Amnesty International USA (for identification only)
- * Hope Lewis, Esq., Professor of Law, Northeastern University school of Law (for identification only)
- * National Conference of Black Lawyers
- * Ron Walters, Professor University of Maryland
- * Roger S. Wareham, Esq., International General Secretary International Association Against Torture; Partner in Thomas, Wareham & Richards, LLP
- * Robert Westley, Esq., Professor Tulane Law School
- * Jeanne Woods, Esq., Professor, Loyola University School of Law, NOLA (for identification only)

BLACK REPARATIONS & RESTITUTION

in America

CATEGORIES OF INVOLVEMENT CHART

By Wautella ibn Yusuf

	Holocaust Period 1551-1865	Post Holocaust Period 1865-present	Entitlement & Responsibility
Victims	Enslaved Africans: 10 to 100 million enslaved, murdered, raped, robbed of their homeland, culture, language, family life, labor; endured dehumanizing enslavement for more than 300 years	Enslaved African descendants in the Diaspora: over 3000 lynched, jim crow-segregation, denied education, jobs, equal justice in court, access to housing, healthcare, etc	<i>Entitlement:</i> full and complete Reparations, i.e. equitable remedy for the injuries suffered in order to repair and heal ourselves
Collaborators	Some Africans amongst the victims, who betrayed and soldout their own people. All groups of people have sellouts and traitors. Africans had (and have) theirs also. Collaboration can be brought on by outside force and/or an immediate concern for one's own survival	Descendants of collaborating African families, ethnic groups & states that were in a position of power during era of enslavement; did not benefit from the enslavement of other Africans as did Europeans as evidenced by the level of poverty in Africa today	<i>Responsibility:</i> must amend for betraying their own people. However this is a family problem that must be addressed internally by the African Family and not influenced by outsiders
Perpetrators	European enslavers, slave companies, slave ship builders, European governments, the Church, etc. Those who initiated, controlled, sustained and truly benefited from the Trans-Atlantic enslavement of Africans. Those who actually carried out the holocaust.	The enslavers' descendants: individuals, families, companies, US government, the Church, etc Those who inherited the wealth and power derived from the holocaust, e.g. Aetna, FleetBoston, CSX, Thomas Jefferson Estate, George. Washington Estate, etc	<i>Responsibility:</i> make complete amends and pay full compensation as determined by the victim's descendants. Change the social and economic structure to ensure permanent parity for all Black People.
Beneficiaries	Slavery investors, Europeans, colonial governments & their citizens, that allowed and encouraged <i>perpetrators</i> with their tax money and votes.	All people living in the U.S. and benefiting from profits from the holocaust, whether they were born here or not- they access wealth and benefits.	<i>Responsibility:</i> acknowledge the Holocaust of African Enslavement, the benefits received and their obligation to support Restitution.

Note: *Wautella 2.21.02 - The first three (victim, collaborator and perpetrator) are raised by Dr. Maulana Karenga, "The Ethics of Reparations: Engaging the Holocaust of Enslavement"*

Ask The Editor

"Ask The Editor" column was a suggestion from a young reader with questions. The questions below are from her list. Thanks for the good idea Harmony!

Is it true that America's laws disqualify Blacks for reparations? My teacher said, "Legally, reparations is only granted if the issue meets two criteria. One: there are people alive who suffered / are suffering the injustice. Two: the injustice was illegal at the time it was committed."

This is not true on either count. Native American/ Indian nations (First Nations) still participate in reparative processes even though the original victims have long been dead. I think you mean even though the injustice was "legal" at the time it was committed. If so, the Nuremburg precedent stated that even though Nazism was legal during the Third Reich, international law, outlawing Nazism, was made retroactive in order to prosecute leading Nazi Party members.

Slavery ended so long ago--all the victims are dead, do African Americans have a chance of winning reparations?

Yes, the victims are dead but the perpetrators and the victim's descendants are still alive: corporations are deemed to be living bodies and the U.S. in particular, has the same government that not only condoned and facilitated slavery but condones and facilitates the legacy of slavery. Repairing the legacy of slavery is the most compelling aspect of the Reparations movement, in my opinion.

There's reverse racism today so how are Blacks any different than Whites?

Reverse racism is a hollow meaningless term. For example, a white businessman who owns a 10,000 employee company can say, "I will not hire any black people." That is real racism as the businessman's decision impacts the lives of real black people. Whereas, a black person in idle chat standing around saying "I hate white people," while clearly an expression of prejudice, does not have the same affect because the black person does not have the means to affect the lives of white people. Prejudice cannot

possibly be compared to the racism of the white businessman.

{Answers provided by J. Damu and Vic Nickson}

Send your questions to: InformationMedia@aol.com or N'COBRA Information & Media Commission, P.O. Box 716, Washington, DC 20044-0716

"BLACK REPARATIONS TIMES"

In response to the growing momentum of the Reparations movement, the Information and Media Commission is committed to disseminating timely information on issues related to our struggle for Reparations. Our new publication, "BLACK REPARATIONS TIMES" © 2003 will report news and information not only about N'COBRA's work, but also the efforts of other Reparations advocates, nationally and internationally. Your comments and suggestions are always welcome.

You can also help by:

- 1) providing items for possible publication such as articles, photos, etc;
- 2) volunteering professional skills (graphic arts, managing subscriptions & distribution, fundraising, etc.);
- 3) donating generously to this project, and
- 4) identifying potential sponsors.

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Phone: 202.466.1622

ACHIEVING REPARATIONS: The Significance of H.R. 40

(Continued from page 10)

3. Rep. Frank Ballance North Carolina (D)1st Congressional District
4. Rep. James Clyburn South Carolina (D) - 6th Congressional District (Columbia, Charleston, Orangeburg, Sumter)
5. Rep Artur Davis Alabama (D) 7th District
6. Rep. Denise Majette Georgia 9D) 4th District
7. Rep David Scott Georgia (D) 13th District
8. Rep. Robert Scott Virginia (D) - 3rd Congressional District(Richmond, Newport News)
9. Rep. Melvin Watt North Carolina (D) -- 12th Con. District(Charlotte, Greensboro)

The Progressive, and Hispanic Caucus members must also be challenged. The following are members of those caucuses and their districts:

Rep. Dennis Kucinich (Ohio-10); Rep. Lynn Woolsey (California-06) Rep. Peter DeFazio (Oregon-04); Rep. Bernie Sanders (Vermont); Rep. Hilda Solis (California-31); Rep. Neil Abercrombie (Hawaii-01) Rep. Tammy Baldwin (Wisconsin-02); Rep. Xavier Becerra California-30)Rep. Sherrod Brown (Ohio-13); Rep. Michael Capuano (Massachusetts-08); Rep. Rosa DeLauro (Connecticut-03); Rep. Lane Evans (Illinois-17); Rep. Eni Faleomavaega (American Samoa); Rep. Sam Farr (California-17) Rep. Bob Filner California-50); Rep. Barney Frank (Massachusetts-04); Rep. Raul Grijalva (Arizona-07); Rep. Luis Gutierrez (Illinois-04) Rep. Maurice Hinchey (New York-26); Rep. Marcy Kaptur Ohio-09); Rep. Tom Lantos (California-02); Rep. James P. McGovern (Massachusetts-03); Rep. George Miller (California-07); Rep. Ed Pastor (Arizona-02); Rep. Nancy Pelosi (California-08); Rep. Jose Serrano (New York-16); Rep. Pete Stark (California-13); Rep. John Tierney (Massachusetts-06); Rep. Tom Udall (New Mexico-03); Rep. Nydia Velazquez (New York-12); Rep. Henry Waxman (California-29)

August begins the month long recess for Congress, and it is also the time that Congressmen and Congresswomen return to their state offices to make themselves more accessible to their constituents. This is an opportune time to pay them a visit to lobby for their support of H.R. 40. If you have taken the time to get members of your communities to write letters asking for their support, now is the time to take the letters to them in person. If you want to get

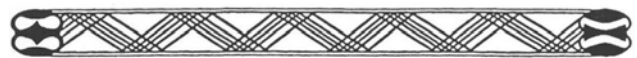
a large group together to pay them a friendly visit to discuss the issues surrounding the Reparations debate, now is the time to do so. When discussing the issues, remind them that the causes they profess to support for the poor and dispossessed are all elements that would be thoroughly addressed by The Reparations Study commission, once H.R. 40 is passed, in order to determine possible remedies to correct the injustices against African Descendants. If they say they are more interested in providing healthcare, education, housing, economic development, the right to vote, an end to disparate treatment under the justice system, changes to school curriculum to truthfully reflect the American era of enslavement and African descendants' contribution to the development of this country, and monuments that

“Remember now is a great time to visit your Congressman or Congresswoman's State office. ”

memorialize people and events in African Descendants' history, then they ought to be interested in the passage of H.R. 40, because the demand for Reparations includes all these issues. Congress and ultimately America must understand that the demand for Reparations is not, nor has it ever been about only a check to individuals. Remember now is a great time to visit your Congressman or Congresswoman's State office. Make your appointment early. Don't settle for just an aide. Don't Give up till you get what you want. Don't scare them! Persuade them! And don't ever forget they are in office to serve you.

Finally, in the words of Reparations Advocate Brother David L. Horne of California, "We should take a brief moment to smile, and then get right back to the unrelenting work ahead." We are on the right track Brothers and Sisters. Close your eyes and see the victory!

For lobbying information or assistance with State and local resolutions contact the Legislative Commission at 202.466.1622 or Legicom@aol.com



OPERATIONAL UNITY *(Continued from page 12)*

standing of what Reparations is all about to encourage cooperation and opportunities for collective work and unity. We must put aside our petty, parochial differences and recognize that there is more that unites us in struggle than divides us.

We must conduct a broad based outreach and dialogue within our communities if we are to reach a consensus and basic understanding of what our struggle is about and what we must do in order to achieve our goal. The principle block to our achieving that goal is internal and thus we must focus on and engage all elements of our communities in a serious dialogue, discussion and debate in order to arrive at a common point of understanding and commitment to moving this struggle forward.

Specifically we must focus on building a broad coalition with specific actions around getting HR40 passed in the House and also place some emphasis on getting a companion Senate bill introduced. The year 2004 is a national presidential year. Therefore, we have an opportunity to put Reparations at the top of the agenda and debate for both of the 'major' political parties. We must not allow the issue of reparations to be obscured and relegated to the back burner. Even within a context of heightened awareness and focus on "national security and the fight against terrorism" we must not allow Reparations to be placed on the back burner.

We must not lose sight of the fact that historically we as a people have been called upon to de-emphasize our demands in times of crisis and rally around the flag. We must not allow ourselves to become so draped in the American flag that we lose sight of what our ultimate goal is and will always be until Reparations is achieved. We must be diligent and become militant in our just demand for Reparations.

We cannot be sidetracked by the ill informed arguments and positions revolving around extreme misunderstandings such as "the civil rights movement accomplished all that needed to be done to achieve freedom and justice for our communities" and that "there is little need for any special focus or emphasis on the problems and

issues within our communities." Despite the fact that the "token achievers" and collaborators will put forth the argument that we have been taken care of, the reality of conditions in our communities should keep us focused and steadfast in our efforts to achieve true empowerment, liberation and justice, and to honor the spirit and legacy of our ancestors. We must struggle on behalf of our ancestors with a focus on leaving a different legacy for our future generations.

The passage of HR 40 will be a milestone in achieving those goals and we must not be sidetracked or hoodwinked into thinking that this is not a noble and worthy objective upon which to focus our attention at this time. Yes we realize very clearly that HR 40 is not the penultimate but we do remain steadfast in our belief that it is one of the most critical accomplishments that we can achieve within the present context.

The "legal" front is in pretty good hands. The missing element in this struggle is the building of the mass movement in support of Reparations, which is critical to achieving our goal. The struggle for passage of HR 40 represents a concrete tactical and strategic point around which we can and should rally.

N'COBRA CONVENTION

(Continued from page 17)

The issue of land was an issue of intense interest and importance. Dr. Imari Obadele and Baba Hannibal Afrik, the newly elected national co-chair of N'COBRA, both venerable leaders and founders of the Republic of New Afrika spoke of their more than thirty year quest to promote a black state within the U.S.

Afrik spoke at length on how he thought such a state could be effectively administered. Obadele continued by giving background information on legal tactics he had devised over the years to challenge the U.S. on the issue.

Obadele also outlined his vision of how land owned, controlled and administered by blacks could be used to rehabilitate blacks who are currently incarcerated and victims of alcohol and drug abuse. Echoing the Cuban revolutionary hero Che Guevarra, Obadele said, "A new Afrikan personality can be created within our own land,"

"If a place of peace and security can be fixed," he said, "people coming out of prison can be transformed

(Continued on page 31)

BATTLE FOR REPARATIONS *(Continued from page 14)*

o Study the impact of those forces on today's living African Americans.

o After the study, make recommendations to Congress on appropriate remedies to redress the harm inflicted on living African Americans.

"Congress studies everything else on earth, yet they say that we don't even want to study reparations for African Americans," said Rep. Conyers at a Reparations Forum at Penn Valley Community College. "When we gave the Japanese reparations there was a case study done. Now when you suggest a reparations case study for the group of people, who built America with no compensation, then there's a problem," he continued. I saw that with my own eyes. At every Congress man and woman's office that my group visited, the Congress men and women were either on the House floor, on a conference call, busy, in a session and a whole bunch of other excuses, but we still made sure we were heard.

I was in Group B, and my group was responsible for visiting Rep. Crowley's office; Rep. Hinchey's office; and Rep. Clyburn's office. My group had approximately 15 to 20 people in it, so when we went into every congressman's office, we filled their meeting area from front to back and side to side. We spoke to each of their Legislative Assistants and Directors, and every time they came out of their office they all said "Wow!" During the meetings with each individual staff member we all voiced our opinions and asked questions on reparations and what is being done about it in Congress. Then we gave their assistants a reparations package, which consisted of the H.R. 40 bill proposed by Rep. John Conyers and N'COBRA's reparations information. At the end of each meeting the assistant said they would definitely tell their bosses that we came by and they would give them the reparations packet.

During our morning orientation at the Cannon Building, we were addressed by Rep. Conyers' Judiciary Counsel, Mr. Keenan Keller. Mr Keller brought up a very important point. He said, "We as African Americans are known for our sprinting skills, but if we are going to win this battle for reparations we are going to have to be long distance runners." That is why we as young people need to really be involved in this A Year of Black Presence

initiative, because this is going to be a long uphill battle. Most of our leaders are up in age and have been in the Civil Rights fight for a long time and we as young people need to take the lead in this battle for reparations and get what African Americans deserve, JUSTICE!!

Toronto Youth Organizes

(Continued from page 14)

All total the students collected 254 signatures for the following Petition:

REPARATIONS NOW! STOP THE INJUSTICE!

WHEREAS, the descendants of African slaves and also indigenous people of colour have seen their cultures, and resources plundered and their development inhibited by the criminal origins of the capitalist system, and

WHEREAS, the demand for Reparations is a legitimate demand for justice for crimes against humanity,

WE the undersigned pledge our support to the organizing of a truly international campaign for Reparations with the ultimate objective of redressing the historical injustices perpetrated against Africans and other indigenous people of colour, and

Harmony has also made a number of suggestions to the N'COBRA Information and Media Commission, which have been incorporated in the Black Reparations Times.

WE the undersigned also pledge our support for the demand for "payment for Reparations" to the descendants of African slaves and indigenous people so as to rebuild humane communities that meet the

real needs of all people

Harmony has also made a number of suggestions to the N'COBRA Information and Media Commission, which have been incorporated in the Black Reparations Times. She has submitted artwork for the Youth Reparations Art project, and is visualizing the production of feature films that teach the public about this important cause. We believe we can expect great things from Sister Harmony in the future. The Reparations Movement is strengthened by her enthusiasm.

NANNY Of The MAROONS

NANNY --- a woman who knows the rightful treatment and dignity of women in Africa, was alarmed of the abuse African women on slavery plantations get —

NANNY --- a woman who knows the rightful honour of men in Africa was alarmed of the brutality African men receives on slavery plantations —

NANNY --- a trained warrior from West Africa now Ghana – as expected brought outrage on the enemies. She was a force to be reckon with between 1720 to 1739 —

NANNY --- a woman who sees to it that the British got their fair share of defeat in the hills those days – by her famous special version of ~~~

GORILLA ATTACK TECHNIQUE

She was **SOMEONE** the rest of the slaves could look forward to —

NANNY --- a woman who knows that she, her fellow brothers and sisters should not be forced into slavery in the first place allows no time to waste as she along with other warriors “ram sacks” the place – especially at nights, by setting cane fields **ON FIRE**~

“OOOH” NANNY?

A woman of fathomless leadership qualities ~~~

Jamaica’s first and only recognized heroine to this day -

WRITTEN: Antoinette “RAS” Anderson
(1997)



**Reparations for the Holocaust of Enslavement
and Its Vestiges**

Some News from Around Our Reparations Movement

REPARATIONS STUDY PROJECT FUND (RSPF)

The Drammeh Institute has recently announced the development of a Reparations Study Project Fund (RSPF), established to assist grassroots organizers seeking legislative passage and promotion of bills involving an official study of reparations at the national or local levels. These modest grants aim to meet challenges experienced in mobilization efforts. There is no application form available to date.

For more information write to:
The Drammeh Institute, Inc.
Attention: RSPF
P.O. Box 558
Bronx, New York 10475

DURBAN 400 DOCUMENTARY

The "Durban 400" documentary is now screening in US and South African cities, and will be available for distribution by early fall, 2003. Shot in cinema-verte style by filmmaker Alfred Santana, the feature follows a nearly 400 member delegation (of the same name) of grassroots Black political activists who were mobilized by the December 12th Movement and the National Black United Front as they participate at the UN World Conference Against Racism, in Durban, South Africa, August-September 2001.

"Durban 400" also incorporates sound bites, and interviews with N'COBRA members and other activists pointing to the shared frustration and anger around the West's refusal to have key language included in the final document of the World Conference, declaring the Trans-Atlantic slave trade, and colonialism as "crimes against humanity".

The documentary captures the cumulative work of grassroots activists keeping the pressure on governments, including countries that were directly involved in the slave trade, ensuring that someday soon reparations would be a reality. It also offers an historical snapshot of a significant turning point in history that took the issue of reparations to the international stage.

DIRECTED BY: Alfred Santana

PRODUCERS: Iman Drammeh and Alfred Santana

CONTENT: human rights, political, pan-Afrikan

SUGGESTED AUDIENCE: Those who aim to further their insights into current debates in the humanities and social sciences about reparations. Viewers should have some basic understanding of these issues. A supplemental publication accompanies this documentary for use in academic settings.

LENGTH: 57 minutes

"Durban 400 also incorporates sound bites, and interviews with N'COBRA members and other activists"

SOME VIEWS:

"It was wonderful to see in the Durban 400 video that people's hearts are never on the ground, no matter how long it takes to win justice!"

National Center for Human Rights Education

"A rare and educational chronicle of Black history."

Black View Collective

To purchase video for educational, grassroots and home use write to:

The Drammeh Institute, Inc.

Attention: Durban 400

P.O. Box 558

Bronx, New York 10475

By email: urban400doc@hotmail.com

REPARATIONS WORK IN PATERSON, NEW JERSEY

In 2001, New Jersey created the Amistad Commission to monitor educational and other programs to insure the history and contributions of African Americans are adequately reflected in its curriculum and textbooks.

The Paterson, New Jersey Board of Education is now

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Some News Updates

(Continued from page 27)

moving full speed ahead with the creation of the Amistad Commission on the local level. Elder Ron Gross, long time proponent of Reparations, and active supporter of the "A Year of Black Presence" lobbying initiative, is serving on that commission. His first meeting was July 8th. We look forward to periodic updates from Elder Gross on this important work.

REPARATIONS SUNDAY

MARCH 21, 2004

*Justice & Witness Ministries
United Church of Christ*

The Justice & Witness Ministries of the United Church of Christ is making a great contribution to the Reparations Movement. We are aware of three very important developments. 1. Reparations Resolution (developed from 2000 reparations discussion during their 23rd General Synod and the General Assembly of the Christian Church in Kansas City. 2. Designated March 21, 2004 as Reparations Sunday, and 3. Produced a professional and excellent faith base reparations resource entitled, "REPARATIONS: A Process For Repairing The Breach" subtitled, A Study and Discussion Guide For Local Congregations, Associations And Conferences. Anyone doing outreach to Christians should have this book. It is available for \$8.00 at: Justice & Witness Ministries, Racial Justice Team, 700 Prospect Ave—9th floor, Cleveland, OH 44115 or phone 216.736.3700

N'COBRA

AT-LARGE BOARD MEMBER ELECTED TO DETROIT CITY COUNCIL

Sister Joann Watson recently captured 52 percent of the vote topping veteran Councilman Gil Hill, for a seat on the Detroit City Council. Councilwoman Watson used a grassroots outreach campaign to bring the issues to the people. We congratulate her and wish her much success in serving the people of Detroit.

Councilwoman Watson, is currently serving in an At-Large position on the N'COBRA Board of Directors, and is a member of the Information and Media Commission. She has served as Co-Chair of the Detroit

Chapter of N'COBRA, and has played an instrumental role along with Reparations Ray Jenkins, in raising the most money for the N'COBRA Legal Commission. Councilwoman Watson has been an outspoken advocate for Reparations. We are certain she will continue to raise her voice in support of this noble cause

MISSISSIPPI MFR COALITION MOBILIZES THE FAITH COMMUNITY

The Mississippi Chapter of the Millions for Reparations Mobilization Movement (MFR) has instituted the Faith in Our Struggle Campaign to mobilize the Faith Community to commit themselves to a unified demand for economic justice for the atrocities perpetrated against African Descendant. The Faith in Our Struggle Campaign will eventually cover the entire state of Mississippi, and will recruit two thousand Black Churches and civic organizations to adopt Resolutions in support of Reparations. For more information or to set-up town hall meetings on Reparations, contact Baba Hannibal Afrik at (601) 535-7551 or Brother Lukata (601) 957-2969.

Education, Reparations and Bermuda A Report From the Field

By Melodye Micëre Stewart

Free the Mind! As an Africalogist, I am blessed to have my ideology and my livelihood intersect. For fifteen years, I conducted *Black History Workshops for Children*, exposing thousands of children to the lessons of empowerment that emanate from global African history and culture.

From the beginning of my involvement with N'COBRA, I have advocated for African-centered education as a necessary, critical, part of the equation in our pursuit for Reparations. In fact, my first exposure to N'COBRA and reparations came by meeting Johnita Scott Obedele on the Philadelphia stage of the *Million Woman March* in 1997. We were advocating - reparations and heritage education. A year later, I wrote and presented "*A Reparations Mission State-*

(Continued on page 33)

LONDON FESTIVAL TARGETS CAPITOL'S SLAVE TRADE PAST

The 23 August marks UNESCO's International Day for the Remembrance of the Slave Trade and its Abolition. Anti-Slavery International, the world's oldest international human rights organisation, in partnership with African heritage community groups, is organising a four day programme of events in remembrance of Britain's role in the Transatlantic Slave Trade.

The Rendezvous of Victory will be held from 21-24 August in Greenwich and Brixton, areas of London connected with the slave trade and associated with freedom fighting and justice. Events for people of all ages, will take place at the National Maritime Museum, the University of Greenwich, Cutty Sark Gardens and on the Cutty Sark.

"The Transatlantic Slave Trade changed the fabric of societies worldwide. Enslavement and abolitionist resistance remain at the root not only of negative acts of racism, discrimination, xenophobia and intolerance, but also of positive action for human rights. The Rendezvous of Victory is an opportunity for Londoners to acknowledge and understand this rich legacy," Mary Cunneen Director of Anti-Slavery International says.

Organised in partnership with local community groups, the programme includes:

Rendezvous of Victory Convention, University of Greenwich (21-22 August)

Vigil of Remembrance, Cutty Sark Gardens, Greenwich (22 August)

Special screenings of international films, Ritzy Cinema, Brixton (21 & 24 August)

Talks, previews of National Maritime Museum's African Enslavement Collection and workshops at the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich (23 August)

Heritage and historical walks around Greenwich and Brixton (23 & 24 August)

Interfaith Ceremony, St Matthew's Church, Brixton (24 August)

The event culminates on the day the Notting Hill Carnival begins. The Caribbean Carnival dates back to the abolition of slavery when enslaved Africans took to the streets. The Carnival is the UK's (and one of

Europe's) largest multicultural event, and a powerful celebration of people's determination, against all odds, to keep their cultural heritage alive.

To arrange an interview or for further information contact Beth Herzfeld, Anti-Slavery International's Press Officer, on 020 7501 8934; b.herzfeld@antislavery.org or Martine Miel on 020 7501 8935; m.miel@antislavery.org

The Rendezvous of Victory is organised in connection with the initiative of the Forum of Africans and African Descendants Against Racism (FAADAR), by the Breaking the Silence Community Advisory Board of UNESCO's ASPnet Transatlantic Slave Trade Education Project, with the support of Anti-Slavery International, the Churches Commission for Racial Justice, the National Maritime Museum - Greenwich, Greenwich Council, the Pathbreakers International Network (PIN), Greenwich Racial Equality Council, the SIMBA/Mama Afrika Partnership, the Forum of African Human Rights Defenders in Europe (FAHRDE), the National Union of

By the end of the 18th century, Britain was the largest slaving nation in the world

Students - Black Students Campaign (NUS-BSC), the Black United Front, a number of partners in Greenwich and many others

Background:

The Transatlantic Slave Trade, probably the largest forced migration in human history, ripped communities apart, stripping Africa of tens of millions of its young and healthy work force. It forcibly grouped vastly different peoples together, creating new communities, identities and languages, changing the course of history forever.

By the end of the 18th century, Britain was the largest slaving nation in the world. Fortunes made by merchant families in London, Bristol and Liverpool brought immense wealth, largely fuelling the Industrial Revolution. The profits of enslavement transformed the lives of people living in Britain, changing their landscape as money was poured into building new houses, schools

(Continued on page 31)

LEGISLATIVE WORKSHOP *(Continued from page 3)*

would like to have a national effort active for A Year of Black Presence. It will be a powerful statement for N'COBRA if simultaneous demonstrations are being held in Indianapolis or Chicago or Kansas City or Los Angeles or San Francisco at the same time New York or Philly or Newark or DC Metro are taking large numbers to Capitol Hill. We are also planning some kind of action for the Congressional Black Caucus' Annual Legislative Weekend September 25-28 in Washington D.C. If chapters outside the Northeast Region could send even a small delegation, it will make a statement to the CBC that this is a *national* effort. Information kits are available. Duplicate it to suit your needs. (The black and gold folders can be obtained from Khepera Ausar, the N'COBRA graphics genius, when you're ready. He can be contacted at khepera@datatone.com) Ask churches, student groups, labor groups, community groups, fraternities, sororities "anyone you can get interested" and find ways to work together to gain support for HR40.

“We are also planning some kind of action for the Congressional Black Caucus' Annual Legislative Weekend September 25-28 in Washington D.C.”

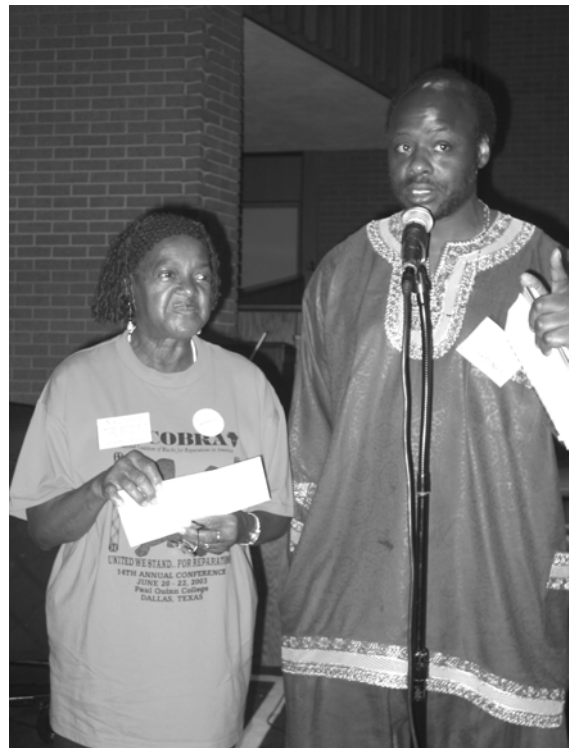
5. NATIONAL N'COBRA SHOULD INVESTIGATE THE ORGANIZING OF A POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE (PAC). Damu suggested that we, as a national organization, should know what's involved in organizing a PAC. The Board of directors could then determine if we should move to create a PAC.

After the workshop, Damu made suggestions for the Remembrance of Lynched Ancestors campaign. He recalled the NAACP's placement of a banner outside their national office in the 1940s as part of their anti-lynching campaign. They would place on the banner the name of a lynched Ancestor and the date as information became available. Damu suggested that we create a similar "On this day" banner as near Capitol Hill as possible and display the names of those on our list and the date and place they were lynched. Or instead of a banner, we could use a plaque large enough to be read by passing vehicles.

The name, date and place would be replaceable (Velcro strips, or bars, or electronically, depending on cost and creativity). It may well be possible to get a person or persons to underwrite this.

Milt McGriff committed to a) communicating with the group through Keshie Spottsville at least once a month., or calls to individuals as needed. (The Legislative Commission will also communicate with its members on a regular basis); b) developing a full fundraising proposal by the end of summer to be shared with other N'COBRA chapters. *We must prosper collectively if we're going to win this war*; and c) meeting with chapters to help organize AYBP if chapters are willing to cover expenses. He will assist other organizations "churches, campus or community groups, if they will provide expenses and an agreed upon honorarium to AYBP. We will not get reparations, or even a reparations commission, from Congress because they suddenly get religion. We must demonstrate power to them, power that says they may not get elected if they don't respond to us.

Milt McGriff can be reached at 215.465.4635, fax 215.465.4636, cell 215.370.9955, e-mail scribemcg@aol.com (place AYBP in the subject line)



James Rodgers III, Southwest Region Rep give an award to Elder Irene "Nanny" Moorehead - at convention

LONDON *(Continued from page 29)*

and universities, museums, libraries, etc. Sugar became more accessible as it flooded in from slave colonies in the West Indies. Banks grew rich from the profits made by some of Britain's most notorious slave traders, insuring and loaning them money to be ploughed into their investment in Africans.

The trade in enslaved Africans also gave rise to a new form of thought, which defined Africans as inferior beings, leading to Afriphobia and Apartheid. Racism in the form it is known today grew out of justifying the enslavement of African people for the benefit of Europe.

International Day for the Remembrance of the Slave Trade and its Abolition, 23 August, commemorates the world's first successful uprising by enslaved Africans in Haiti (then St Domingue) which began on 22-23 August 1791. The revolt led to the establishment of the first black-led state in the Caribbean.

For more about the Transatlantic Slave Trade see *Breaking the Silence* at <www.antislavery.org/breakingthesilence>

N'COBRA CONVENTION

(Continued from page 24)

in to people of consciousness who desire to lead progressive lives and make contributions for the general good. People would be able to transform themselves into positive people, proud of their ancestors and themselves," he told the audience.

Other participants at the convention, held at Dallas's black Paul Quinn College, included Deadria Farmer-Paellman, of the Reparations Study Group, former Massachusetts State Senator Bill Owens, Dr. Maulana Karenga of the Organization Us, Esther Stanford and Cikiah Thomas, respectively of England and Canada of the Global Afrikan Congress and Dr. Conrad Worrill of the National Black United Front who said the key to building the reparations movement was to "Grassroots organize! Grassroots organize! Grassroots organize!"

Testimony for Reparations *(Continued from page 13)*

Texas. Representative Wilson has submitted this legislation for a number of years. The LAC acknowledges the difference between the two, however has no contradiction in supporting them both. One sends a message to Washington, the other addresses it's concerns directly to the State of Texas. From our vantage point it is not either or but and, and both. Reparations activists from around the state have held protest at the capitol and governor's mansion and a well attended forum during the state legislative Black caucus weekend. Representative Lewis closed out the ninety minute session recounting "My grandfather was lynched in Texas, the time is now to bring this open and frank discussion on the floor of the Texas legislature".

Noted references during the hearing: Books - Reparations Yes!; The Forty Acres and Mule Document; A Time of Terror; Should America Pay; The Debt; Chaos or Community; Handbook of Texas; History of the Imperial Sugar Company; Articles- Slave Labor Built Capitol, Lynching in Waco Texas, Psychological impact of enslavement work by Frances Cress-Welsing, Naim Akbar, Bobby Wright, and Wade Nobles. LAC: National Black United Front, New Black Panther Party, Sankofa Pan Afrikan Student Organization, S.H.A.P.E. Community Center, National Coalition of Blacks for Reparations In America, Saint Saviour Church, Grace Ministries, Nation of Islam Muhammad Mosque #45, Citizens for Better Media, Brothers Healing Brothers, Afrikans United For Sanity Now, S.H.A.P.E. Center Harambee Council of Elders, Mt Ararat Baptist Church, Black United Fund of Texas, Progressive Amateur Boxing Association, Se-hah Youth Inc., Akoramante Society, Allen Parkway Village Residents Council In Exile, Fair Housing Coalition, Black Out Collective, Afrikans Committed to Liberation, Black Power Transformation Study Circle.

Mark you Calendar now!

JUNE 2004

**N'COBRA's 15TH
CONFERENCE
WASHINGTON, DC**

You won't want to miss this one!

Slavery Was Unconstitutional

Leroy Pletten of Sterling Heights, Michigan hopes to educate the public, via Internet, on the little-known abolitionist view that slavery was ALWAYS unconstitutional, and for constitutional violations, the victims are entitled to damages. Pletten researches pertinent abolitionist legal writings that are readily available on the internet such as

Frederick Douglass, <http://medicolegal.tripod.com/douglassuos.htm>

Benjamin Shaw, <http://medicolegal.tripod.com/shawuos.htm>

Alvan Stewart, <http://medicolegal.tripod.com/stewartuos.htm>

Joel Tiffany, <http://medicolegal.tripod.com/tiffanyuos.htm>

Edward Rogers, <http://medicolegal.tripod.com/rogersuos.htm>

Lysander Spooner, <http://medicolegal.tripod.com/uos.htm>

Abraham Lincoln, <http://medicolegal.tripod.com/lincolnpeoriauos.htm>

George Mellen, <http://medicolegal.tripod.com/mellenuos.htm>

The major English Supreme Court decision by Judge Mansfield at <http://medicolegal.tripod.com/somersetvstewart.htm> declares slavery was not allowed under English common law and the "rights of Englishmen." English law was the basis of law in America, and was not changed by the 1776 Revolution, which fought FOR the "rights of Englishmen."

To expose the outrageous contrary view of Roger Taney, in the Dred Scott case, Pletten has written a short summary of the abolitionist position, and exposes Taney's personal situation which led to his grossly erroneous view at <http://medicolegal.tripod.com/mellenuos.htm> By educating on the little known "slavery is unconstitutional" abolitionist viewpoint, Pletten hopes that Reparations Advocates can overcome the bias that ASSUMES that slavery was always constitutional, which obstructs our efforts. Since most people have only heard the contrary view, education is critical to our efforts. We encourage Leroy Pletten to continue his research. And to all Reparations supporters, remember:

EDUCATING, ORGANIZING AND MOBILIZING is the path that leads to Reparations.

MARCH ON WASHINGTON 40TH ANNIVERSARY & REPARATIONS

On Saturday, August 23, 2003, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and Martin Luther King III, and a coalition which includes the NAACP, the Urban League, the National Council of Negro Women, NOW, the Arab-American Institute, the AFL-CIO, and United for Peace and Justice, will host the 40th anniversary celebration of the "March on Washington (MOW) for Jobs and Freedom." The theme is "Return, Repair and Renew", and the site is the grounds of the Lincoln Memorial. N'COBRA member, Brother Mark Thompson (Matsimela Mapfumo) has played a significant role in the planning of the event. Early on, Thompson sought to have the coalition adopt Reparations as the overarching theme for the event. However, for some, the issue of Reparations still appears too scary to raise up in "mixed" company. There was eventually agreement to identify Reparations and H.R. 40 as Social Action

and Legislative issues for which, event participants are encouraged to lobby and support. Although, it is too early to make predictions about how many people will attend, Reparations advocates should plan to participate, and use the event as an opportunity to distribute Reparations literature, register new voters who support Reparations, and engage participants in substantive discussions around the Issue. If you plan to attend, make a strong N'COBRA presence by wearing N'COBRA T-shirts and buttons, and carrying N'COBRA banners. For more information, contact the MOW coalition at 202.544.8026; 404.522.1420.

*“slavery was
ALWAYS
unconstitutional”*

and Legislative issues for which, event participants are encouraged to lobby and support. Although, it is too early to make predictions about how many people will attend, Reparations advocates should plan to participate, and use the event as an opportunity to distribute Reparations literature, register new voters who support Reparations, and engage participants in substantive discussions around the Issue. If you plan to attend, make a strong N'COBRA presence by wearing N'COBRA T-shirts and buttons, and carrying N'COBRA banners. For more information, contact the MOW coalition at 202.544.8026; 404.522.1420.



True Reparations Demands Mass Participation

Education, Reparations and Bermuda - A Report From the Field

(Continued from page 28)

ment” while attending my first N’COBRA conference in 1998. As the piece indicates, there are many things we must learn, internalize and act upon for our ultimate success.

My work has taken me many places. From 2001 to 2002, I served as an Education Officer/Consultant for Social Studies for the Ministry of Education for the government of Bermuda. In that capacity, I was responsible for the history, geography and civics/ethics curriculum for grades K-12. As a British Colony, the history that is taught in Bermuda’s schools is British, even as the majority of the people are of African descent. I spent the year inserting African people throughout the curriculum, but particularly focused on the high school level.

Feeling passionately about who African people are – our history, culture, struggles and achievements – it is my life’s work to perpetuate, extend and disseminate that knowledge through the lessons of empowerment. To that end, I created a number of teacher resource projects to provide information to teachers, including *Introduction to African Philosophy and Religion* teacher supplement and a teaching video and guide, *When Voices Rise...*, which tells the story of Civil Rights in Bermuda. In the introduction to one of the teacher supplements, I wrote,

“I am proud to offer you the binder that you are now holding. It is filled with information regarding what I believe is one of the most pressing issues facing the African world in the ongoing struggle for complete liberation in the 21st century – Reparations.”

I was privileged for the opportunity to add the issue of reparations to the social studies curriculum in five courses: American History, Twentieth Century in Revolution, The African American Experience, World History and Comparative Religion and Ethics. I also conducted teacher training on the reparations teacher supplement for all middle and high school social studies teachers.

A Reparations Reader is a compilation of numerous newspaper articles, position papers, essays and documentation that discusses, advocates and provides justification for reparations. It is divided into five categories - Background, The United States,

United Kingdom (England), Related Articles and Additional Resources - and includes study questions, discussion questions, vocabulary words and activities designed to fully engage students in the global discussion of reparations.

The Background section includes recommendations forwarded by Bermuda’s own Dr. Paulo Kamarakafego (Roosevelt Browns) that he presented to and were accepted by The United Nations. The section entitled, “Reparations in the United States” begins with information on N’COBRA followed by an article from chair emeritus, Dr. Imari Obedele.

My work in Bermuda has given me the unique opportunity to stay involved and connected to N’COBRA and Reparations’ righteous struggle. My recent participation in “A Year Of Black Presence” lobbying trip from Philadelphia to Washington, DC in May, brought back warm memories. It was a packed house with delegations from Philadelphia, New Jersey, New York and Washington, DC. For the Philadelphia contingent, the camaraderie led by Milt (McGriff) and Rob (Bell) set the tone for an empowering day. I was blessed for the privilege of giving the opening libation. Of course, hearing the great Dean, Congressman John Conyers, speak is always inspiring. Reconnecting in sisterhood with Dorothy (Benton-Lewis), Kupenda (Olusegun) and Nkechi (Taifa), all in attendance, was also energizing – indeed, generating this article!

So, I am pleased to offer my report. We are indeed going forward in a righteous cause to a victorious end. Free the Mind! Reparations Now!

“Reparations is a process and movement to:

- 1. Secure justice for a people;**
- 2. Achieve accountability from the oppressors; and**
- 3. Establish a model of the moral treatment of grievously injured peoples for the world”**

Dr. Maulana Karenga

BLACK FRIDAYS CAMPAIGN



CONGRATULATIONS to the TRAIL BLAZERS

HATS OFF to the forward thinking businesses that were the first to register with N'COBRA's commitment to support the black community, justice, and the Reparations movement. These are the first group of members supporting the BLACK FRIDAY MOVEMENT. Be sure to buy from them. Join the BUY BLACK on FRIDAY campaign. Get your Black Friday Palm Cards from one of these businesses and buy black every day.

FLORIDA

The African Violet, Inc.
P.O. Box 12627
Gainesville, FL 32604
Contact: Delphine Jackson
Ph. 352/ 335. 6161
Fax. 352/ 335. 3737

NEW YORK

Southern Comforts
483 Atlantic Ave.
Brooklyn, NY 11217
Nettie Paisley

Zawadi Gift Shop
519 Atlantic Ave.
Brooklyn, NY 11217
Lora Brown

R & W Facility Care systems, Inc.
485 Atlantic Ave.
Brooklyn, New York 11217
Wayne Miles

Indigo Cafe and Books
672 Fulton St.
Brooklyn, NY 11217
Tel: 718-488-5934

Lewis Gallery
525 Atlantic Ave.
Brooklyn, NY 11217
Gwen Lewis

Doe's Antiques
442 Atlantic Ave.
Brooklyn, NY 11217
718-858-6903

4W Circle of Art & Enterprise

794 Fulton Street
Brooklyn, NY 11217
Contact: Selma Jackson
Ph. 718/ 875. 6500
Selma4W@Searthlink.net

Big Deal Books

973 Fulton St.
Brooklyn, NY 11238
Phone# 718-622-4420
Owner: David D. Mcleod

Harriets Alter Ego

191 Flatbush Avenue
Brooklyn, NY 11217

WASHINGTON DC METRO

YAWA Books & Gifts

2206 - 18th Street, NW
Washington, DC 20009-1813
Contact: Jacqueline Hawkins
Ph. 202/ 483. 6805

Dar Es Salaam

4000 - 34th Street
Mt. Ranier, MD 20712
Contact: Hodari Abdul-Ali
Ph. 301/ 209. 0010
Hodari2@Juno.com
www.desbooks.com

Heavenly Stitches

512 - 24th Street, NE
Washington, DC 20002
Contact: Tanya D. Claggett
Ph. 202/ 390. 8806
HeavenlyStitch3@aol.com

N'COBRA, the National Coalition of Blacks for Reparations in America, has launched a nationwide campaign based on the Kwanzaa principle of "cooperative economics." N'COBRA's goal is to be a key mover in the powerful process of enabling the Black community to gain more economic control of our community.

Contact: BuyBlack4Friday@aol.com
202.291.8400

“REPARATIONS AIN’T FREE”

N’COBRA’s National Donation Drive

FROM: Dorothy Benton Lewis/Oravouche, National Co-Chair and
N’COBRA National Fund Development Committee

TO: All People Supporting Justice and Reparations

An Urgent Call for Support

The Reparations Movement needs you and your financial support. “Reparations Ain’t Free.” Our ancestors paid the ultimate price of suffering through 265 years of slavery, and now those who have benefited from their sacrifices must pay us reparations. We, the descendants of enslaved Africans, MUST now sacrifice our time, talent and money for the work that must be done to get complete and full Reparations for ourselves and future generations.

This year, at our 14th Annual Conference, the National Coalitions of Blacks for Reparations in America (N’COBRA) unveil its 5-Year Action Plan, which outlines the various programs that have been implemented to achieve Reparations. We need your help with executing this Plan. There are so many critical requirements that must be funded: printing, postage, regular conference calls, travel, vehicle rental, advertising, Website development and expansion, e-group support, supplies and equipment, just to name a few.

N’COBRA also has a number of commissions that are tackling critical issues in each of the following areas: **Legislative** (HR 40 Lobbying, Reparations Resolution Campaign); **Legal** (legal injury research, filing briefs) **International** (WCAR, Global African Congress, UN Lobbying); **Economic Development** (Black Friday Buying Campaign, Congress of Economic Development); **Information & Media** (“Black Reparations Times,” “ENCOBRA magazine,” NCOBRA.org website, “REPARATIONS NOW!”); **Grassroots Organizing** (Town Hall Meetings, Direct Action, National Membership Drive), etc. Each of these areas supports the other. All are necessary to achieve Reparations, and all require people and money to make them work.

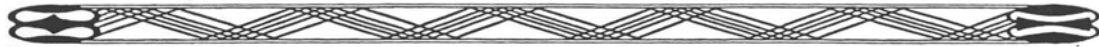
For the past 14 years, N’COBRA has been an organization of volunteers, who have funded the movement with their own resources, in order to supplement annual membership dues, which fall short of the Coalition’s actual needs. It is now time to take the Reparations movement to another level. It is now time for all of us to pool our resources, creativity, and our genius.

Please contribute generously to N’COBRA. The form on the next page establishes a number of different patron participation levels. Each level acknowledges Africans and African Descendants who have played an important role in our struggle for civil and human rights. While you’re selecting the patron level that’s most appropriate for you, be sure to tell us which commissions you’d most like to support. And remember, no amount is too great or too small!

The Reparations movement is not for N’COBRA members alone—it is for all African Descendants and our allies. Encourage your church, sorority, fraternity, family reunion, and other community based organizations to send a donation to N’COBRA to support this very spiritual work that we are doing in honor of the sacrifices of all our Ancestors.

In Unity,

National Coalition Of Blacks for Reparations in America



Please send your contributions (check/money order only) payable to:

N'COBRA
P.O. Box 90604
Washington, DC 20090

Yes! I pledge my support for the Reparations Movement struggle for Justice, Restitution and Reparations for the African Holocaust of Enslavement and Its Vestiges.

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____

STATE _____

ZIP CODE _____

PHONE _____

Enclosed is my check or money order for \$ _____

I PLEDGE:

- \$25 _____
- \$50 _____
- \$75 _____
- \$100 _____
- Other Amount \$ _____

Patron Participation Levels

- 1. L'Ouverture \$5000 _____
- 2. Walker \$3000 _____
- 3. Tubman \$1000 _____
- 4. Garvey \$700 _____
- 5. DuBois \$500 _____
- 6. King \$300 _____
- 7. Moore \$200 _____

Payment Cycle

- Weekly _____ Monthly _____
- Quarterly _____ Annually _____

I want my donation to support:

(please check mark one or more areas of N'COBRA work listed below)

- Grassroots Organizing _____ Membership & Organizational Development Commission _____ Legislative Commission _____
- Information & Media Commission _____ Economic Development Commission _____ Legal Strategies Commission _____
- National Office & Administrative _____ International Commission _____ Human Resources Commission _____
- Youth Commission _____ Education Commission _____

PATRON PARTICIPATION LEVELS

Become a Reparations Patron today and have your (or your group) name added to N'COBRA's National Donation Drive. An ongoing list of patrons will be updated and published.

- | | | |
|--------------|-------------------------|---------------|
| 1. \$5000.00 | Toussaint L'Ouverture | {1743 - 1803} |
| 2. \$3000.00 | David Walker | {1796 - 1830} |
| 3. \$1000.00 | Harriet Tubman | {1819 - 1913} |
| 4. \$700.00 | Marcus Garvey | {1887 - 1940} |
| 5. \$500.00 | W.E.B. DuBois | {1868 - 1963} |
| 6. \$300.00 | Martin Luther King, Jr. | {1929 - 1968} |
| 7. \$200.00 | Queen Mother Moore | {1898 - 1997} |

These noble ancestors contributions to our liberation and development are priceless. We lift up their names in chronological order to honor them.

National Coalition of Blacks for Reparations in America N 'COBRA

MEMBERSHIP APPLICATION

PURPOSE

We believe that the descendants of Africans, who were captured, taken from our homeland (Africa), enslaved, colonized and held captive for hundreds of years in the Americas and throughout the diaspora, believe that we should be compensated for the injustices, cruelties, brutalities, inhumanities and exploitations of racism, white supremacy, economic discrimination and oppression imposed upon our people past and present.

DEFINITION

REPARATIONS: Payment for a debt owed; the act of repairing a wrong or injury; to atone for wrongdoings; to make amends; to make one whole again; the payment of damages to repair a nation; compensation in money, land, or materials for damages. In the Ancient African, Kemetic sense, Reparations means to rise up. Repair and restore the ruined and damaged, develop the underdeveloped, and create a just society.

INVITATION

Please help continue the organizing and expansion efforts of N'COBRA in building our National & International Movements for Reparations. Reparations are obtainable in our lifetime. A committed people with a righteous cause is a force that cannot be denied.

Mail this bottom portion to the National Office N'COBRA,
P.O. Box 90604, Washington, DC 20090-0604
Tel: 202. 291. 8400 * Fax: 202. 291. 4600 * Website: <http://www.ncobra.org>

-----Tear off-----

N'COBRA National (Annual) Membership Application
Select appropriate categories. Make check/money order payable to NCOBRA.

There may be additional fees for local membership

Individual: ___ \$10-one year; ___ \$20-two years; ___ \$30- three-years; \$ ___ for ___ years; or ___ \$500.00 Life Membership (can be made in two \$250 payments); ___ \$25 Local Org; ___ 50 National Org. and

I would like to support the Commissions (check one or more and enter \$ amount):
___ Economic Development; ___ Education ___ Human Resources; ___ Information & Media;
___ International; Legal; ___ Legislative; ___ Youth

Total Amount Enclosed \$ _____

Name _____ Chpt/Org/Bus _____
(Please Print)

Street Address _____
(Please Print)

City/State/Zip Code _____

Home Phone () _____ Chapter/Org/Bus () _____

E-Mail _____ FAX () _____

Collected by (NCOBRA Member Name) _____

Chapter Name/Location _____

N'COBRA

National Coalition of Blacks for Reparations in America

P.O. Box 90604 Washington, DC 20090-0604

PHONE: 202.291.8400 FAX: 202.291.4600

EMAIL: NationalNCOBRA@aol.com WEBSITE: www.ncobra.org

DISCUSSION: http://groups.yahoo.com/group/Reparations_For_Africans

N'COBRA's Board of Directors

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Baba Hannibal Afrik, Co-Chair
(Port Gibson, Mississippi)

Kupenda Olusegun, Treasurer
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JoAnn Watson, At-Large
(Detroit, Michigan)

***N'COBRA's Elder Advisory Board and Commissions also
have representation on our Board of Directors.***

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(Chicago, Illinois)

Raymond "Reparations Ray" Jenkins, Elder Advisor
(Detroit, Michigan)

General Ali X. Rashid, Elder Advisor
(Miami, Florida)

General Mwesi Chui, Elder Advisor
(Dayton, Ohio)

Nia Kuumba, Elder Advisor
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Dr. Ron Walters, Elder Advisor
(College Park, Maryland)

N'COBRA's Commission Leaders

Economic Development

Alvin Brown (St. Louis, MO)
Taiwo Kugichagulia (Oakland, CA)
Baba Dr. Imari Obadele (BR, LA)

Education

Dr. Mary Hoover (Washington, DC)

Human Resources

Njere Alghanee (Atlanta, GA)
H. Khalif Khalifah (Dreweryville, VA)

Information and Media

JoAnn Watson (Detroit, MI)
Wautella ibn Yusuf (Washington, DC)
Jahahara Alkebulan-Ma'at (Oakland, CA)

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Legal Strategies

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Legislative

Nkechi Taifa (Washington, DC)
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Frank Omowale Satterwhite (E. PA, CA)

Youth

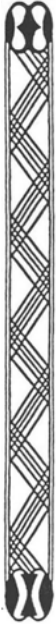
Shereeta Lacy (Indianapolis, IN)
Nuri Madina, (Chicago, IL)

Your Expertise and Participation Are Needed.

Join An N'COBRA Commission!

N'COBRA

National Coalition of Blacks for Reparations in America
P.O. Box 90604
Washington, DC 20090-0604



Address

In This Issue...

*N'COBRA'S 14th NATIONAL ANNUAL CONVENTION &
BLACK FRIDAY CAMPAIGN*

We are especially grateful to founding member Baba Kalonji Tor Olusegun for designing the N'COBRA logo (above). It consists of three sacred Andinkra symbols: NKON-SONKONSON (link or chain); OWA FOR A ADOBE (snake climbing the palm tree); and, BIRIBI-WO-SORO (a symbol of Hope denoting there is something in the Heavens). Together, these symbols express our links in this, and the next life; that We share a common blood relation which will never break apart; and that We can perform the impossible.

ATTENTION REPARATIONS ADVOCATES

FACT: The Reparations Movement cannot be advanced without the support of African (Black) People.

FACT: African (Black) People cannot and should not expect anyone other than ourselves to provide the resources needed to win our Reparations.

FACT: If you do not keep your membership up to date you will no longer receive N'COBRA membership mailings.

Do your part to move us closer to achieving Reparations. Contribute generously to N'COBRA. Renew Your N'COBRA membership each year. Encourage other Reparations supporters to join N'COBRA. Host fundraisers for N'COBRA and contribute the funds to N'COBRA projects that you feel passionately about. And remember the Power to Win Reparations is In our Hands! Reparations: Conceive It...Achieve It!

ENCOBRA

Special Fundraising Edition

Vol. XII
No. I

National Coalition Of Blacks for Reparations in America
14th National Conference ❖ Dallas, Texas ❖ Juneteenth

Summer
2003

NATIONAL FIVE YEAR STRATEGIC PLAN

Building N'COBRA and the Reparations Movement

2003 - 2008



**N'COBRA National Board Meeting & Retreat
Princeville, North Carolina**

ENCOBRA®

N'COBRA

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MISSION

The Commission will serve as the official organizational link for the dissemination and exchange of information on N'COBRA policies, Reparations issues, strategies and actions important to winning Reparations for African descendants in the U.S. and the Diaspora; assist in educating N'COBRA members and the general public about our just demands; and assist in the development of mass based support for Reparations.

DEPARTMENTS

Publishing Team

Publications: REPARATIONS NOW!

{Quarterly Membership Newsletter}

ENCOBRA {Annual magazine/journal}

BLACK REPARATIONS TIMES

{Quarterly public newspaper}

Internet/IT Team

N'COBRA Website:

NCOBRA.org & OfficialNcobra.org

(both .org are same)

Listserv – news egroup

Reparations_For_Africans@yahoogroups.com

Public Relations Team

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"ENCOBRA" is an information magazine for the Reparations Movement. N'COBRA published the first issue in 1992. This edition is produced by N'COBRA's Information and Media Commission. © 2003 all rights reserved

Dorothy Benton Lewis

National Co-Chair, N'COBRA

N'COBRA Family!

It has been another spectacular year!!! Everyday, the reparations movement is picking up more and more steam as a result of your hard work, creativity, and genius. Inside this movement, we are discovering our talents and putting them to great use. We are discovering our personal power and using it in service of our community. And we are finding great fulfillment in doing so.

This year, we got our house in order. We completed the first edition of our Policies and Procedures Manual! No more guess work or reinventing the wheel. We have a 5-year Action Plan, with goals, objectives, timetables, and a budget! Yes, each Commission has a budget! No money, of course! But we know exactly how much we have to raise, to carry out our programs. We have a stellar Fund Development Committee with some great projects planned to generate the funds. Even with few funds, most of our Commissions are fully functioning! Just like our ancestors, we make a way out of no way. We have projects that we are excited about. Unlike our ancestors, Callie House, Isaiah Dickerson, Irving B. Davis, Queen Mother Moore, and so many others, we can now clearly see the fruits of our labor. We stand on their shoulders and the work of organizations that came before us, such as the Self-Determination Committee, Black Reparations Commission, African People's Socialist Party, African National Reparations Organization, and the Republic of New Afrika, to name a few. We must always acknowledge those that paved the way. It does not diminish us in anyway to acknowledge the organizations that came before us, for they are we, and we are they. We form coalitions with other organizations to get the work done. A Year of Black Presence is an excellent example of coalition work.

*This movement belongs to all of us, as does N'COBRA. We each have a stake in N'COBRA's success. In N'COBRA, we strive to create a culture of leadership where those with a passion for reparations step up to the plate and assert their leadership and talents by participating in the work of a commission, or in developing a commission that needs strengthening, or making a case for a project or initiative that we don't already have. N'COBRA has a place for anyone who wants to work or take on the responsibility for a project that will forward the movement. No good idea will be turned down, especially if the person with the idea takes the leadership for it. If the idea excites you, you are probably the best one to make it real. For example, Randall Robinson had a good idea, "a year of Black presence in the halls of Congress," which he expressed in his book, *The Debt*. It inspired Milton McGriff who persuaded us that it was doable. In the beginning, we didn't really see how we could do it, but we weren't about to suppress his enthusiasm and energy. So, we got out of Milton's way and supported him in bringing forth the vision that excited him. Our Movement is the richer for it.*

The Dynamic Duo, Kibibi Tyehimba and Wautella ibn Yusuf, who individually are brilliant, but together make magic. They consistently come up with ideas that they take on and bring into fruition, such as Black Reparations Times, and education specific Town Hall Meetings on different aspects of the reparations debate. Baba Imari and Johnita Scott Obadele consistently use their brilliance in the service of N'COBRA: Encobra Magazine, Surveys, Economic Development Commissioner elections. Reparations Ray Jenkins has been the soul of fund raising for the Litigation Commission and its excellent work. Sister JoAnn Watson and Nkechi Taifa have been our Legislative gurus. I could go on for pages because every member of N'COBRA is special in what each brings to the movement. We congratulate N'COBRA Board member, JoAnn Watson for her election as Councilwoman in Detroit, Michigan. N'COBRA is fertile soil for growing ideas and growing people. I know that I have grown in confidence, in leadership and people skills. My greatest gift to the organization is my ability to see God in people. It is easy for me to get out of the way and let God do her/his work through the people that come into N'COBRA.

This year begins my last year as National Co-Chair of N'COBRA. There are two new projects that I plan to take on in my last year: Willie Lynch and Love. In Willie Lynch, I want to create opportunities for us to look at behaviors that are the lingering survival strategies that served us during slavery, but work against us now. In terms of love, I want to create opportunities for us to fall in love with the magnificence of Black people through self-discovery. When Black people see the magnificence in self (not as ego), we can see the same magnificence in other Black people. The work we do in the reparations movement will transform the toxic society in which we live. We must also transform the toxic effects this society has on us. I hope that each of you will find your place and a place for your vision in N'COBRA

For the ancestors and the future,

Dorothy Benton Lewis
National Co-Chair, N'COBRA

PRINCEVILLE RETREAT & BOARD MEETING

N'COBRA's Leaders Retreat to Make Plans to Advance



Imari Obadele, Adjoa Aiyetoro, Ukali Mwendo and Mashariki Jywanza

In attendance (sign-in sheet)

Ajamu Sankofa, Adjoa A. Aiyetoro, Khalif Khalifah, Alvin Brown, Kamau Jywanza, Mashariki Jywanza, Njere Alghanee, Wautella ibn Yusuf, Kibibi Tyehimba, Kupenda Olusegun, Baba Hannibal Afrik, Omowale Satterwhite, James Rodgers III, Imari Obadele, Kalonji Olusegun, Jahahara Alkebulan, Johnita Obadele, Dorothy Lewis, Ukali Mwendo and Milton Bullock

Milton Bullock (center), local N'COBRA organizer and retreat host



Princeville was established by ex-enslaved Africans following the Civil War on the east bank of the Tar River. It was the perfect place to retreat, get close to the land, and walk the river banks - sensing the spiritual presence of those in whose names we fight and speak. In this sacred space our leaders thought deeply about N'COBRA's internal and external struggles, and how best to live up to N'COBRA's founding mission: JUSTICE AND REPARATIONS for Black People.

Dorothy Lewis, National Co Chair lead discussion in the Black historic (137 years old) St. Paul Missionary Baptist Church



N'COBRA'S MISSION

After reviewing the mission as articulated in the founding documents and the proposed policies and procedures manual, N'COBRA's Board of Directors adopted the following mission for N'COBRA:

The mission of the National Coalition of blacks for Reparations in America (N'COBRA) is to win full Reparations for Black African Descendants residing in the United States and its territories for the genocidal war against Africa that created the TransAtlantic Slave "Trade," Chattel Slavery, Jim Crow and Chattel Slavery's continuing vestiges (the Maafa). To that end, N'COBRA shall organize and mobilize all strata of these Black communities into an effective mass- based reparations movement. N'COBRA shall also serve as a coordinating body for the reparations effort in the United States. Further, through its leadership role in the reparations movement within the United States and its territories, N'COBRA recognizes reparations is a just demand for all African peoples and shall join with others in building the international reparations movement.

United Front Required To Win Reparations

By Ron Daniels
TBWT Contributor
Article Dated 4/16/2002

Reparations to repair the physical, cultural, psychological and spiritual damages done to Africans in America during the holocaust of enslavement is an idea whose time has come. Momentum is building, and though the struggle will still be long and difficult, the prospect of victory is at least now conceivable.

My major caution and concern is that the various forces who have contributed to the extraordinary potential of this moment not squander this opportunity because of internal tensions, bickering, individual and organization egoism and political immaturity. In my considered judgment, what is required at this moment is operational unity and a united front to coordinate a massive multifaceted campaign to win reparations.

The surging momentum developing around the idea of reparations is the result of decades of dedicated struggle by a broad range of leaders, organizations and movements. Many veteran social and political activists like myself were first exposed to the idea of reparations by the great African freedom fighter Queen Mother Audley Moore. I recounted in a recent article how Queen Mother stood in the corridors of the Gary Black Political Convention in 1972, passing out literature and exhorting the participants not to forget "your reparations."

Queen Mother educated hundreds of activists about the definition, rationale and meaning of reparations. President Imari Obadele and The Republic of New Africa have also been relentless in the call for reparations. Los Angeles based activist Robert Brock is another crusader who has criss-crossed the country preaching and teaching about the necessity for compensation for former enslaved Africans. The Nation of Islam has also been a consistent voice in support of reparations. Indeed, by and large, the Nationalist/Pan-Africanist forces have been at the center of the demand for reparations for decades.

One of the most important developments in the last quarter of the 20th century, however, was the creation of a united front type umbrella organization called the National Coalition of Blacks for Reparations in America (N'COBRA). The creation of N'COBRA marked the coming together of a number of organizations and individuals to coordinate the work of pressing for reparations. One thinks of people like "Reparations Ray," Dorothy Benton Lewis, Imari and Jonetta Obadele, Chokwe Lumumba, Adjoa Aiyetoro, Nchechi Taifa, Hannibal Afrik, Kalonji and Kupenda Olusugun, Efia Mwanganza, Dr. James Turner, Ron Walters as among the stalwarts within the leadership and membership of the umbrella formation which more than any other kept the flame of reparations alive and burning when the issue was no where near as popular as it is today. It was the dedicated work of the core of activists and advocates that gathered around N'COBRA that set the stage for the current popularity of the concept of reparations. Among other things, N'COBRA methodically persuaded scores of national organizations and city councils to pass resolutions supporting reparations.

On the legislative front, Congressman John Conyers' introduction of HR- 40 in Congress, the Reparations Study Bill that would create a Presidential Commission to examine the impact of slavery on Africans in America and recommend remedies, has certainly had a galvanizing impact in

terms of provoking debate and discussion about the idea of compensation.

Massachusetts State Senator Bill Owens also created a national stir when he introduced a bill in the legislature demanding reparations for that state's complicity in sanctioning and profiting from slavery. And, as referenced above, scores of city councils across the country passed resolutions supporting the Conyer's bill or reparations in general. In addition, civil rights/human rights leaders like Rev. Jesse L. Jackson have periodically incorporated reparations into their public policy agendas.

The National Black United Front (NBUF), under the leadership of Dr. Conrad Worrill, launched a "We Charge Genocide Campaign," which with the support of the New York based December 12th Movement (D-12), significantly contributed to the popular education of Africans in America about the underlying causes and rationale for reparations. NBUF and D-12 collected thousands of signatures on petitions and presented them to the United Nations. Minister Silas Muhammad and his followers also gathered signatures and took them to the United Nations. In the most recent period, Deadria Farmer-Paellmann broke new ground with her pioneering research on the role of U.S. corporations in perpetuating and/or profiting from slavery (Ms. Paellmann recently sued Fleet Bank, Aetna Insurance Company and CSX Corp. for reparations).

Randall Robinson's powerful book *The Debt* has had an enormous impact in popularizing reparations and creating a comfort level with the idea among African Americans. The Black Radical Congress has adopted reparations as a major part of its program and sponsored a national conference on the subject last year. Chicago Alderwoman Dorothy Tillman also convened a national conference to build support for reparations in 2001. And, newly elected New York Councilman Charles Barron has opened up a whole new front by introducing a Queen Mother Moore Reparations Bill that would examine the City of New York's role in sanctioning and benefiting/profitting from slavery. In addition, Charles Ogeltree and Randall Robinson have assembled a high profile legal dream team that includes Johnnie Cochran and Willie Gary to pursue legal strategies to attain reparations.

Reparations are an idea whose time has come. A recent edition of *USA Today* devoted three full pages to the issue of reparations and the lawsuit that was filed by Ms. Paellmann received major attention in the media. NBUF and D-12 are spearheading a Millions for Reparations Mobilization scheduled for Washington, D.C. August 17, the birthday of Marcus Garvey. The moment is ripe with possibilities. My plea is that a major effort be undertaken to bring all of the forces together to forge a united front to hammer out principles of unity and a coordinated strategy to wage the struggle for reparations in the courtroom, the legislative arena and in the streets. It may be now or never!

Reparations: A straight Line From Slavery

Dr. Ronald Walters
Distinguished Leadership Scholar
University of Maryland

The Contribution of Slavery to American Development

We are in a period of history where morality and ethics are emphasized as the primary ingredients civil virtue. However, one of the most immoral acts in the development of the United States of America was the enslavement of the African, compounded by the failure to acknowledge that the grandeur of this country was based, in substantial part, upon the monumental resources made possible by unpaid African labor and the refusal to reward Reparations for this crime. What occurred is known by the legal concept of “unjust enrichment.” Yet, most Americans have rejected the strength of America’s slave heritage and as such, devalue the contribution of African slavery to the formation the nation’s economic strength.

Contrast this modern flight from responsibility to the words of William Pitt the Younger, Head of State, at the moment in 1807, when the English Parliament was passing legislation prohibiting the slave trade:

“I therefore congratulate this House, the country and the world that this great point is gained: that we may now consider this trade as having received its condemnation; that its sentence is sealed; that this curse of mankind is seen by the House in its true light; and that the greatest stigma on our national character which ever yet existed is about to be removed. And sir, (which is still more important) that mankind, I trust, in general, are now likely to be delivered from the greatest practical evil that ever has afflicted the human race--from the severest and most extensive calamity recorded in the history of the world!”

William Pitt the Younger did not temporize about the depth of the crime of slavery as is generally the case in so many quarters today.

And yet, America was a slave state. Elliot Cairnes in his 1862 analysis, he titled "The Slave Power," described in one chapter the economic inequalities fostered by large plantation owners, who bought up land, expanded slavery and drove their poorer whites neighbors out, reducing many of them, nearly to the poverty of blacks. The consequence, Cairnes said, was that: "The tendency of things, therefore, in slave countries is to a very unequal distribution of wealth."ⁱ He went on:

The poor whites have as has been shown, are the natural growth of the slave system; their existence and character flowing necessarily from two facts—the slaves, who render the capitalists independent of their services, and the wilderness, the constant feature of slave countries, which enables them to exist without engaging in regular work. There is no capital to support them as hired laborers, and they have the means of subsisting in semi-savage condition, without it.ⁱⁱ

Tannenbaum gave an even more expansive view of the impact of slavery:

The Negro by his presence changed the form of the state, the nature of property, the system of law, the organization of labor, the role of the church as well as in its character, the notions of justice, ethics, ideas of right and wrong. Slavery influenced the architecture, the clothing, the cooking, the politics, the literature, the morals of the entire group—white and black, men and women, old and young. Nothing escaped, nothing and no one.ⁱⁱⁱ

An example is that the factory system emerged as an outgrowth of slavery, when in 1790 Samuel Slater, an English immigrant who knew the secrets of the English textile machinery built a cotton-spinning mill at Pawtucket, R. I., for a merchant, named Moses Brown. It was the first successful American factory and contained 72 spindles. By the end of the War of 1812, hundreds of factories were in operation, the number of

spindles was estimated at 130,000 and by 1840 there were 2 million. Enslaved Africans in the South picked the cotton which fed these spindles and fueled the growth of the textile industry in New England.

This led to the genesis of a larger and more sophisticated manufacturing system, the American corporation, when in 1865, at the end of the Civil War, a group of businessmen formed what came to be known as the Boston Associates, that included Frances Cabot Lowell, Nathan Appleton, Patrick Tracy Jackson who formed the Boston Manufacturing company in Waltham, Mass. This was the first integrated factory in textiles, that performed every operation. In 1920 they shifted their operations to Lowell, Massachusetts and became the Merrick Manufacturing company and in the 1920s and 1930s they bought companies in Massachusetts and New Hampshire, making the manufacturing corporation an entrenched institution in America.

So, slavery was a national enterprise, uniting the labor of Africans in the South to the industries of the North, in the process creating commerce in America and markets for American cotton abroad.

The Linkage of Slavery to Modern Conditions

It is also currently fashionable to disconnect slavery from the modern patterns of disadvantage experienced by black Americans and to assert that they are due to the lack of "individual responsibility." Nevertheless, black people entered the role as citizens as an impoverished class. The distinguished black American intellectual, Dr. W. E. B. Dubois noted, in his study, The Philadelphia Negro, (1897) that, "everywhere

slavery was accompanied by pauperization,” that this condition of black poverty prevented blacks from establishing a black middle class, when wave upon wave of poor migrants from the South overwhelmed the fledgling black elite and defined poverty as the basic condition of the black urban ghetto. Du Bois, Professors Kenneth Clark, William Wilson and others have established a clear link between the “pauperization” of blacks and such social conditions as: high crime rates, lack of wealth, poor health, educational gaps, family social disorganization, high unemployment rates, poor neighborhoods and substandard housing and other structures.

The reasons for these conditions, which mark the characteristics of the black urban ghetto and the institutions within it even today have been mystified, but slavery is responsible for having robbed black people of the economic resources necessary to have acquired the cultural tools and institutions of the dominant group. These economic resources would have made possible the construction of schools and colleges that would have long ago closed any cultural gap in test scores and produced a large middle class blacks that would have developed companies the equal of AT&T, IBM or Morgan Stanley. This would have institutionalized a private economy which would have provide a substantial source of independence for the black community. The dimensions of this debt has attracted individuals such as Nobel Prize winning Yale Economist, Boris Bittker, to analyze this problem in his book *The Case For Black Reparations*, as early as 1973.

The Longevity of slavery

One reason given for denying Reparations to African descendants and according them

to Asian Americans and Jews is that the events which constituted a basis occurred more recently during World War II. However, it is one of the myths of American history and its historians that slavery ended in 1865. In fact, although legal slavery ended, in many places, especially in the South, the practice continued well into the 20th Century.

The National Archives contains files of the NAACP with letters written in the 1920, 1930s and 1940s, sent to the organization by blacks who were still held in slavery conditions on plantations in the South, still being forced to work, still brutalized and not paid or paid symbolic wages. Then, debt slavery was common where the share cropping system held many former slaves in legal bondage, enforced by the law, forcing them to work to pay mythical debts to land owners. Finally, the prison system was expanded in the South and utilized to administer the convict-lease system, where blacks were convicted on petty or nonexistent crimes and leased-out to work for merchants and plantation owners in slavery conditions. These variations were in many cases merely other forms of slavery, often worse than the original kind.

The length of this system carried well into the 20th Century as records of the Justice Department show. In a June 16, 1996 *Washington Post* article by Len Cooper, "Slavery Did Not End With The Civil War: One Man's Odyssey Into A Nation's Secret Shame." Cooper also cites a newspaper story that described a Justice Department prosecution for African slavery in 1954, involving the Dial brothers in Sumpter County, Alabama, who had held blacks in involuntary servitude. This means that the Civil Rights movement was the force that broke the final link to 19th Century African slavery.

The fact that some blacks were held in slavery until after World War II and that cases

of lynching also extended to that period, refutes any proposition that slavery ended in 1865, establishing a modern basis for Reparations for the descendants of Africans as legitimate as that of any other group.

Government Responsibility

We also live in an era when there is much public dialogue about “individual responsibility,” rather the responsibility of government. Yet, in this case, there is both a rejection of individual responsibility for slavery on the basis of longevity, recency of immigration, or other factors, as well as, a reluctance to acknowledge the culpability of the state in administering the past slave status of African Americans. These have combined into the feeling that since neither individual nor government responsibility was possible, the pursuit of such a public policy was “unrealistic” and used ultimately, by both blacks and whites, to successfully evade an American dialogue about this issue. Real Reparations, however, have been given to other groups. Slavery and the extermination of the Native American are the only truly American Holocausts, but whereas the Native Americans have been given land and a system of government, however flawed, black Americans have not been compensated for slavery and certainly have not enjoyed benefits beyond those available to other American citizens. And while Reparations have been informally refused blacks, descendants of Japanese American internees during World War II now receive them. In fact, it is possible to argue that the past attempts made to make amelioration for slavery have been dismantled before they could be implemented, or changed to advantage the majority, whether in the case of Reconstruction, or civil rights, or even Affirmative Action.

I refer to the responsibility of government as the main authority figure in arranging recompense for slavery because at every stage, individual Americans were permitted to practice slavery by writ of law, by the each of the Colonial territories even before there was a United States of America, but certainly by the Constitutional Congress, by successive acts of the Supreme Court, the Congress and the state governments. So, as much as individuals are sensitive to the demand for Reparations out of their own moral culpability for slavery, it is a basic responsibility of government. Similarly, the U. S. Government has paid Japanese Reparations, not the individual soldier who guarded the gates of the prison compounds nor those civilians who lived in their confiscated homes.

Conclusion

There is a deep sensitivity among African descendants in America today that a substantial part of the social distance between them and white America was created by the process of enslavement. Despite the rampant economic growth, the structural distance in economic resources has been maintained in that, blacks still have only one-tenth the wealth of whites, more than twice the poverty rate and double the unemployment rate of whites. This means that the failure to replace appropriated black economic resources as an “unrealistic” public policy, is one of the powerful factors which results in the inability of both blacks and whites to “get beyond race” because the reluctant pace of resolving the inequality continues to place an emphasis on the fact that blacks in America are the only group expected to come all the way up the rough side of the mountain - in the most economically competitive society in the

world - without the requisite resources to do so. The other factor, of course, is the persistence of racism in nearly every sector of American life, a fact which continues to transfer resources to whites, buttressed by the attempt to attribute the subordinate status of blacks to the lack of effort, or their natural inferiority, as rendered in such works as *The Bell Curve*, by Murray and Herrnstein.

So, it is obvious that the past is prologue to the project of racial reconciliation in America, just as it is in South Africa, Australia or wherever people have been dispossessed of their resources. In order to address this problem in this country, it must become an American dialogue which truly gives national legitimacy to the identity of black people as African Americans, an identity with equal force vested in both terms. At the height of the attempt to pass civil rights laws in the 1960s, those opposed argued that the key to full black participation in American life is not the passage of laws, but social acceptance. The other side of this equation is that acceptance must also come from blacks and its most pristine foundation begins with the acknowledgment of the role of the dominant culture in the crime of slavery, the equal crime of pretending that the gap between African and others is a natural condition, rather than a product of his and her enslavement and to make material recompense for the unpaid labor of those enslaved.

In the picture of that famous night in 1776 which shows General George Washington crossing the Delaware River, there is also pictured a black man in the boat at the oars. His name was Prince Whipple, the son of an African King from West Africa, who sent to the Americas for education, but enslaved by William Whipple, one

of the signatories to the Declaration of Independence, who seconded Prince to be George Washington's aide when Whipple went to war. As William Whipple was leaving to join the fight for American independence as an officer, Prince Whipple was recorded to have said: "You are going to fight for your liberty, but I have none to fight for." Resolving the debt of slavery through Reparations will help to combine what has been two different historical struggles for "freedom" into one.

i. John Elliott Cairnes, The Slave Power, New York: Harper Torchbooks/Harper and Row, 1969, p. 76.

ii. Ibid, p. 144.

iii. Frank Tannenbaum, Slave and Citizen, Boston: Beacon Press, 1992, p. 117-118.

FILED

APR 29 2003 *lee*

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
FOR THE NORTHERN DISTRICT OF ^{Phil Lombardi, Clerk} ~~U.S. DISTRICT COURT~~

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JOHN MELVIN ALEXANDER; JUANITA
DELORES BURNETT ARNOLD; J.B.)
BATES; ESSIE LEE JOHNSON BECK;)
JAMES D. BELL; PHINES BELL;)
FRANCES BLACKWELL; JUANITA)
WILLIAMS BLAKELY; JUANITA SMITH)
BOOKER; KINNEY BOOKER; DOROTHY)
BOOKER BOULDING; JEANETTE McNEAL)
BRADSHAW; TERESA EARLEE BRIDGES)
DYSART; JOHNNIE L. GRAYSON BROWN;)
LEE ELLA STROZIER BROWN; CLARENCE)
BRUNER; LULA BELLE LACY BULLOCK;)
JOE R. BURNS; ROSA L. GREEN)
BYNUM; MURIEL MIGNON LILLY)
CABELL; BEATRICE CAMPBELL-)
WEBSTER; JAMES DALE CARTER;)
ROSELLA CARTER; SAMUEL CASSIUS;)
NAOMI HOOKER CHAMBERLAIN; MILDRED)
MITCHELL CHRISTOPHER; MILDRED)
LUCAS CLARK; OTIS GRANVILLE)
CLARK; SANDY CLARK; BLANCHE)
CHATMAN COLE; WORDIE "PEACHES")
MILLER COOPER; CARRIE HUMPHREY)
CUDJOE; Laverne COOKSEY DAVIS;)
DOLLY MAE DOUFITT; JAMES DURANT;)
LUCILLE B. BUCHANAN FIGURES;)
ARCHIE JACKSON FRANKLIN; JIMMIE)
LILLY FRANKLIN; JOAN HILL)
GAMBREL; ERNESTINE GIBBS; HAROLD)
GIBBS; THERESSA CORNELLA McNEAL)
GILLIAM; EDWARD L. GIVENS; BERTHA)
GUYTON; HAZEL FRANKLIN HACKETT;)
MILDRED JOHNSON HALL; NELL)
HAMILTON HAMPTON; LEROY LEON)
HATCHER; MADELEINE HAYNES; JOYCE)
WALKER HILL; ROBERT HOLLOWAY; DR.)
OLIVIA J. HOOKER; SAMUEL L.)
HOOKER, JR.; WILHELMINA GUESS)
HOWELL; CHARLES HUGHES; MYRTLE)
WELLS HURD; VERA INGRAM; EUNICE)
CLOMAN JACKSON; GENEVIEVE)
ELIZABETH TILLMAN JACKSON; WILLIE)

CASE NO. 03-CV-133 E(c)
SECOND AMENDED COMPLAINT
FOR:
(1) DEPRIVATION OF LIFE AND LIBERTY AND THE PRIVILEGES AND IMMUNITIES OF UNITED STATES CITIZENSHIP IN VIOLATION OF THE FOURTEENTH AMENDMENT OF THE U.S. CONSTITUTION;
(2) DEPRIVATION OF PROPERTY AND PRIVILEGES AND IMMUNITIES OF UNITED STATES CITIZENSHIP IN VIOLATION OF THE FOURTEENTH AMENDMENT OF THE U.S. CONSTITUTION;
(3) VIOLATION OF THE EQUAL PROTECTION CLAUSE AND THE PRIVILEGES AND IMMUNITIES CLAUSE OF THE FOURTEENTH AMENDMENT OF THE U.S. CONSTITUTION;
(4) VIOLATION OF U.S.C. §1981;
(5) VIOLATION OF U.S.C. §1983;
(6) VIOLATION OF U.S.C. §1985;

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BELL WHITE JACKSON; DR. HOBART)
JARRETT; ARTIE LACY JOHNSON;)
WILMA MITCHELL JOHNSON; EDWARD)
EARVEN JONES; HAZEL DOLORES SMITH)
JONES; JULIA BONTON JONES; PERCY)
JONES; THELMA THURMAN KNIGHT;)
LEANNA JOHNSON LEWIS; KATIE MAE)
JOHNSON LIVINGSTON; ALICE HIGGS)
LOLLIS; ROANNA HENRY McCLURE;)
ELDORIS MAE ECTOR McCONDICHIE;)
CAROL SMITHERMAN MARTIN; MARY)
TACOMA MAUPIN; WILLIE MUSGROVE)
MEANS; ISHMAEL S. MORAN; RUTH)
DEAN NASH; SIMEON L. NEAL;)
ALMADGE J. NEWKIRK; MYRTLE NAPIER)
OLIVER; JUANITA MAXINE SCOTT)
PARRY; IDA BURNS PATTERSON;)
FREDDIE SCOTT PAYNE; JOAN)
ALEXANDER POWDRILL; ALICE)
PRESLEY; DeLOIS VADEN RAMSEY;)
CORA HAWKINS RENFRO; SIMON R.)
RICHARDSON; JEWEL SMITHERMAN)
ROGERS; GERLINE HELEN WRIGHT)
SAYLES; JULIUS WARREN SCOTT;)
WILLIAM A. SCOTT; TULETA S.)
DUNCAN SHAWNEE; VENEICE DUNN)
SIMMS; HAL "CORNBREAD" SINGER;)
NAOMI SIPLIN; BEULAH LOREE KEENAN)
SMITH; GOLDEN WILLIAMS SMITH;)
LOLA SNEED SNOWDEN; JAMES L.)
STEWARD; DOROTHY WILSON)
STRICKLAND; SARAH TATUM; LOIS)
WHITE TAYLOR; WILLIE MAE SHELBURN)
THOMPSON; EFFIE LEE SPEARS TODD;)
MELVIN C. TODD; KATHRYN MAE)
TAYLOR TOLIN; BESSIE MAE AUSTIN)
VESTER; QUEEN ESTHER LOVE WALKER;)
SAMUEL WALKER; TROY SIDNEY)
WALKER; OSCAR DOUGLAS WASHINGTON;)
MARY LEON BROWN WATSON; ALLEN)
MATTHEW WHITE; CECIL WHITE; MARIE)
WHITEHORN; MILDRED EVITT WILBURN;)
BERTRAM C. WILLIAMS; LOUIE BARTON)
WILLIAMS; WILLIAM HAROLD WOOD;)
CLOTIE LEWIS WRIGHT; WESS YOUNG;)
DONNA ADAMS; JOHNETTA ADAMS;)

(7) PROMISSORY ESTOPPEL;

(8) NEGLIGENCE.

Filing Date: _____
Trial Date: _____

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2 THOMAS ADAMS, JR.; C.J.)
ALEXANDER; GEORGE ALEXANDER;)
3 LILLIAN ALEXANDER; BRENDA NAILS)
ALFORD; BETTY ANDERSON; RHONDA)
4 ANDERSON; ROBERT EARL ANDERSON;)
IRMA THOMAS ANTHONY; LEONA JERRYE)
5 BRUNER ANTHONY; MARY BELL)
ARRINGTON; ARVEN AUTRY; ELMER)
6 AUTRY; JAMES AUTRY; OTIS AUTREY,)
JR.; RUTH ELLA AUTRY; MARGUERITE)
7 BAGBY; JOHN BAILEY; NICHOLAS A.)
BANKS; EDITH MCALESTER EARNES;)
8 LESLIE BEARD; RAYMOND BEARD, SR.;)
AUDELE MCLEOD BEEKS; R.G. BELL;)
9 WILMA PRESLEY BELL; SIMON BERRY)
JR.; REV. BRADFORD BISHOP; EUGENE)
10 BOLTON; JAMES BOLTON; OSCAR BOYD;)
DOROTHY WILLIAMS BRANLETT;)
11 DOROTHY JACKSON BREWER; PATRICIA)
DUKES BROME; NAOMI LAWSON BROWN;)
12 WILLIAM BRUNER; BRENDA FAIR)
CAMPBELL; HENRY CANNON; NATHANIEL)
13 CANNON; EDWINA WALKER CARR;)
BERNARD CARTER; EDDIE HUE CARTER;)
14 ROBERT CARTER, JR.; SAMUEL LEE)
CARTER; ELIZABETH COOLEY)
15 CHAPPELLE; ANITA WILLIAMS)
CHRISTOPHER; VASSIE CLARK; AILEEN)
16 JOANNE AUSTIN COBURN; MARILYN KAY)
JOHNSON COLEY; ERLINE CROSSLIN;)
17 BERNICE E. BANKS DAVIS; FRED)
DAVIS; ROY DAVIS; LAWRENCE HERMAN)
18 DENNIE; EVELYN DIGGS; ROBERT)
CHARLES DUKES; WILLIE DUKES; RITA)
19 DUNCAN; ROGER DUNCAN; SYLVIA A.)
DUNN; AMY GAMBLE EIDSON; MARY L.)
20 EMERSON; BILL EWING; JO ANN)
EWING; ROBERT EWING; JANET FAIR;)
21 STANLEY FAIR, JR.; WILBUR FOSTER;)
ALFREDA O. DENNIE FRANKLIN; JOHN)
22 HOPE FRANKLIN; JEAN FREENY;)
THELMA KINLAW GERMANY; MARGARET)
23 JEAN TILLEY GIBBS; BOBBYE LOUISE)
GILBERT; JEANNE OSBY GOODWIN;)
24 LINDA EDMONDSON GRAVES; ALBERT)
GRAYSON; KATHERINE WOOD HALE;)
25

1
2 LEONTYNE THOMAS HARRELL; DELORES)
HARRINGTON; MARY PRISCILLA PARKER)
3 HARRISON; JEANETTE HAWKINS;)
OLANDER HAWKINS; STARLA HAWKINS;)
4 JOBIE ELIZABETH HOLDERNESS;)
MAYBELLINE PRESLEY HOOKS; JUANITA)
5 ALEXANDER HOPKINS; SHARON)
HOPKINS; EMMA LOCKARD HORN;)
6 MAXIMILLIAN HOWELL; MIDLRED)
WALLACE HUSPETH; HELEN SIPUEL)
7 HUGGINS; CLARENCE JACKSON; DELLA)
SHELTON JACKSON; GAIL JACKSON;)
8 GENIEIVE JACKSON; ROSIE LEE)
JACKSON; SAYYID JAMI; ARTHUR)
9 JEFFERSON; LULA MAE JEFFERSON;)
MATTHEW JEFFERSON; ROBERT)
10 JEFFERSON; GERALDINE FAIR JESSIE;)
CAROLYN PRICE JOHNSON; FELICIA)
11 MCLEOD JOHNSON; JOANN JOHNSON;)
RONALD WAYNE JOHNSON; VAL GENE)
12 JOHNSON, SR.; DOROTHY JONES; EVA)
MAE TILLEY JONES; MELVIN "TIP")
13 JONES; MILDREN PRELSEY KAVANAUGH;)
VERNELL KELLEY; BEVERLY NAILS)
14 KELLY; LORELL KIRK; FRANCINE)
JOHNSON KNAPPER; JAMES BERNARD)
15 KNIGHTEN; MAXINE JACKSON LACY;)
SANDRA JEAN DAVIS LANDRUM; CAESAR)
16 LATIMER; CHARLES SYLVESTER)
LATIMER; HAZEL LATIMER; JAMES)
17 HAROLD LATIMER; JAYPHEE LATIMER;)
LISA LATIMER; PATRICE LATIMER;)
18 BERNICE LAWLER; EDWARD LAWSON;)
JOHNNYE CANNON LAWSON; MARCUS)
19 LAWSON; MARGARET ANN LAWSON;)
PALMER LAWSON, JR.; GLENDA)
20 LEBEAUX; MARGARET LEE; NORMA JEAN)
DENNIE LESHIE; JIMMIE LEWIS; JOE)
21 LEWIS; LORRAINE LEWIS; CORTEZ)
LOCKARD; EDWARD LOCKARD; ERNEST)
22 LOCKARD; FRANK LOCKARD; JESSIE)
MAE LOCKARD; OSCAR LOCKARD; SELMA)
23 LOCKARD; MARY LOUPE; CATHERINE)
MARTIN; FELTON MARTIN; JAMES)
24 PRESTON MARTIN; NANCY MARTIN;)
FAYE MAY; SARAH CURVAY MAYSHAW;)
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1
2 LEONA AUSTIN MCCAIN; PAULINE)
MCCANTS; DENISE MCCRAY; OTIS)
3 MCCRAY III; LORRAINE MCFARLAND;)
JEAN WILLIAMS MCGILL; DONALD JOHN)
4 MCGOWAN; WALLACE MCLEOD, JR.;)
BETTY PRESLEY MCMILLAN; LADAWNA)
5 MILLER; MILDRED MARIAN HAMEL)
MILLER; PEGGY ANN MCRUFFIN)
6 MITCHELL; OVETA MIXON; ELIZABETH)
PRESLEY MONDAY; PAT GALBRAITH)
7 MOORE; RONALD EARL MOORE; EVA)
GAMBLE MORRIS; CLARINDA NAILS;)
8 TERRY NASH; EARTHA MCALESTER)
NORMAN; MATTIE DAVIS OLIVER;)
9 LAVADA LOUISE PARKER OSBOURNE;)
AUDREY BANKS PARSON; JOHN W.)
10 PATTON; LENA MAE JOHNSON PAYNE;)
JULIUS PEGUES; GERALDINE)
11 PERRYMAN-TEASE; WANDA EWING POPE;)
ESCO PORTERFIELD; MARK)
12 PORTERFIELD; JILL ELIZABETH)
PRESLEY; JOYCE MARIE PRESLEY;)
13 LISA PRESLEY; RAYMOND PRESLEY;)
RONALD DEAN PRESLEY; FLOYD PRICE;)
14 JANE FAIR PRUETT; MARCIA WALKER)
PUCKETT; JOYCE RAMSEY; ALLENE)
15 KNIGHTEN RAYFORD; MAE ETTA)
REYNOLDS; SHIRLEY RIDLEY; PATSY)
16 ROBINSON; FRANK EUGENE RODGERS;)
ERIC ROLLERSON; LEON ROLLERSON;)
17 WILA ROLLERSON; YVONNE ROLLERSON;)
JANICE LOU JOHNSON ROSS; BILLIE)
18 WAYNE RUCKER; J.C. RUCKER; ROBERT)
C. RUCKER; BOBBIE JEAN SAULET;)
19 MILDRED LOUISE DAVIS SCOTT;)
THERESA DAVIS SCOTT; YVONNE FAIR)
20 SHAW; BILLY SHELTON; DIANA LYNN)
SHELTON; JOHNNY SHELTON; MAIME)
21 SHELTON; SHIRLEY SHELTON; EUNA)
VANN SMITH; FRED SMITH; HARRIET)
22 ADAMS SMITH; ORA SMITH; CLAUDIA)
MAUDE SMITHERMAN; CATHRYN BELL)
23 SNODDY; BETTY SPEARS; DIANE)
ANDERSON STEELE; PATRICIA MCLEOD)
24 STEPHENSON; LAUREL STRADFORD;)
ROSE STRIPLIN; CARRIE M. MCDONALD)
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STROTHER; MARTHA MCGLORIE)
SWINDALL; AUDREY TAYLOR; BYRON)
TAYLOR; BOBBIE JEAN CARTER)
TENNYSON; SYLVESTER TERRY, JR.;)
MARGARET THARPE; JERRY FIELDS)
THOMAS; JESSIE THOMAS; ERMA SMITH)
THOMPSON; PANSY TILLEY; CLIFTON)
JOE TIPTON; ROSEZELLA TURNER;)
SHIRLEY A. JOHNSON TYUS; MAXINE)
JESSIE VADEN; LORENZO CARLOS)
VANN; ALICE BOYD VAUGHN; FANNIE)
SMITH VERNER; PAM VINCENT;)
MARIETTA ANDERSON WAITERS;)
DENETTE MARIA WALKER; FRANK)
WALKER, SR.; HARRY DANIEL WALKER;)
HARRY LEON WALKER; RILEY WALKER,)
JR.; WILLIAM D. WALKER; MARGE)
WALLACE; MAYBELLE WALLACE;)
MILDRED CANNON WALLACE; SYLVIA)
WARE; OLENE WALKER WASHINGTON;)
JIMMIE WICKAM; YVONNE WILEY-WEBB;)
CHARLOTTE WILLIAMS; DAVID)
WILLIAMS; FANNIE WILLIAMS; GRANT)
WILLIAMS; PATRICIA WILLIAMS; IDA)
LOUISE DENNIE WILLIS; ANNIE)
ALEXANDER WILSON; BERTHA WILSON;)
BOBBIE WILSON; ELIZABETH WILSON;)
MARY A. WILSON; NAOMI NASH)
WILLIAMS WIMBERLY; RAMONA DINKINS)
WIMBERLY; EDNA EARLY WORKS;)
CHARLOTTE WRIGHT,)

Plaintiffs,

v.

THE STATE OF OKLAHOMA; THE CITY
OF TULSA; THE CHIEF OF POLICE OF
THE CITY OF TULSA (in his
official capacity); THE CITY OF
TULSA POLICE DEPARTMENT; and DOES
1 through 100, inclusive,

Defendants.

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COMPLAINT
(Jury Trial Requested)

Plaintiffs JOHN MELVIN ALEXANDER et al. allege as follows:

STATEMENT OF JURISDICTION

1. This action arises under the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States; the Civil Rights Act of April 9, 1866, 14 Stat. 27, currently codified at 42 U.S.C. §1981; the Civil Rights Act of April 20, 1871, 17 Stat. 13, currently codified at 42 U.S.C. §§1983, 1985(3) and the laws of the State of Oklahoma. Jurisdiction is based on 28 U.S.C. §§1331, 1343, and 1367.

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF THE CIRCUMSTANCES
THAT PRECIPITATED THIS SUIT

A. Plaintiffs And Defendants

2. Plaintiffs, United States citizens, are the African American survivors of the "Riot" of May 31, 1921 to June 1, 1921, and/or their descendants who were African American residents of the Greenwood section of the City of Tulsa ("Greenwood"). They bring this suit for restitution and repair of the injuries sustained by them or their relatives from the actions and inaction of the agents of the STATE OF OKLAHOMA and the CITY OF TULSA for acts they committed during and in the aftermath of the Riot. Defendants THE STATE OF OKLAHOMA and the

1
2 CITY OF TULSA conspired together and acted in concert with one
3 another throughout and after the Riot. They called out local
4 units of the State National Guard and deputized white citizens
5 of Tulsa, Oklahoma ("Tulsa"), who, acting under color of state
6 law, participated as members of a white mob in a race Riot that
7 was designed to, and did in fact, brutalize and terrorize the
8 African American residents of the Greenwood District. Almost
9 every building in the Greenwood District was razed to the
10 ground.

11 3. One group of Plaintiffs was forcibly removed
12 from their homes by the white mob that included Defendants'
13 lawful agents. That group includes: FRANCES BLACKWELL; NELL
14 HAMILTON HAMPTON; ISHMAEL S. MORAN; JUANITA MAXINE SCOTT PARRY;
15 and JAMES L. STEWARD, who was forced out of his home after the
16 rioting white mob set fire to the building while he and his
17 family were still inside.

18 4. Other Plaintiffs escaped from the mob only to be
19 captured later by the members of Defendant the CITY OF TULSA'S
20 police force or by the National Guard. They include Plaintiffs
21 JOHN ALEXANDER, JUANITA SMITH BOOKER, KINNEY BOOKER, DOROTHY
22 BOOKER BOULDING, JOHNNIE L. GRAYSON BROWN, JOE R. BURNS, ROSA L.
23 GREEN BYNUM, BEATRICE CAMPBELL-WEBSTER, NAOMI HOOKER
24 CHAMBERLAIN, MILDRED MITCHELL CHRISTOPHER, CARRIE HUMPHREY
25

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2 CUDJOE, LUCILLE BUCHANAN FIGURES, ERNESTINE GIBBS, HAROLD GIBBS,
3 HAZEL FRANKLIN HACKETT, MADELEINE HAYNES, JOYCE WALKER HILL,
4 VERA INGRAM, EUNICE CLOMAN JACKSON, GAIL JACKSON, DR. HOBART
5 JARRETT, HAZEL DELORES SMITH JONES, MARY TACOMA MAUPIN, ALICE
6 HIGGS LOLLIS, ISHMAEL S. MORAN, SIMON R. RICHARDSON, BEULAH
7 LOREE KEENAN SMITH, GOLDEN WILLIAMS SMITH, DOROTHY WILSON
8 STRICKLAND, LOIS WHITE TAYLOR, BERTRAM C. WILLIAMS, LOUIE BARTON
9 WILLIAMS, and WESS YOUNG.

10 5. Other Plaintiffs were forced to flee town
11 completely. They include J.B. BATES, LULA BELLE LACY BULLOCK,
12 JAMES DALE CARTER, who was carried forty miles by his mother,
13 ROSELLA CARTER, OTIS GRANVILLE CLARK, LEROY LEON HATCHER, who
14 walked nine miles to escape the rioting white mob, JOYCE WALKER
15 HILL, EDWARD EARVEN JONES, FRANCINE JOHNSON KNAPPER, GLENDA
16 LEBEAUX, ELDORIS MAE ECTOR McCONDICHIE, OVETA MIXON, SIMEON L.
17 NEAL, RUTH DEAN NASH, JUANITA MAXINE SCOTT PARRY, IDA BURNS
18 PATTERSO, ALICE PRESLEY, TULETA S. DUNCAN SHAWNEE, BEULAH LOREE
19 KEENAN SMITH, LOLA SNEED SNOWDEN, LOIS WHITE TAYLOR, WILLIE MAE
20 SHELBURN THOMPSON, QUEEN ESTHER LOVE WALKER, who was shot at as
21 she attempted to flee, and MARIE WHITEHORN

22 6. These and other Plaintiffs had their property
23 looted and burned by the white mob acting under color of state
24 law. They include J.B. BATES, ESSIE LEE JOHNSON BECK, J.D.

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BELL, PHINES BELL, EUGENE BOLTON, JAMES BOLTON, JUANITA SMITH
BOOKER, KINNEY BOOKER, DOROTHY BOOKER BOULDING, JEANETTE McNEAL
BRADSHAW, TERESA EARLEE BRIDGES DYSART, PATRICIA DUKES BROME,
JOHNNIE L. GRAYSON BROWN, ROSA L. GREEN BYNUM, MURIEL MIGNON
LILLY CABELL, MILDRED MITCHELL CHRISTOPHER, MILDRED LUCAS CLARK,
OTIS GRANVILLE CLARK, BLANCHE CHATMAN COLE, CARRIE HUMPHREY
CUDJOE, EVEYLYN DIGGS, ROBERT CHARLES DUKES, WILLIE DUKES,
HATTIE LILLY DUNN, JAMES DURANT, LUCILLE BUCHANAN FIGURES,
ARCHIE JACKSON FRANKLIN, JIMMIE LILLY FRANKLIN, JEAN FREENY,
ERNESTINE GIBBS, HAROLD GIBBS, MARGARET TILLEY GIBBS, THERESSA
CORNELLA McNEAL GILLIAM, MILDRED JOHNSON HALL HAZEL FRANKLIN
HACKETT, KATHERINE WOOD HALE, LEROY LEON HATCHER, MADELEINE
HAYNES, JOYCE WALKER HILL, DR. OLIVIA J. HOOKER, SAMUEL L.
HOOKER, JR., WILHELMINA GUESS HOWELL, MILDRED WALLACE HUDSPETH,
VERA INGRAM, GENEVIEVE ELIZABETH TILLMAN JACKSON, SAYYID JAMI,
DR. HOBART JARRETT, WILMA MITCHELL JOHNSON, HAZEL DELORES SMITH
JONES, JULIA BONTON JONES, THELMA KNIGHT, CAROL SMITHERMAN
MARTIN, MARY TACOMA MAUPIN, PAULINE MCCANTS, RUTH DEAN NASH,
SIMEON L. NEAL, ALMADGE J. NEWKIRK, JUANITA MAXINE SCOTT PARRY,
IDA BURNS PATTERSON, DELOIS VADEN RAMSEY, JEWEL SMITHERMAN
ROGERS, GERLINE HELEN WRIGHT SAYLES, JULIUS WARREN SCOTT,
VENEICE DUNN SIMS, HARRIET ADAMS SMITH, BEULAH LOREE KEENAN
SMITH, GOLDEN WILLIAMS SMITH, LOLA SNEED SNOWDEN, JAMES L.

1
2 STEWARD, LAUREL STRADFORD, DOROTHY WILSON STRICKLAND, LOIS WHITE
3 TAYLOR, WILLIE MAE SHELBURN THOMPSON, EFFIE LEE SPEARS TODD,
4 MELVIN C. TODD, QUEEN ESTHER LOVE WALKER, SAMUEL WALKER, TROY
5 SIDNEY WALKER, SYLVIA WARE, MARY LEON BROWN WATSON, YVONNE
6 WILEY-WEBB, and CHARLOTTE WRIGHT.

7 7. Other Plaintiffs were physically injured. They
8 include CARRIE HUMPHREY CUDJOE, JAMES DURANT, and BEULAH LOREE
9 KEENAN SMITH.

10 8. Other Plaintiffs had family members who were
11 killed by the rioting white mob. They include J.B. BATES, LEROY
12 LEON HATCHER, and CECIL WHITE.

13 9. The rioting white mob so terrorized many of the
14 Plaintiffs' families, including those of ELDORIS MAE ECTOR
15 McCONDICHIE, ALICE PRESLEY, and WILLIE MAE SHELBURN THOMPSON
16 that they left Tulsa or the State of Oklahoma for good in the
17 wake of the Riot.

18 10. Many of the Plaintiffs' families were denied the
19 opportunity to rebuild their homes and businesses in Greenwood
20 subsequent to the Riot.

21 11. The TULSA CHIEF OF POLICE is sued in his
22 official capacity because his predecessor in office acted in a
23 manner consistent with the powers accruing to that office. In
24 civil rights lawsuits, it is not the historical person, but the
25

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2 state or municipal institution that is held responsible for the
3 acts of government officials. Because the individual occupying
4 the position of Chief of Police of Tulsa in 1921 used the
5 official power of his position to propagate the Riot and empower
6 the rioting white mob, the incumbents of these positions remain
7 responsible for the official acts carried out in the name of the
8 Chief of Police. THE STATE OF OKLAHOMA, THE CITY OF TULSA and
9 THE CITY OF TULSA POLICE DEPARTMENT are also sued.

10 B. Background of the Suit

11 12. Before the Civil War, Oklahoma was a territory
12 in which African Americans were held in slavery. After the war,
13 African Americans and others migrated to "the territory,"
14 seeking economic opportunity. Oklahoma was, in the words of
15 Ralph Ellison; "a magnet for many individuals who had found
16 disappointment in the older area of the country, white as well
17 as black, but for Negroes it has a traditional association with
18 freedom which had entered their folklore. Thus the uneducated
19 and educated alike saw Oklahoma as a land of opportunity."¹

20 13. Yet after Oklahoma gained statehood in 1907,
21 African Americans faced increasing discrimination at the hands
22

23 ¹ Going to the Territory, in The Collected Essays of Ralph
24 Ellison 601 (John Callahan ed. 1995).

1
2 of white settlers. The legislature's first bill called for
3 segregation on railroads. The state enacted restrictions on
4 African Americans' voting rights and service on juries, and
5 starting in the 1910's, but continuing throughout the Jim Crow
6 era,² municipalities in Oklahoma promoted gross differentials in
7 funding of white and separate, segregated schools. Twice during
8 the decade of the 1910's the United States Supreme Court struck
9 down Oklahoma legislation that discriminated on the basis of
10 race: the first was the railroad segregation statute; the second
11 was the grandfather clause in voting registration. Defendants
12 THE STATE OF OKLAHOMA and the CITY OF TULSA, however, persisted
13 in their racial discrimination.³

15
16 ² Jim Crow is the name historians give to the period between
17 the end of Reconstruction and the New Deal, which was
18 characterized by segregation laws. See C. Vann Woodward, The
19 Strange Career of Jim Crow (3rd ed. 2002); Kenneth W. Mack,
20 "Law, Society, Identity, and the Making of the Jim Crow South,"
21 24 L. & Soc. Inquiry 377-409 (1999). Those laws typically
22 provided for segregation on railroads, in schools, in housing,
23 and in public accommodations. Reconstructing the Dreamland: The
24 Tulsa Riot of 1921 79 (2002).

25 ³ In a series of cases, the Oklahoma Supreme Court also

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2 14. African Americans who violated the etiquette of
3 segregation were subjected to violence at the hands of the white
4 citizenry, on many occasions through the action or inaction of
5 the state. Sometimes that violence took the form of riots, such
6 as an incident in Norman, Oklahoma, a small town that is now the
7 home of the University of Oklahoma. In 1898, a white man
8 employed an African American construction worker. A portion of
9 the white community, including Norman city officials, incensed
10 by the interracial workplace, severely injured the white man for
11 employing an African American.⁴

12 15. Also common at the time were what was known as
13 "nigger drives," to remove African Americans from cities. After
14 African Americans were driven out, cities established informal
15 "sun down" laws. They placed notices in prominent places
16 notifying African Americans that they could not remain in the
17 city after dark. For example, in the early 1920s the signs in
18 Norman, Oklahoma, read, "Nigger, don't let the sun go down on
19

20 upheld differential funding of African American and white public
21 schools, and cities throughout the state passed zoning
22 ordinances requiring residential segregation.
23

24 ⁴ See Wallace v. City of Norman, 60 P. 108 (Okla. Terr.
25 1900).

1
2 you in this town."⁵ At other times, the racial violence led to
3 death by lynching: the Oklahoma State Legislature found that of
4 the 24 individuals lynched in Oklahoma between 1911 and 1921,
5 before 1921, 23 were African Americans.⁶ Months before the
6 Riot, in August 1920, it was clear that the rule of law had
7 broken down in the state. Two men were lynched on the same
8 weekend in Oklahoma: one — the only white man lynched during
9 that period — was taken from the Tulsa jail and lynched in
10 front of a crowd that included Tulsa police officers;⁷ and the
11 next day an African American man was taken from the Oklahoma
12 City jail and lynched.⁸

13 16. The African American community grew increasingly
14 concerned over lynchings. The August 1920 lynchings drove home
15 a particularly important lesson: that no one was safe in the
16

17 ⁵ Norman Mob After Singie Smith Jazz, Oklahoma City Black
18 Dispatch (February 9, 1922).

19 ⁶ See 74 Okl. St. Ann. §8000.1.1 (West 2002).

20 ⁷ Governor Invokes Law Versus Mobbists, Tulsa Star (September
21 4, 1920).

22 ⁸ Claude Chandler Hung By Mob, Posse Follows Too Late: Body
23 Found West of City, Oklahoma City Black Dispatch (September 3,
24 1920).

1
2 Tulsa jail and that the African American community was likely to
3 be a continuing target of white mob violence. The Tulsa Star,
4 Greenwood's leading newspaper, editorialized about the Oklahoma
5 City lynching that "While the boy was in jail . . . there was
6 danger of mob violence."⁹ The possibility of another lynching
7 was very real to African Americans in the Greenwood District of
8 Tulsa. The Riot, which began on May 31, 1921, and lasted
9 through the night into June 1, 1921, was precipitated by the
10 rumor of just such a lynching.

11 C. Basis of the Suit

12
13 17. On the evening of May 31, 1921, a white mob,
14 many of whom were drunk, gathered in front of the Tulsa jail,
15 and was rumored to be preparing to lynch an African American man
16 accused of attempting to assault a white woman. Some African
17 American men, including World War I veterans, came to the jail
18 to prevent the lynching. During a mêlée between some of the
19 white and African American men, shots were fired and "all hell
20 broke loose."¹⁰ The Mayor of the CITY OF TULSA, acting under

21
22 ⁹ The Facts Remain the Same, Tulsa Star (September 18, 1920).

23 ¹⁰ Alfred Brophy, Assessing State and City Culpability: The
24 Riot and the Law, published with Commission Report, 153, 156
25 (2001).

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2 color of law, called out local units of the State National Guard
3 and, with the assistance of the TULSA CHIEF OF POLICE, deputized
4 and armed some of the white citizens of Tulsa, many of whom were
5 part of the drunken mob. The deputies were instructed to "go
6 get . . . a nigger."¹¹ The deputized white citizens, acting
7 under color of law, terrorized and brutalized the African
8 American residents of Greenwood.

9 18. In the early hours of the morning of June 1,
10 1921, local units of the National Guard, along with the white
11 Chief of Police and his deputies, removed the African American
12 residents of Greenwood from their homes. The deputies and the
13 white mob then looted the empty buildings before burning
14 Greenwood to the ground. Defendants harnessed the latest
15 techniques of modern warfare to put down what they considered a
16 "Negro Uprising." Defendants or their agents deployed a machine
17 gun to fire on African American residents of Greenwood.

18 Defendants or their agents also used airplanes for
19 reconnaissance of Greenwood. In addition, some eyewitnesses
20 recall that one or more of the airplanes engaged in the attack
21 by shooting at the African American Greenwood residents and
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23 ¹¹ Dr. Scott Ellsworth, *The Riot*, published with the
24 Commission Report, 37, 64 (2001).
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2 dropping one or more incendiary devices. These acts resulted in
3 the mass destruction of property located in Greenwood, as well
4 as the unlawful killing of hundreds of African American
5 residents of Greenwood. In the course of the Riot, Defendants
6 unlawfully detained African American residents of Greenwood,
7 forcing many of them to work in captivity.

8 19. The Riot, which occurred only sixty years after
9 the end of de jure slavery in 1865, was part of a much larger
10 culture of discrimination against African Americans, which was
11 itself a legacy of slavery. Many of the Riot victims themselves
12 had been slaves. Many whites explained the Riot was the result
13 of increasingly aggressive attitudes of African Americans, who
14 sought "social equality" following their service in World War I.
15 One African American property-owner was characterized as a man
16 who had "come back from the war in France with exaggerated ideas
17 about equality and thinking he can whip the world."¹² The role
18 of the Riot in reducing the status of Tulsa's African American
19 community was told by one white newspaper: "The white citizens
20 of Tulsa have forgotten the bitter hatred and their desperation
21 that caused them to meet the negroes in battle to the death
22

23
24 ¹² Negro Tells How Others Mobilized, Tulsa Tribune (June 4,
25 1921).

1
2 Tuesday."¹³ Only once African Americans had been reduced to the
3 status of "helpless refugees," could they be seen as objects of
4 charity.¹⁴

5 20. The claim that the Riot was an attempt to
6 restore segregation and hark back to the antebellum past was
7 supported by statements within the African American press as
8 well. The Oklahoma City Black Dispatch observed after the Riot,
9 that:

10 "The old order changeth; no longer is the Negro
11 satisfied or clothed with the placidity of spirit of
12 his slave parents. We black men in Oklahoma know that
13 the legislature of this state tried to deprive us of
14 our franchise when it enacted the 1916 Registration
15 act; we know that such a statute is in conflict with
the Constitution of the United States and its
interpretation by the Supreme Court. NO LONGER WILL WE
BE SATISFIED WITH THE PIG TAILS OF CITIZENSHIP; we
want to eat farther up on the body of the hog."¹⁵

16 21. Other whites linked the Riot to demands for
17 equal treatment by people only recently removed from slavery.
18 One white man wrote in the aftermath of the Riot, that "White
19 adventurers trapped him in his native jungle only a few years
20 ago; shipped him in chains to serve the white man in other

21
22 ¹³ To Rebuild Homes for Negro Owners and Probe Blame, Muskogee
23 Phoenix (June 3, 1921)

24 ¹⁴ Id.

25 ¹⁵ An Inflammatory Appeal, Black Dispatch (October 15, 1920).

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2 lands; a stroke of political fortune makes him free and 'equal'
3 to the white man in our country, and he has the consummate gall
4 and impudence to want a place at the council board of the white
5 man's civilization." A white Tulsa paper editorialized after
6 the Riot about the consequences of slavery. "If those who
7 invaded the shores of the Dark Continent for the purpose of
8 securing slaves for the southern plantations of America could
9 have foreseen the consequence of their acts it is certain the
10 black man would never have been introduced to the United
11 States."

12 22. In 1997, in an effort to end the "conspiracy of
13 silence"¹⁶ and to promote a discussion involving the whole
14 community of the CITY OF TULSA and THE STATE OF OKLAHOMA, THE
15 STATE OF OKLAHOMA itself commissioned a study to determine
16 liability for the Riot and make recommendations for restitution
17 for the Riot's victims. The resulting body, The Oklahoma
18 Commission to Study the Riot of 1921 ("Commission"), ascertained
19 the causes and consequences of the Riot. The Oklahoma State
20 Legislature accepted those findings,¹⁷ which linked the Riot to
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24 ¹⁶ Id. at §8000.1.5.

25 ¹⁷ See 74 Okl. St. Ann. §8000.1.

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2 racial violence throughout Oklahoma. The Commission's findings
3 determined that:

4 "The root causes of the Riot reside deep in the
5 history of race relations in Oklahoma and Tulsa which
6 included the enactment of Jim Crow laws, acts of
7 racial violence (not the least of which was the 23
8 lynchings of African-Americans versus only one white
9 from 1911) against African-Americans in Oklahoma, and
10 other actions that had the effect of 'putting African-
11 Americans in Oklahoma in their place' and to prove to
12 African-Americans that the forces supportive of
13 segregation possessed the power to 'push down, push
14 out, and push under' African-Americans in Oklahoma."¹⁸

15 23. In the aftermath of the Riot, THE STATE OF
16 OKLAHOMA and the CITY OF TULSA impeded the Plaintiffs' attempts
17 to rebuild their lives. The CITY OF TULSA acted quickly to
18 apply zoning restrictions to Greenwood that rendered
19 reconstruction of the destroyed dwellings prohibitively
20 expensive. When the zoning regulations were declared unlawful,
21 Defendant the CITY OF TULSA refused to provide economic
22 compensation or to help the victims, many of whom remained
23 housed in tents through the fall and into the winter of 1921.

24 24. THE STATE OF OKLAHOMA and the CITY OF TULSA
25 acted quickly to suppress talk of the Riot and the survivors'
26 attempts to seek legal redress. Efforts to seek relief from the
court system were unsuccessful and futile.

¹⁸ Id. at §8000.1.1."

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2 25. Because of the Klan's influence throughout the
3 legal system, African American victims of the Riot quickly
4 learned that they could not count on the legal system for
5 restitution.¹⁹ The Klan, already a feature of Oklahoma life
6 before the Riot, became entrenched at all levels of the Oklahoma
7 establishment in the months and years following the Riot.
8 Despite their best efforts to use the court system, African
9 Americans were subjected to discriminatory decision making
10 rather than justice. For example, a grand jury called to
11 determine the causes of the Riot issued indictments against a
12 large number of African Americans. Fearing this, many of them
13 fled town. Defendant the CITY OF TULSA also refused to pay any
14 restitution to the African American survivors of the Riot: the
15 only restitution paid was to white gun-shop owners whose
16 business had been looted. While some African Americans filed
17 lawsuits at the time, over 100 of them were dismissed before
18 even receiving a hearing in the State Of Oklahoma's courts.²⁰ Of
19 the two cases that were heard by the Court, one, filed by Mabel
20
21

22 ¹⁹ The Klan's influence also made legislative efforts to
23 obtain restitution impossible.
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25 ²⁰ Alfred Brophy, Reconstructing the Dreamland 95-97 (2002).
26

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2 Allen, was dismissed before the jury deliberated,²¹ and the
3 Oklahoma Supreme Court dismissed the other on appeal.²²

4 26. Legal redress was also stymied by Oklahoma
5 common law doctrine, which unconstitutionally limited municipal
6 liability.²³ Precedent applied from Oklahoma's Territorial Court
7 made it difficult, if not impossible, for Riot victims to
8 sustain a claim against the CITY OF TULSA or its actors absent
9 ratification by the City Council.²⁴

10 27. The legislature of the State Of Oklahoma adopted
11 many of the Commission's findings by statute in 2001 and made
12 specific reference to the "'conspiracy of silence' surrounding
13
14

15
16 ²¹ Allen v. Tulsa, Tulsa County District Court, Case No.
17 16,013.

18 ²² See Redfearn v. American Central Insurance Company, 243 P.
19 929 (Okla. 1926). See Alfred Brophy, Assessing State and City
20 Culpability: The Riot and the Law, published with Commission
21 Report, 153, 157-58 (2001).

22 ²³ See Alfred L. Brophy, The Riot in the Oklahoma Supreme
23 Court, 54 Okla. L. Rev. 67 (2001).

24 ²⁴ See Wallace v. City of Norman, 60 Pacific 108 (Okla. Terr.
25 1900).

1
2 the events in Tulsa of May 31-June 1, 1921, and their
3 aftermath."²⁵ According to the legislature:

4 "Perhaps the most repugnant fact regarding the history
5 of the 1921 Riot is that it was virtually forgotten,
6 with the notable exception of those who witnessed it
7 on both sides, for seventy-five (75) years. This
8 'conspiracy of silence' served the dominant interests
9 of the state during that period which found the riot a
10 'public relations nightmare' that was 'best to be
11 forgotten, something to be swept well beneath
12 history's carpet' for a community which attempted to
13 attract new businesses and settlers."²⁶

14 28. In 1997, in an effort to end the "conspiracy of
15 silence"²⁷ and to promote a discussion involving the whole
16 community of the CITY OF TULSA and THE STATE OF OKLAHOMA, THE
17 STATE OF OKLAHOMA created the Oklahoma Commission to Study the
18 Riot of 1921. The Commission was designed to make whole a
19 fractured community still suffering from the legacy of silence
20 surrounding the Riots. Specifically, the Commission was charged
21 with:

22 "undertak[ing] a study to develop a historical record
23 of the 1921 Riot including the identification of [any]
24 person[] who:

- 25 1. was an actual resident of the Greenwood area

26
²⁵ Id. at §8000.1.5. See also Brent Staples, Unearthing a
Riot, NY Times, December 19, 1999, Section 6 at 64.

²⁶ Id. at §8000.1.4 (emphasis added).

²⁷ Id. at §8000.1.5.

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2 or community of the City of Tulsa on or about May 31,
3 1921, or June 1, 1921; or

4 2. sustained an identifiable loss to their
5 person, personal relations, real property, personal
6 property or other loss as a result of . . . the 1921
7 Riot."²⁸

8 29. The Commission was empowered to "produce a
9 written report of its findings and recommendations [for the
10 Oklahoma legislature] . . . contain[ing] specific
11 recommendations regarding whether or not reparations can or
12 should be made and the appropriate methods to achieve the
13 recommendations made in the final report," by February 28, 2001.

14 30. The Commission found that, to this day,
15 Oklahoma, and in particular, Tulsa, remains racially divided.
16 The legislature, in adopting the Commission's findings
17 recognized that reconciliation begins through knowledge of the
18 past, followed by acceptance of the past, and finally atonement
19 through compensation to the survivors and their heirs. The
20 Commission drew upon testimony of a large number of Oklahomans,
21 both African American and white, in compiling its record. The
22 Defendants refuse to make restitution for their actions prior to
23 and during the Riot, and in perpetuating a "conspiracy of
24

25 ²⁸ Id. at §8201.

1
2 silence"²⁹ after the Riot until the creation of the Commission
3 itself.

4 31. In the wake of its findings, "The
5 Commission . . . turned the responsibility for how the State Of
6 Oklahoma will respond to the historical record to the 48th
7 Oklahoma Legislature." 74 Okl. St. Ann. §8000.1.5 (West 2002).
8 The legislature found that:

9 "The documentation assembled by The 1921 Riot
10 Commission provides strong evidence that some local
11 municipal and county officials failed to take actions
12 to calm or contain the situation once violence erupted
13 and, in some cases, became participants in the
14 subsequent violence which took place on May 31 and
15 June 1, 1921, and even deputized and armed many whites
16 who were part of a mob that killed, looted, and burned
17 down the Greenwood area."³⁰

18 "The staggering cost of the Riot included the deaths
19 of an estimated 100 to 300 persons, the vast majority
20 of whom were African-Americans, the destruction of
21 1,256 homes, virtually every school, church and
22 business, and a library and hospital in the Greenwood
23 area, and the loss of personal property caused by
24 rampant looting by white rioters. The Riot Commission
25 estimates that the property costs in the Greenwood
26 district were approximately \$2 million in 1921 dollars
or \$16,752,600 in 1999 dollars. Nevertheless, there
were no convictions for any of the violent acts
against African-Americans or any insurance payments to
African-American property owners who lost their homes
or personal property as a result of the Riot.
Moreover, local officials attempted to block the
rebuilding of the Greenwood community by amending the

23
24 ²⁹ Id. at §8000.1.5.

25 ³⁰ Id. at §8000.1.2 (emphasis added).

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2 Tulsa building code to require the use of fire-proof
3 material in rebuilding the area thereby making the
4 costs prohibitively expensive."³¹

5 "The 48th Oklahoma Legislature in enacting the 1921
6 Riot Reconciliation Act of 2001 concurs with the
7 conclusion of The 1921 Riot Commission [T]his
8 response recognizes that there were moral
9 responsibilities at the time of the riot which were
10 ignored and has been ignored ever since rather than
11 confront the realities of an Oklahoma history of race
12 relations that allowed one race to 'put down' another
13 race. Therefore, it is the intention of the Oklahoma
14 Legislature in enacting the 1921 Riot Reconciliation
15 Act of 2001 to freely acknowledge its moral
16 responsibility on behalf of the state of Oklahoma and
17 its citizens that no race of citizens in Oklahoma has
18 the right or power to subordinate another race today
19 or ever again."³²

20 32. THE STATE OF OKLAHOMA and the CITY OF TULSA
21 empowered, encouraged, and furthered the illegal brutalization
22 of African Americans by whites during and after the race Riot.
23 From Defendants' acceptance of their moral responsibility to
24 atone for these acts logically flows the obligation that they
25 accept their legal responsibility as well.

26 33. The conspiracy of silence fell particularly hard
on the African American citizens of Oklahoma. African Americans
were not allowed to speak of their experiences,³³ and were not

31 Id. at §8000.1.3 (emphasis added).

32 Id.

33 See John Hope Franklin and Scott Ellsworth, History Knows

1
2 believed when they did. Many of the survivors and their
3 families suffered a deep psychological scarring, as one of the
4 purposes of the Riot and its aftermath — which lingers to this
5 day throughout the African American community in Tulsa — was to
6 diminish the sense of security of Greenwood African Americans,
7 to place them in a subservient condition, and to enforce a
8 racial caste system that privileged whites and disadvantaged and
9 demeaned African Americans. Many of the Riot survivors are
10 still hesitant to talk about the events surrounding the Riot and
11 its aftermath. Many of them still believe that the state and
12 municipal government will punish them for discussing openly what
13 happened during the Riot.

14
15 34. According to the Report of the Oklahoma
16 Commission to Study the Riot of 1921 ("Commission Report"), "The
17 1921 riot is, at once, a representative historical example and a
18 unique historical event. It has many parallels in the pattern of

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22 No Fences: An Overview, published with the Commission Report 21,
23 26-28 (2001) (discussing suppression of discussion of Riot).

24 See also Brent Staples, Unearthing a Riot, NY Times, December
25 19, 1999, Section 6 at 64 (same).

1
2 past events, but it has no equal for its violence and its
3 completeness."³⁴

4 35. The Commission was formed with the intent of
5 determining the causes of and liabilities for the 1921 Tulsa
6 Riot. The survivors were led to expect that THE STATE OF
7 OKLAHOMA and the CITY OF TULSA would abide by the findings of
8 the Commission. Instead, it appears that despite the
9 concurrence in and acknowledgment of the facts establishing
10 their complicity in the Riot and its consequences, the state and
11 municipality have decided to wait for the survivors, all of them
12 in excess of eighty-years-old, to die off so that the problem
13 will "silently" pass away.

14 36. Defendants continue to fail to abide by the
15 recommendation of the Commission, and refuse to provide redress
16 to the Plaintiffs who are direct victims of a Riot that killed
17 between 100-300 African American men, women, and children, and
18 resulted in the looting and destruction of their property.

19 37. Plaintiffs also seek to establish an educational
20 fund³⁵ for the Greenwood District of Tulsa to ensure that THE
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23 ³⁴ Commission Report at 19.

24 ³⁵ The Tulsa Reconciliation Education and Scholarship Program
25 ("TRESP") established by 70 Okl. St. Ann. §2621 (West 2002) has

1
2 STATE OF OKLAHOMA and the CITY OF TULSA can come together as a
3 community united, with the common goal of promoting racial
4 reconciliation and understanding. For too long, Defendants have
5 silenced Plaintiffs and discounted their testimony. In so
6 doing, Defendants have only perpetuated the divisions that were
7 solidified during and after the Riot. Education about the past
8 must be coupled with restitution or reparations to enable the
9 community to move forward, together, in the common purpose of
10 bettering the lives of all the citizens of Oklahoma.

11 THE PARTIES

12 A. Plaintiffs

13 i. Survivors

14 38. Plaintiffs file this action against THE STATE OF
15 OKLAHOMA; THE CITY OF TULSA; THE CHIEF OF POLICE OF THE CITY OF
16 TULSA; and THE CITY OF TULSA POLICE DEPARTMENT.

17 39. Plaintiff JOHN MELVIN ALEXANDER is an individual
18 residing in the State of Oklahoma. Plaintiff was born on
19 December 22, 1919. At the time of the Riot, Plaintiff lived at
20 1621 North Norfolk Street in the Greenwood District of Tulsa.

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22 never been properly funded. At the very least, plaintiffs seek
23 to require the State to adequately fund the TRESP, as required
24 by 70 Okl. St. Ann. §§2620-2627.

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2 During the Riot, the rioting white mob took Plaintiff's father
3 to the Ball Park holding camp; Plaintiff was unlawfully detained
4 against his will in Brady Theater detention center. Plaintiff
5 went on to fight for the United States in WWII & Korea. As
6 required by the Oklahoma State Legislature (74 Okl. Stat. Ann.
7 §8205 (West 2000)), the Executive Director of the Oklahoma
8 Historical Society has certified that Plaintiff is a Riot
9 Survivor.

10 40. Plaintiff JUANITA DELORES BURNETT ARNOLD is an
11 individual residing in the State of Oklahoma. Plaintiff was
12 born on July 27, 1909. At the time of the Riot, Plaintiff lived
13 at 1000 N. Lansing Street in the Greenwood District of Tulsa.
14 During the Riot, Plaintiff fled from the rioting white mob with
15 her mother and father. As required by the Oklahoma State
16 Legislature (74 Okl. Stat. Ann. §8205 (West 2000)), the
17 Executive Director of the Oklahoma Historical Society has
18 certified that Plaintiff is a Riot Survivor.

19 41. Plaintiff J.B. BATES is an individual residing
20 in the State of Oklahoma. Plaintiff was born on June 13, 1916.
21 At the time of the Riot, Plaintiff lived between Greenwood and
22 Marshall Street in the Greenwood District of Tulsa. Plaintiff's
23 grandfather died during the Riot. Plaintiff's property was
24 destroyed during the Riot, although the rioting white mob did
25

1
2 not burn down his family home. Plaintiff and his parents had to
3 leave their house and stay with relatives in Tulsa and were
4 unable to return to their home until at least two week after the
5 Riot. As required by the Oklahoma State Legislature (74 Okl.
6 Stat. Ann. §8205 (West 2000)), the Executive Director of the
7 Oklahoma Historical Society has certified that Plaintiff is a
8 Riot Survivor.

9 42. Plaintiff ESSIE LEE JOHNSON BECK is an
10 individual residing in the State of Oklahoma. Plaintiff was
11 born on April 29, 1915. Plaintiff's property was destroyed
12 during the Riot. At the time of the Riot, Plaintiff lived in
13 the Greenwood District of Tulsa. As required by the Oklahoma
14 State Legislature (74 Okl. Stat. Ann. §8205 (West 2000)), the
15 Executive Director of the Oklahoma Historical Society has
16 certified that Plaintiff is a Riot Survivor.

17 43. Plaintiff JAMES D. BELL is an individual
18 residing in the State of Oklahoma. Plaintiff was born on June
19 12, 1921. At the time of the Riot, Plaintiff lived at 418 N.
20 Cincinnati Avenue in the Greenwood District of Tulsa. Plaintiff
21 was born prematurely as a result of the shock his mother
22 suffered during the Riot. Plaintiff's property was destroyed
23 during the Riot, including his family home. As required by the
24 Oklahoma State Legislature (74 Okl. Stat. Ann. §8205 (West
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2 2000)), the Executive Director of the Oklahoma Historical
3 Society has certified that Plaintiff is a Riot Survivor.

4 44. Plaintiff PHINES BELL is an individual residing
5 in the State of Washington. Plaintiff was born on August 16,
6 1918. At the time of the Riot, Plaintiff lived in the Greenwood
7 District of Tulsa. Plaintiff suffered property damage during the
8 Riot. As required by the Oklahoma State Legislature (74 Okl.
9 Stat. Ann. §8205 (West 2000)), the Executive Director of the
10 Oklahoma Historical Society has certified that Plaintiff is a
11 Riot Survivor.

12 45. Plaintiff FRANCES BLACKWELL is an individual
13 residing in the State of Oklahoma. Plaintiff was born on
14 February 12, 1913. At the time of the Riot, Plaintiff lived in
15 the Greenwood District of Tulsa. The rioting white mob forced
16 Plaintiff to flee her home for several days to avoid capture by
17 Defendant's agents. As required by the Oklahoma State
18 Legislature (74 Okl. Stat. Ann. §8205 (West 2000)), the
19 Executive Director of the Oklahoma Historical Society has
20 certified that Plaintiff is a Riot Survivor.

21 46. Plaintiff JUANITA WILLIAMS BLAKELY is an
22 individual residing in the State of Oklahoma. Plaintiff was
23 born on August 5, 1914. Plaintiff resided at Frankfort Place,
24 one block from Greenwood. Plaintiff's family property was
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2 destroyed during the Riot. Plaintiff hid under the bed when
3 members of the rioting white mob entered her house and set fire
4 to the curtains. Plaintiffs and family fled from the burning
5 house and saw airplanes over Greenwood and Archer dropping
6 incendiary devices. Plaintiff's mother found a relative to take
7 Plaintiff to Gerard, Kansas while Plaintiff's mother remained in
8 Tulsa and was detained at the Fairgrounds. Plaintiff's home was
9 destroyed in the fire. Plaintiff's uncle, Osborne Monroe, owned
10 a skating rink and a boarding house, both of which were
11 destroyed in the Riot. As required by the Oklahoma State
12 Legislature (74 Okl. Stat. Ann. §8205 (West 2000)), the
13 Executive Director of the Oklahoma Historical Society has
14 certified that Plaintiff is a Riot Survivor.

15 47. Plaintiff JUANITA SMITH BOOKER is an individual
16 residing in the State of Oklahoma. Plaintiff was born on
17 January 15, 1914. At the time of the Riot, Plaintiff lived on
18 Archer Street in the Greenwood District of Tulsa. Plaintiff's
19 property was destroyed during the Riot. The rioting white mob
20 burned her family home to the ground and destroyed it completely
21 with the exception of an upright victrola, which was the only
22 item of personal property the family managed to salvage after
23 the Riot. Plaintiff and her family were temporarily housed at
24 the former Booker T. Washington School after the Riot. As
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2 required by the Oklahoma State Legislature (74 Okl. Stat. Ann.
3 §8205 (West 2000)), the Executive Director of the Oklahoma
4 Historical Society has certified that Plaintiff is a Riot
5 Survivor.

6 48. Plaintiff KINNEY BOOKER is an individual
7 residing in the State of Oklahoma. Plaintiff was born on March
8 21, 1913. At the time of the Riot, Plaintiff lived at 320 North
9 Hartford Street in the Greenwood District of Tulsa. During the
10 Riot, he hid in an attic while the white rioters set fire to his
11 home. Plaintiff's family property was destroyed during the Riot.
12 Plaintiff was forced to flee his house by the rioting white mob.
13 He was lucky to escape before it burned to the ground. Plaintiff
14 was unlawfully detained against his will at the Convention Hall
15 detention center. As required by the Oklahoma State Legislature
16 (74 Okl. Stat. Ann. §8205 (West 2000)), the Executive Director
17 of the Oklahoma Historical Society has certified that Plaintiff
18 is a Riot Survivor.

19 49. Plaintiff DOROTHY BOOKER BOULDING is an
20 individual residing in the State of Missouri. Plaintiff was born
21 on December 2, 1915. At the time of the Riot, Plaintiff lived
22 in the Greenwood District of Tulsa. Plaintiff is the sister of
23 Plaintiff KINNEY BOOKER. Plaintiff suffered property damage
24 during the Riot. Plaintiff was forced to flee her house by the
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rioting white mob. Plaintiff was unlawfully detained against her will in one of the detention centers. As required by the Oklahoma State Legislature (74 Okl. Stat. Ann. §8205 (West 2000)), the Executive Director of the Oklahoma Historical Society has certified that Plaintiff is a Riot Survivor.

50. Plaintiff JEANETTE McNEAL BRADSHAW is an individual residing in the State of Illinois. Plaintiff was born on June 28, 1918. At the time of the Riot, Plaintiff lived at 911 Fairview Street in the Greenwood District of Tulsa. Plaintiff is the sister of Plaintiff THERESSA CORNELLA McNEAL GILLIAM. Plaintiffs' mother was a prominent businesswoman, owning a boarding house and working as a dressmaker with a large inventory of fabric and dresses Plaintiff's family property was destroyed during the Riot. The business and its stock were completely lost during the Riot. As required by the Oklahoma State Legislature (74 Okl. Stat. Ann. §8205 (West 2000)), the Executive Director of the Oklahoma Historical Society has certified that Plaintiff is a Riot Survivor.

51. Plaintiff TERESA EARLEE BRIDGES DYSART is an individual residing in the State of Texas. Plaintiff was born on December 11, 1917. At the time of the Riot, Plaintiff lived at 514 N. Hartford in the Greenwood District of Tulsa. Plaintiff's family property was destroyed during the Riot, including two

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2 pianos and an organ, some hand-made Indian jewelry, and a
3 Rooflee model car. As required by the Oklahoma State
4 Legislature (74 Okl. Stat. Ann. §8205 (West 2000)), the
5 Executive Director of the Oklahoma Historical Society has
6 certified that Plaintiff is a Riot Survivor.

7 52. Plaintiff JOHNNIE L. GRAYSON BROWN is an
8 individual residing in the State of Oklahoma. Plaintiff was born
9 on July 5, 1914. At the time of the Riot, Plaintiff lived at 31
10 N. Kenosha Street in the Greenwood District of Tulsa with her
11 family. Plaintiff's family property was destroyed during the
12 Riot. The rioting white mob ransacked her home. Plaintiff,
13 along with her aunt, Corene Grayson Edwards, was unlawfully
14 detained against her will at the Fairground detention center for
15 several days. As required by the Oklahoma State Legislature (74
16 Okl. Stat. Ann. §8205 (West 2000)), the Executive Director of
17 the Oklahoma Historical Society has certified that Plaintiff is
18 a Riot Survivor.

19 53. Plaintiff LEE ELLA STROZIER BROWN is an
20 individual residing in the State of California. Plaintiff was
21 born on January 29, 1919. At the time of the Riot, Plaintiff
22 lived in the Greenwood District of Tulsa. As required by the
23 Oklahoma State Legislature (74 Okl. Stat. Ann. §8205 (West
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2 2000)), the Executive Director of the Oklahoma Historical
3 Society has certified that Plaintiff is a Riot Survivor.

4 54. Plaintiff CLARENCE BRUNER is an individual
5 residing in the State of Oklahoma. Plaintiff was born on July
6 28, 1904. At the time of the Riot, Plaintiff lived in the
7 Greenwood District of Tulsa. As required by the Oklahoma State
8 Legislature (74 Okl. Stat. Ann. §8205 (West 2000)), the
9 Executive Director of the Oklahoma Historical Society has
10 certified that Plaintiff is a Riot Survivor.

11 55. Plaintiff LULA BELLE LACY BULLOCK is an
12 individual residing in the State of Missouri. Plaintiff was born
13 on April 22, 1920. At the time of the Riot, Plaintiff lived in
14 Bullette Street in the Greenwood District of Tulsa. Plaintiff
15 is sister of Plaintiff ARTIE LACY JOHNSON. Plaintiffs fled the
16 Rioting white mob. Plaintiffs' property was destroyed during
17 the Riot: their family store and home were burned down. As
18 required by the Oklahoma State Legislature (74 Okl. Stat. Ann.
19 §8205 (West 2000)), the Executive Director of the Oklahoma
20 Historical Society has certified that Plaintiff is a Riot
21 Survivor.

22 56. Plaintiff JOE R. BURNS is an individual residing
23 in the State of Oklahoma. Plaintiff was born on February 5,
24 1915. At the time of the Riot, Plaintiff lived at 517 Latimer
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2 Court in the Greenwood District of Tulsa. Plaintiff fled with
3 his father and mother to Mohawk Park, hiding in the shrubs and
4 trees in the creek. His family was later captured and placed in
5 detention centers. Plaintiff was unlawfully detained against
6 his will in the Convention Center detention center. As required
7 by the Oklahoma State Legislature (74 Okl. Stat. Ann. §8205
8 (West 2000)), the Executive Director of the Oklahoma Historical
9 Society has certified that Plaintiff is a Riot Survivor.

10 57. Plaintiff ROSA L. GREEN BYNUM is an individual
11 residing in the state of Maryland. Plaintiff was born on August
12 14, 1920. At the time of the Riot, Plaintiff lived on N.
13 Detroit Street. Plaintiff's family property was destroyed.
14 Plaintiff and her family where held in detention with other
15 families for several days. Plaintiff was unlawfully detained
16 against her will in one of the detention centers. As required by
17 the Oklahoma State Legislature (74 Okl. Stat. Ann. §8205 (West
18 2000)), the Executive Director of the Oklahoma Historical
19 Society has certified that Plaintiff is a Riot Survivor.

20 58. Plaintiff MURIEL MIGNON LILLY CABELL is an
21 individual residing in the State of California. Plaintiff was
22 born on December 29, 1913. At the time of the Riot, Plaintiff
23 lived on Elgin Street in the Greenwood District of Tulsa.
24 Plaintiff is the sister of Plaintiffs HATTIE LILLY DUNN and
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JIMMIE LILLY FRANKLIN. Plaintiffs' parents owned a home with four bedrooms, one bathroom, a living room, a dining room, and an office used by their father, who was a photographer. Their father had a photographic studio, a dark room, and several large cameras, and also owned a Ford Sedan. Plaintiffs' uncle, Fred Wells, was a prominent Tulsa physician and surgeon, who owned a Ford Coupe and medical equipment. Plaintiff's family property was destroyed during the Riot. Their home was the third house burned during the Riot. The rioting white mob destroyed their home and all their family's possessions. As required by the Oklahoma State Legislature (74 Okl. Stat. Ann. §8205 (West 2000)), the Executive Director of the Oklahoma Historical Society has certified that Plaintiff is a Riot Survivor.

59. Plaintiff BEATRICE CAMPBELL-WEBSTER is an individual residing in the State of California. Plaintiff was born on March 5, 1914. At the time of the Riot, Plaintiff lived with her family at 906 N. Latimer Street in the Greenwood District of Tulsa. Plaintiff's family property was destroyed during the Riot. Plaintiff lost her home and furnishings, including a piano and a victrola, leather couches and chairs, and miscellaneous other possessions. Plaintiff fled her home to avoid the rioting white mob. Plaintiff was unlawfully detained against her will in one of the detention centers. Plaintiff

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2 escaped with her family to Alsuma, a nearby town, where the
3 National Guard captured them. Her father was sent to the Ball
4 Park detention center, and the rest of the family was sent to
5 the Convention Hall detention center. As required by the
6 Oklahoma State Legislature (74 Okl. Stat. Ann. §8205 (West
7 2000)), the Executive Director of the Oklahoma Historical
8 Society has certified that Plaintiff is a Riot Survivor.

9 60. Plaintiff JAMES DALE CARTER is an individual
10 residing in the State of Missouri. Plaintiff was born on
11 November 26, 1920. Plaintiff is the son of Plaintiff ROSELLA
12 CARTER. Plaintiff resided on Greenwood at the time of the Riot.
13 Plaintiff's property was destroyed during the course of the Riot
14 and Plaintiff's fled from the rioting white mob, his mother
15 carrying him forty miles on her back to safety. As required by
16 the Oklahoma State Legislature (74 Okl. Stat. Ann. §8205 (West
17 2000)), the Executive Director of the Oklahoma Historical
18 Society has certified that Plaintiff is a Riot Survivor.

19 61. Plaintiff ROSELLA CARTER is an individual
20 residing in the State of Missouri. Plaintiff was born on June
21 20, 1900. Plaintiff is the mother of Plaintiff JAMES DALE
22 CARTER. Plaintiff resided on Greenwood at the time of the Riot.
23 Plaintiff's property was destroyed during the course of the Riot
24 and Plaintiff's fled from the rioting white mob, carrying her
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2 son on her back forty miles to escape to safety. As required by
3 the Oklahoma State Legislature (74 Okl. Stat. Ann. §8205 (West
4 2000)), the Executive Director of the Oklahoma Historical
5 Society has certified that Plaintiff is a Riot Survivor.

6 62. Plaintiff SAMUEL CASSIUS is an individual
7 residing in the State of New Jersey. Plaintiff was born on May
8 2, 1921. At the time of the Riot, Plaintiff lived in the
9 Greenwood District of Tulsa. As required by the Oklahoma State
10 Legislature (74 Okl. Stat. Ann. §8205 (West 2000)), the
11 Executive Director of the Oklahoma Historical Society has
12 certified that Plaintiff is a Riot Survivor.

13 63. Plaintiff NAOMI HOOKER CHAMBERLAIN is an
14 individual residing in the State of New York. Plaintiff was born
15 on January 26, 1918. At the time of the Riot, Plaintiff lived
16 on Independence Street in a house valued at \$10,000 in 1921
17 dollars. Her parents also owned a large store at 123 N.
18 Greenwood Avenue in the Greenwood District of Tulsa. Plaintiff
19 is the sister of Plaintiffs DR. OLIVIA J. HOOKER and SAMUEL L.
20 HOOKER. Plaintiff's family property was destroyed during the
21 Riot. White rioters damaged Plaintiffs' home during the Riot,
22 and the rioting white mob completely destroyed Plaintiffs'
23 parents' business, which was described as "a total loss." The
24 estimated value of the goods destroyed amounted to \$100,000 in
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2 1921 dollars. Plaintiffs' father filed a lawsuit against the
3 insurance company for the value of the destroyed property, but
4 the case was thrown out in 1926 or 1927. As required by the
5 Oklahoma State Legislature (74 Okl. Stat. Ann. §8205 (West
6 2000)), the Executive Director of the Oklahoma Historical
7 Society has certified that Plaintiff is a Riot Survivor.

8 64. Plaintiff MILDRED MITCHELL CHRISTOPHER is an
9 individual residing in the State of Florida. Plaintiff was born
10 on October 19, 1913. At the time of the Riot, Plaintiff lived
11 on King Street in the Greenwood District of Tulsa. Plaintiff's
12 property was destroyed during the Riot: her home was burned and
13 property was taken from the house including a piano and silver
14 flatware. Plaintiff fled to Broken Arrow, Oklahoma with
15 plaintiff's mother and sisters. Plaintiff stayed in an
16 abandoned stone house in Broken Arrow with other families
17 fleeing the Riot for several days until the National Guard and
18 the Red Cross located them. Plaintiff and her family were
19 unlawfully detained against their will in the Fairground
20 detention center until her mother's employer "claimed" them. As
21 required by the Oklahoma State Legislature (74 Okl. Stat. Ann.
22 §8205 (West 2000)), the Executive Director of the Oklahoma
23 Historical Society has certified that Plaintiff is a Riot
24 Survivor.

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2 65. Plaintiff MILDRED LUCAS CLARK is an individual
3 residing in the State of Arkansas. Plaintiff was born October
4 15, 1921, four months after the Riot. Plaintiff's mother
5 resided at 1012 N. Elgin at the time of the Riot. Plaintiff's
6 mother fled to the home of white neighbors to escape the Riot
7 and later was held at the Convention Center for several days.
8 Plaintiff's family property was destroyed during the Riot.
9 Plaintiff's mother died shortly after the birth of Plaintiff due
10 to the poor living conditions for Greenwood residents after the
11 Riot. As required by the Oklahoma State Legislature (74 Okl.
12 Stat. Ann. §8205 (West 2000)), the Executive Director of the
13 Oklahoma Historical Society has certified that Plaintiff is a
14 Riot Survivor.

15 66. Plaintiff OTIS GRANVILLE CLARK is an individual
16 residing in the State of Oklahoma. Plaintiff was born on
17 February 13, 1903. At the time of the Riot, Plaintiff lived at
18 805 E. Archer Street in the Greenwood District of Tulsa.
19 During the Riot, Plaintiff was caught in the middle of a gun
20 battle. He was sprayed with blood when his friend was shot
21 through the hand by a white sniper, and both of them fled for
22 their lives. His cousin's café was burned to the ground. His
23 stepfather disappeared during the Riot and was never seen again.
24 Plaintiff's family property was destroyed during the Riot. His
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2 home was burned to the ground. As required by the Oklahoma
3 State Legislature (74 Okl. Stat. Ann. §8205 (West 2000)), the
4 Executive Director of the Oklahoma Historical Society has
5 certified that Plaintiff is a Riot Survivor.

6 67. Plaintiff SANDY CLARK is an individual residing
7 in the State of Oklahoma. Plaintiff was born in 1907. At the
8 time of the Riot, Plaintiff lived in the Greenwood District of
9 Tulsa. As required by the Oklahoma State Legislature (74 Okl.
10 Stat. Ann. §8205 (West 2000)), the Executive Director of the
11 Oklahoma Historical Society has certified that Plaintiff is a
12 Riot Survivor.

13 68. Plaintiff BLANCHE CHATMAN COLE is an individual
14 residing in the State of Oklahoma. Plaintiff was born on April
15 21, 1904. At the time of the Riot, Plaintiff lived in a rented
16 home in the Greenwood District of Tulsa. During the Riot, her
17 family fled to Clarksville, Oklahoma. Plaintiff's family
18 property was destroyed during the Riot. All the family's
19 belongings were burned or stolen during the Riot. As required
20 by the Oklahoma State Legislature (74 Okl. Stat. Ann. §8205
21 (West 2000)), the Executive Director of the Oklahoma Historical
22 Society has certified that Plaintiff is a Riot Survivor.

23 69. Plaintiff WORDIE "PEACHES" MILLER COOPER is an
24 individual residing in the State of Oklahoma. Plaintiff was
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2 born on February 4, 1911. At the time of the Riot, Plaintiff
3 lived in the Greenwood District of Tulsa. As required by the
4 Oklahoma State Legislature (74 Okl. Stat. Ann. §8205 (West
5 2000)), the Executive Director of the Oklahoma Historical
6 Society has certified that Plaintiff is a Riot Survivor.

7 70. Plaintiff CARRIE HUMPHREY CUDJOE is an
8 individual residing in the State of Oklahoma. Plaintiff was born
9 on April 6, 1921. At the time of the Riot, Plaintiff lived at
10 1211 N. Lansing Street in the Greenwood District of Tulsa.
11 Plaintiff's parents owned their own home, a horse, a cow, some
12 chickens, and miscellaneous furnishings and other items.
13 Plaintiff's family property was destroyed during the Riot.
14 Their home was burned down during the Riot, and all of
15 Plaintiff's family's possessions were destroyed or stolen.
16 Plaintiff and her family were unlawfully detained against their
17 will in one of the detention centers. Plaintiff, her mother and
18 brother fled to Mohawk Park on foot where the National Guard
19 picked them up and took them to a church at Seventh Avenue and
20 Boston Street. State and municipal officials held Plaintiff,
21 her mother, and her brother at the Church for three days.
22 Plaintiff and suffered physical injury during the Riot. Both of
23 them injured their feet while fleeing the white mob. As
24 required by the Oklahoma State Legislature (74 Okl. Stat. Ann.

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2 §8205 (West 2000)), the Executive Director of the Oklahoma
3 Historical Society has certified that Plaintiff is a Riot
4 Survivor.

5 71. Plaintiff LAVERNE COOKSEY DAVIS is an individual
6 residing in the State of Oklahoma. Plaintiff was born on May
7 24, 1904. At the time of the Riot, Plaintiff lived in South
8 Tulsa, which was a white district of Tulsa. Plaintiff witnessed
9 the burning of Greenwood. As required by the Oklahoma State
10 Legislature (74 Okl. Stat. Ann. §8205 (West 2000)), the
11 Executive Director of the Oklahoma Historical Society has
12 certified that Plaintiff is a Riot Survivor.

13 72. Plaintiff DOLLY MAE DOUFITT is an individual
14 residing in the State of California. Plaintiff was born on
15 January 11, 1920. At the time of the Riot, Plaintiff lived in
16 the Greenwood District of Tulsa. As required by the Oklahoma
17 State Legislature (74 Okl. Stat. Ann. §8205 (West 2000)), the
18 Executive Director of the Oklahoma Historical Society has
19 certified that Plaintiff is a Riot Survivor.

20 73. Plaintiff JAMES DURANT is an individual residing
21 in the State of Michigan. Plaintiff was born on January 27,
22 1915. At the time of the Riot, Plaintiff lived in the Greenwood
23 District of Tulsa. Plaintiff suffered property damage during the
24 Riot: his family home was burned to the ground. Plaintiff was
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2 forced to flee his house by the rioting white mob. Plaintiff
3 was physically injured during the Riot. Members of the rioting
4 white mob attacked him. Plaintiff fled from the rioting white
5 mob and hid in a bus with other Greenwood residents. As
6 required by the Oklahoma State Legislature (74 Okl. Stat. Ann.
7 §8205 (West 2000)), the Executive Director of the Oklahoma
8 Historical Society has certified that Plaintiff is a Riot
9 Survivor.

10 74. Plaintiff LUCILLE B. BUCHANAN FIGURES is an
11 individual residing in the State of Oklahoma. Plaintiff was
12 born on January 9, 1909. At the time of the Riot, Plaintiff
13 lived at 521 N. Elgin Street in the Greenwood District of Tulsa.
14 Plaintiff's family property was destroyed during the Riot.
15 Plaintiff's property was destroyed during the Riot, including
16 her family home. Plaintiff and her mother were unlawfully
17 detained against their will in one of the detention centers
18 until her mother's white employer "claimed" them from the
19 detention center. As required by the Oklahoma State Legislature
20 (74 Okl. Stat. Ann. §8205 (West 2000)), the Executive Director
21 of the Oklahoma Historical Society has certified that Plaintiff
22 is a Riot Survivor.

23 75. Plaintiff ARCHIE JACKSON FRANKLIN is an
24 individual residing in the State of California. Plaintiff was
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2 born on November 11, 1915. At the time of the Riot, Plaintiff
3 lived in the Greenwood District of Tulsa. Plaintiff is the
4 brother of Plaintiff HAZEL FRANKLIN HACKETT. Plaintiff's
5 property was destroyed during the Riot, including her family
6 home. As required by the Oklahoma State Legislature (74 Okl.
7 Stat. Ann. §8205 (West 2000)), the Executive Director of the
8 Oklahoma Historical Society has certified that Plaintiff is a
9 Riot Survivor.

10 76. Plaintiff JIMMIE LILLY FRANKLIN is an individual
11 residing in the State of California. Plaintiff was born on June
12 12, 1916. At the time of the Riot, Plaintiff lived on Elgin
13 Street in the Greenwood District of Tulsa. Plaintiff is the
14 sister of Plaintiffs MURIEL MIGNON LILLY CABELL and HATTIE LILLY
15 DUNN. Plaintiff's family property was destroyed during the Riot.
16 The rioting white mob destroyed their home. As required by the
17 Oklahoma State Legislature (74 Okl. Stat. Ann. §8205 (West
18 2000)), the Executive Director of the Oklahoma Historical
19 Society has certified that Plaintiff is a Riot Survivor.

20 77. Plaintiff JOAN HILL GAMBREL is an individual
21 residing in the State of New Jersey. At the time of the Riot,
22 Plaintiff lived in the Greenwood District of Tulsa. As required
23 by the Oklahoma State Legislature (74 Okl. Stat. Ann. §8205
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2 (West 2000)), the Executive Director of the Oklahoma Historical
3 Society has certified that Plaintiff is a Riot Survivor.

4 78. Plaintiff ERNESTINE GIBBS is an individual
5 residing in the State of Oklahoma. Plaintiff was born on
6 December 15, 1902. At the time of the Riot, Plaintiff lived on
7 King Street, in the middle of a train track area. Plaintiff
8 fled from her home to avoid the rioting white mob. Her home was
9 destroyed, along with all the family's possessions, during the
10 Riot. Plaintiff was unlawfully detained against her will at the
11 Fairground detention center. Plaintiff's family property was
12 destroyed during the Riot. Plaintiff's brother, along with many
13 other African American men, only evaded the rioting white mob by
14 jumping into a river and swimming to freedom. As required by
15 the Oklahoma State Legislature (74 Okl. Stat. Ann. §8205 (West
16 2000)), the Executive Director of the Oklahoma Historical
17 Society has certified that Plaintiff is a Riot Survivor.

18 79. Plaintiff HAROLD GIBBS is an individual residing
19 in the State of Oklahoma. Plaintiff was born on January 16,
20 1920. At the time of the Riot, Plaintiff lived on Jasper Street
21 in the Greenwood District of Tulsa. Plaintiff's family property
22 was destroyed during the Riot, including his father's wagon and
23 two horses. Plaintiff and his mother were unlawfully detained
24 against their will in a detention center. As required by the
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2 Oklahoma State Legislature (74 Okl. Stat. Ann. §8205 (West
3 2000)), the Executive Director of the Oklahoma Historical
4 Society has certified that Plaintiff is a Riot Survivor.

5 80. Plaintiff THERESSA CORNELLA McNEAL GILLIAM is an
6 individual residing in the State of Illinois. Plaintiff was born
7 on October 11, 1911. At the time of the Riot, Plaintiff lived
8 in the Greenwood District of Tulsa with her family. Plaintiff
9 is the sister of Plaintiff JEANEATTE MCNEAL BRADSHAW.

10 Plaintiff's family property was destroyed during the Riot.
11 Their mother's boarding house and dressmaking business were
12 completely destroyed during the Riot. As required by the
13 Oklahoma State Legislature (74 Okl. Stat. Ann. §8205 (West
14 2000)), the Executive Director of the Oklahoma Historical
15 Society has certified that Plaintiff is a Riot Survivor.

16 81. Plaintiff EDWARD L. GIVENS is an individual
17 residing in the State of North Carolina. At the time of the
18 Riot, Plaintiff lived in the Greenwood District of Tulsa. As
19 required by the Oklahoma State Legislature (74 Okl. Stat. Ann.
20 §8205 (West 2000)), the Executive Director of the Oklahoma
21 Historical Society has certified that Plaintiff is a Riot
22 Survivor.

23 82. Plaintiff BERTHA GUYTON is an individual
24 residing in Tulsa, Oklahoma. Plaintiff's was born on 1914.
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2 Plaintiff was a resident in the Greenwood district at the time
3 of the riot. As required by the Oklahoma State Legislature (74
4 Okl. Stat. Ann. §8205 (West 2000)), the Executive Director of
5 the Oklahoma Historical Society has certified that Plaintiff is
6 a Riot Survivor.

7 83. Plaintiff HAZEL FRANKLIN HACKETT is an
8 individual residing in the State of Alabama. Plaintiff was born
9 on October 11, 1918. At the time of the Riot, Plaintiff lived
10 at 604 E. Independence Place in the Greenwood District of Tulsa.
11 Plaintiff is the sister of Plaintiff ARCHIE JACKSON FRANKLIN.
12 Plaintiff's family property was destroyed during the Riot.
13 During the Riot, the rioting white mob burned down Plaintiff's
14 family's home and destroyed all the family's possessions.
15 Plaintiff was unlawfully detained against her will for three
16 days at the Fairground detention center. Plaintiff was father's
17 employer "claimed" Plaintiff's father from the detention center.
18 As required by the Oklahoma State Legislature (74 Okl. Stat.
19 Ann. §8205 (West 2000)), the Executive Director of the Oklahoma
20 Historical Society has certified that Plaintiff is a Riot
21 Survivor.

22 84. Plaintiff MILDRED JOHNSON HALL is an individual
23 residing in the State of California. Plaintiff was born on
24 October 17, 1919. At the time of the Riot, Plaintiff lived in
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2 the Greenwood District of Tulsa. Plaintiff's family property was
3 destroyed during the Riot. Plaintiff's family was buying a home
4 in Greenwood that was destroyed by the white mob during the
5 Riot. Plaintiff's mother died months after the Riot from
6 tuberculosis and pneumonia resulting from her stay, during the
7 fall and winter of 1921, in the municipal tents erected after
8 the Riot. As required by the Oklahoma State Legislature (74
9 Okl. Stat. Ann. §8205 (West 2000)), the Executive Director of
10 the Oklahoma Historical Society has certified that Plaintiff is
11 a Riot Survivor.

12 85. Plaintiff NELL HAMILTON HAMPTON is an individual
13 residing in the State of Oklahoma. Plaintiff was born on March
14 4, 1911. At the time of the Riot, Plaintiff lived in the
15 Greenwood District of Tulsa. Plaintiff was forced to flee her
16 home by the rioting white mob. As required by the Oklahoma
17 State Legislature (74 Okl. Stat. Ann. §8205 (West 2000)), the
18 Executive Director of the Oklahoma Historical Society has
19 certified that Plaintiff is a Riot Survivor.

20 86. Plaintiff LEROY LEON HATCHER is an individual
21 residing in the State of Oklahoma. Plaintiff was born on May 23,
22 1921. At the time of the Riot, Plaintiff lived near Brady
23 Street in the Greenwood District of Tulsa. Plaintiff's family
24 property was destroyed during the Riot. The rioting white mob
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2 killed Plaintiff's father and burned down their home.
3 Plaintiff's mother carried him nine miles in an effort to avoid
4 the rioting white mob. As required by the Oklahoma State
5 Legislature (74 Okl. Stat. Ann. §8205 (West 2000)), the
6 Executive Director of the Oklahoma Historical Society has
7 certified that Plaintiff is a Riot Survivor.

8 87. Plaintiff MADELEINE HAYNES is an individual
9 residing in the State of California. Plaintiff was born on June
10 7, 1912. At the time of the Riot, Plaintiff lived at 544 E.
11 Pine Street in the Greenwood District of Tulsa. Plaintiff's
12 family property was destroyed during the Riot. The rioting
13 white mob burned down Plaintiff's family's home. Plaintiff was
14 detained against her will in one of the detention centers.
15 National Guardsmen took Plaintiff and her family into custody
16 and transported Plaintiff, her sister, and her mother to the
17 Ball Park detention center. As required by the Oklahoma State
18 Legislature (74 Okl. Stat. Ann. §8205 (West 2000)), the
19 Executive Director of the Oklahoma Historical Society has
20 certified that Plaintiff is a Riot Survivor.

21 88. Plaintiff JOYCE WALKER HILL is an individual
22 residing in the State of Kansas. Plaintiff was born on December
23 18, 1908. At the time of the Riot, Plaintiff lived at 322 N.
24 Frankfort in the Greenwood District of Tulsa. Plaintiff is the
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2 sister of Plaintiffs SAMUEL WALKER and TROY SIDNEY WALKER.
3 Plaintiff's family property was destroyed during the Riot. The
4 rioting white mob destroyed Plaintiff's family home, which was a
5 two-story, eight-room house. Plaintiff's family also ran a
6 restaurant business. By the time Plaintiff escaped from the
7 rioting white mob, both her feet were bloody from running
8 barefoot along the gravel railroad tracks. As required by the
9 Oklahoma State Legislature (74 Okl. Stat. Ann. §8205 (West
10 2000)), the Executive Director of the Oklahoma Historical
11 Society has certified that Plaintiff is a Riot Survivor.

12 89. Plaintiff ROBERT HOLLOWAY is an individual
13 residing in the State of Oklahoma. Plaintiff was born in 1918.
14 At the time of the Riot, Plaintiff lived in the Greenwood
15 District of Tulsa. As required by the Oklahoma State
16 Legislature (74 Okl. Stat. Ann. § 8205 (West 2000)), the
17 Executive Director of the Oklahoma Historical Society has
18 certified that Plaintiff is a Riot Survivor.

19 90. Plaintiff DR. OLIVIA J. HOOKER is an individual
20 residing in the State of New York. Plaintiff was born on
21 February 12, 1915. At the time of the Riot, Plaintiff lived on
22 Independence Street in the Greenwood District of Tulsa.
23 Plaintiff is the sister of Plaintiffs NAOMI HOOKER CHAMBERLAIN
24 and SAMUEL L. HOOKER. Plaintiff's family property was destroyed
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2 during the Riot, including their home and business. As required
3 by the Oklahoma State Legislature (74 Okl. Stat. Ann. §8205
4 (West 2000)), the Executive Director of the Oklahoma Historical
5 Society has certified that Plaintiff is a Riot Survivor.

6 91. Plaintiff SAMUEL L. HOOKER, JR. is an individual
7 residing in the State of Illinois. Plaintiff was born on January
8 6, 1918. At the time of the Riot, Plaintiff lived on
9 Independence Street in the Greenwood District of Tulsa.

10 Plaintiff is the brother of Plaintiffs NAOMI HOOKER CHAMBERLAIN
11 and DR. OLIVIA J. HOOKER. Plaintiff's family property was
12 destroyed during the Riot, including their home and business.
13 As required by the Oklahoma State Legislature (74 Okl. Stat.
14 Ann. §8205 (West 2000)), the Executive Director of the Oklahoma
15 Historical Society has certified that Plaintiff is a Riot
16 Survivor.

17 92. Plaintiff WILHELMINA GUESS HOWELL is an
18 individual residing in the State of Oklahoma. Plaintiff was
19 born on April 25, 1907. At the time of the Riot, Plaintiff
20 lived in the Greenwood District of Tulsa. Plaintiff's family
21 property was destroyed during the Riot. The rioting white mob
22 killed Plaintiff's uncle. As required by the Oklahoma State
23 Legislature (74 Okl. Stat. Ann. §8205 (West 2000)), the
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2 Executive Director of the Oklahoma Historical Society has
3 certified that Plaintiff is a Riot Survivor.

4 93. Plaintiff CHARLES HUGHES is an individual
5 residing in the State of Michigan. At the time of the Riot,
6 Plaintiff lived in the Greenwood District of Tulsa. As required
7 by the Oklahoma State Legislature (74 Okl. Stat. Ann. §8205
8 (West 2000)), the Executive Director of the Oklahoma Historical
9 Society has certified that Plaintiff is a Riot Survivor.

10 94. Plaintiff MYRTLE WELLS HURD is an individual
11 residing in the State of Oklahoma. At the time of the Riot,
12 Plaintiff lived in the Greenwood District of Tulsa. As required
13 by the Oklahoma State Legislature (74 Okl. Stat. Ann. §8205
14 (West 2000)), the Executive Director of the Oklahoma Historical
15 Society has certified that Plaintiff is a Riot Survivor.

16 97. Plaintiff VERA INGRAM is an individual residing
17 in the State of Oklahoma. Plaintiff was born on March 4, 1914.
18 At the time of the Riot, Plaintiff lived at 1342 N. Lansing
19 Avenue in the Greenwood District of Tulsa. Plaintiff's family
20 property was destroyed during the Riot. Plaintiff's family fled
21 to Mowhawk Park, where the rioting white mob shot at Plaintiff's
22 family. Plaintiff was unlawfully detained against her will in
23 the Fairground detention center. As required by the Oklahoma
24 State Legislature (74 Okl. Stat. Ann. §8205 (West 2000)), the
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2 Executive Director of the Oklahoma Historical Society has
3 certified that Plaintiff is a Riot Survivor.

4 98. Plaintiff EUNICE CLOMAN JACKSON is an individual
5 residing in the State of Oklahoma. Plaintiff was born on August
6 17, 1903. At the time of the Riot, Plaintiff lived at 401 E.
7 Marshall Street in the Greenwood District of Tulsa. Plaintiff
8 was unlawfully detained against her will in one of the detention
9 centers. During the Riot the Tulsa police captured Plaintiff
10 and took her, along with her mother and brother, to the
11 Convention Center detention center. Plaintiff's mother's white
12 employer "claimed" the family from the Convention Center. As
13 required by the Oklahoma State Legislature (74 Okl. Stat. Ann.
14 §8205 (West 2000)), the Executive Director of the Oklahoma
15 Historical Society has certified that Plaintiff is a Riot
16 Survivor.

17 99. Plaintiff GENEVIEVE ELIZABETH TILLMAN JACKSON is
18 an individual residing in the State of Oklahoma. Plaintiff was
19 born on June 29, 1915. At the time of the Riot, Plaintiff lived
20 on Brickyard (now Frankfort) Hill in the Greenwood District of
21 Tulsa. Plaintiff's family property was destroyed during the
22 Riot. Plaintiff saw airplanes drop incendiary devices on
23 Greenwood. As required by the Oklahoma State Legislature (74
24 Okl. Stat. Ann. §8205 (West 2000)), the Executive Director of
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2 the Oklahoma Historical Society has certified that Plaintiff is
3 a Riot Survivor.

4 100. Plaintiff WILLIE BELL WHITE JACKSON is an
5 individual residing in the State of Ohio. Plaintiff was born on
6 June 4, 1910. At the time of the Riot, Plaintiff lived in the
7 Greenwood District of Tulsa. As required by the Oklahoma State
8 Legislature (74 Okl. Stat. Ann. §8205 (West 2000)), the
9 Executive Director of the Oklahoma Historical Society has
10 certified that Plaintiff is a Riot Survivor.

11 101. Plaintiff DR. HOBART JARRETT is an individual
12 residing in the State of New York. Plaintiff was born on June 4,
13 1910. At the time of the Riot, plaintiff lived at 1213 N.
14 Greenwood Street in the Greenwood District of Tulsa.
15 Plaintiff's parents owned a store on Easton Street, in
16 Greenwood. Plaintiff's family property was destroyed during the
17 Riot. During the Riot, the rioting white mob burned down the
18 store and looted, defecated, and urinated in their home.
19 Plaintiff was unlawfully detained against his will in one of the
20 detention centers. The National Guard took plaintiff and his
21 family into custody and transported them to the Fairground
22 detention center. As required by the Oklahoma State Legislature
23 (74 Okl. Stat. Ann. §8205 (West 2000)), the Executive Director
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2 of the Oklahoma Historical Society has certified that Plaintiff
3 is a Riot Survivor.

4 102. Plaintiff ARTIE LACY JOHNSON is an individual
5 residing in the State of Missouri. Plaintiff was born on July
6 29, 1915. At the time of the Riot, plaintiff lived on Bullette
7 Street in the Greenwood District of Tulsa. Plaintiff is the
8 sister of Plaintiff LULA BELLE LACY BULLOCK. Plaintiffs fled the
9 Rioting white mob. Plaintiffs' property was destroyed during
10 the Riot: their family store and home were burned down. As
11 required by the Oklahoma State Legislature (74 Okl. Stat. Ann.
12 §8205 (West 2000)), the Executive Director of the Oklahoma
13 Historical Society has certified that Plaintiff is a Riot
14 Survivor.

15 103. Plaintiff WILMA MITCHELL JOHNSON is an individual
16 residing in the State of New Mexico. Plaintiff was born on
17 August 14, 1919. At the time of the Riot, Plaintiff lived at
18 1421 N. Kenosha Street in the Greenwood District of Tulsa.
19 During the Riot, the rioting white mob shot Plaintiff's father
20 three times, but Plaintiff's father survived. Plaintiff's family
21 property was destroyed during the Riot. The rioting white mob
22 burned down Plaintiff's parents' restaurant. As required by the
23 Oklahoma State Legislature (74 Okl. Stat. Ann. §8205 (West
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2 2000)), the Executive Director of the Oklahoma Historical
3 Society has certified that Plaintiff is a Riot Survivor.

4 104. Plaintiff EDWARD EARVEN JONES is an individual
5 residing in the State of Oklahoma. Plaintiff was born on March
6 24, 1920. At the time of the Riot, Plaintiff lived on East
7 Davenport Avenue in the Greenwood District of Tulsa.

8 Plaintiff's mother saw airplanes piloted by white rioters drop
9 incendiary devices during the Riot. Plaintiff escaped from the
10 Riot with his family to Catoosa, Oklahoma, and then to Red Bird,
11 Oklahoma. As required by the Oklahoma State Legislature (74
12 Okl. Stat. Ann. §8205 (West 2000)), the Executive Director of
13 the Oklahoma Historical Society has certified that Plaintiff is
14 a Riot Survivor.

15 105. Plaintiff HAZEL DOLORES SMITH JONES is an
16 individual residing in Tulsa, Oklahoma. Plaintiff was born on
17 January 8, 1919. At the time of the Riot, Plaintiff lived with
18 her thirteen brothers and sisters at 1205 N. Madison Street in
19 the Greenwood District of Tulsa. Plaintiff's family property
20 was destroyed during the Riot. The rioting white mob burned
21 Plaintiff's family home to the ground. Plaintiff was unlawfully
22 detained against her will in one of the detention centers.
23 Plaintiff, along with her mother and her siblings, were taken to
24 the Fairground and were held for three or four days until
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2 Plaintiff's father came for them. As required by the Oklahoma
3 State Legislature (74 Okl. Stat. Ann. §8205 (West 2000)), the
4 Executive Director of the Oklahoma Historical Society has
5 certified that Plaintiff is a Riot Survivor.

6 106. Plaintiff JULIA BONTON JONES is an individual
7 residing in the State of Oklahoma. Plaintiff was born on June
8 7, 1917. At the time of the Riot, Plaintiff lived in the
9 Greenwood District of Tulsa. Plaintiff suffered property damage
10 during the Riot: her family home was burned down and all the
11 property within was destroyed or stolen. As required by the
12 Oklahoma State Legislature (74 Okl. Stat. Ann. §8205 (West
13 2000)), the Executive Director of the Oklahoma Historical
14 Society has certified that Plaintiff is a Riot Survivor.

15 107. Plaintiff PERCY JONES is an individual residing
16 in the State of Missouri. Plaintiff was born on January May 2,
17 1921. At the time of the Riot, Plaintiff lived in the Greenwood
18 District of Tulsa. As required by the Oklahoma State Legislature
19 (74 Okl. Stat. Ann. §8205 (West 2000)), the Executive Director
20 of the Oklahoma Historical Society has certified that Plaintiff
21 is a Riot Survivor.

22 108. Plaintiff THELMA THURMAN KNIGHT is an individual
23 residing in the State of Oklahoma. Plaintiff was born on May
24 30, 1915. At the time of the Riot, Plaintiff lived at 619 E.
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2 Cameron Street in the Greenwood District of Tulsa. Plaintiff's
3 family property was destroyed during the Riot. As required by
4 the Oklahoma State Legislature (74 Okl. Stat. Ann. §8205 (West
5 2000)), the Executive Director of the Oklahoma Historical
6 Society has certified that Plaintiff is a Riot Survivor.

7 109. Plaintiff LEANNA JOHNSON LEWIS is an individual
8 residing in the State of Oklahoma. Plaintiff was born on August
9 24, 1919. At the time of the Riot, Plaintiff lived in the
10 Greenwood District of Tulsa. As required by the Oklahoma State
11 Legislature (74 Okl. Stat. Ann. §8205 (West 2000)), the
12 Executive Director of the Oklahoma Historical Society has
13 certified that Plaintiff is a Riot Survivor.

14 110. Plaintiff KATIE MAE JOHNSON LIVINGSTON is an
15 individual residing in the State of Oklahoma. Plaintiff was born
16 on May 6, 1921. At the time of the Riot, Plaintiff lived in the
17 Greenwood District of Tulsa. Plaintiff's family property was
18 destroyed during the Riot: Plaintiff's house was burned down.
19 Plaintiff fled from the rioting white mob with her mother and
20 sister. They went to stay with relatives in Clarksville,
21 Oklahoma, and never returned to live in Tulsa. As required by
22 the Oklahoma State Legislature (74 Okl. Stat. Ann. §8205 (West
23 2000)), the Executive Director of the Oklahoma Historical
24 Society has certified that Plaintiff is a Riot Survivor.

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2 111. Plaintiff ALICE HIGGS LOLLIS is an individual
3 residing in the State of Oklahoma. Plaintiff was born on June
4 21, 1906. At the time of the Riot, Plaintiff lived on Pine
5 Place in the Greenwood District of Tulsa. Plaintiff was
6 unlawfully detained against her will in a segregated hospital
7 hastily created for African American Riot victims. Plaintiff,
8 who suffered from rheumatism, was forced to sleep on a mattress
9 on the ground in the hospital. As required by the Oklahoma
10 State Legislature (74 Okl. Stat. Ann. §8205 (West 2000)), the
11 Executive Director of the Oklahoma Historical Society has
12 certified that Plaintiff is a Riot Survivor.

13 112. Plaintiff ROANNA HENRY McCLURE is an individual
14 residing in the State of Oklahoma. Plaintiff was born on
15 February 21, 1914. At the time of the Riot, Plaintiff lived on
16 Pine Place in the Greenwood District of Tulsa. The rioting
17 white mob shot at Plaintiff and Plaintiff's grandmother from
18 Reservoir Hill. Plaintiff was unlawfully detained against her
19 will. After the Riot, Plaintiff was housed in a segregated
20 makeshift hospital on 15th Street without sufficient beds,
21 forcing her to lie on mattresses placed on the floor of the
22 building. Plaintiff and Plaintiff's grandmother were later
23 taken to the Fairgrounds where they slept on mattresses on the
24 floor. Plaintiff's family property was destroyed: their house
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2 was set on fire and partially burned. As required by the
3 Oklahoma State Legislature (74 Okl. Stat. Ann. §8205 (West
4 2000)), the Executive Director of the Oklahoma Historical
5 Society has certified that Plaintiff is a Riot Survivor.

6 113. Plaintiff ELDORIS MAE ECTOR McCONDICHIE is an
7 individual residing in the State of Oklahoma. Plaintiff was born
8 on September 8, 1911. At the time of the Riot, Plaintiff lived
9 at 1341 N. Iroquois Street in the Greenwood District of Tulsa.
10 During the Riot, Plaintiff witnessed whites piloting airplanes
11 from which they shot at fleeing African American men, women, and
12 children. Plaintiff fled with her family to Pawhuska, Oklahoma.
13 Plaintiff still has nightmares about the Riot. As required by
14 the Oklahoma State Legislature (74 Okl. Stat. Ann. §8205 (West
15 2000)), the Executive Director of the Oklahoma Historical
16 Society has certified that Plaintiff is a Riot Survivor.

17 114. Plaintiff CAROL SMITHERMAN MARTIN is an
18 individual residing in the State of North Carolina. Plaintiff
19 was born on December 22, 1912. At the time of the Riot,
20 Plaintiff lived in the Greenwood District of Tulsa. Plaintiff
21 suffered property damage during the Riot: her father, Andrew
22 Jackson Smitherman, owned a newspaper and his business and
23 family home was burned to the ground. Plaintiff was forced to
24 flee Tulsa by the rioting white mob. One year after the Riot,
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2 Klansmen cut off Plaintiff's uncle's ear in an act of racial
3 intimidation and violence. As required by the Oklahoma State
4 Legislature (74 Okl. Stat. Ann. §8205 (West 2000)), the
5 Executive Director of the Oklahoma Historical Society has
6 certified that Plaintiff is a Riot Survivor.

7 115. Plaintiff MARY TACOMA MAUPIN is an individual
8 residing in the State of Kentucky. Plaintiff was born on
9 November 9, 1905. At the time of the Riot, Plaintiff lived at
10 507 N. Detroit Avenue in the Greenwood District of Tulsa.
11 Plaintiff resided with her uncle. Plaintiff's family property
12 was destroyed during the Riot. The rioting white mob burned and
13 looted the family home. Plaintiff heard the rioting whites
14 exclaim: "These niggers have better things than we do!" What
15 the rioting white mob could not take it destroyed. Plaintiff
16 was unlawfully detained against her will in one of the detention
17 centers. As required by the Oklahoma State Legislature (74 Okl.
18 Stat. Ann. §8205 (West 2000)), the Executive Director of the
19 Oklahoma Historical Society has certified that Plaintiff is a
20 Riot Survivor.

21 116. Plaintiff WILLIE MUSGROVE MEANS is an individual
22 residing in the State of California. Plaintiff was born on
23 August 24, 1916. At the time of the Riot, Plaintiff lived in
24 the Greenwood District of Tulsa. As required by the Oklahoma
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2 State Legislature (74 Okl. Stat. Ann. §8205 (West 2000)), the
3 Executive Director of the Oklahoma Historical Society has
4 certified that Plaintiff is a Riot Survivor.

5 117. Plaintiff ISHMAEL S. MORAN is an individual
6 residing in the State of California. Plaintiff was born on
7 January 1, 1920. At the time of the Riot, Plaintiff lived at
8 313 N. Elgin in the Greenwood District of Tulsa. Plaintiff's
9 father worked at the National Bank of Tulsa on Boston Street.
10 Plaintiff was forced to flee his house and hide from the rioting
11 white mob. As required by the Oklahoma State Legislature (74
12 Okl. Stat. Ann. §8205 (West 2000)), the Executive Director of
13 the Oklahoma Historical Society has certified that Plaintiff is
14 a Riot Survivor.

15 118. Plaintiff RUTH DEAN NASH is an individual
16 residing in the State of Oklahoma. Plaintiff was born on
17 September 9, 1915. At the time of the Riot, Plaintiff lived on
18 Latimer Street in the Greenwood District of Tulsa. Plaintiff's
19 property was destroyed during the Riot. The rioting white mob
20 burned Plaintiff's home to the ground. To escape the Riot,
21 Plaintiff and her mother fled in a car for Muskogee, Oklahoma.
22 Plaintiff and her mother were taken to the Dunbar School and
23 later joined by her father. As required by the Oklahoma State
24 Legislature (74 Okl. Stat. Ann. §8205 (West 2000)), the
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2 Executive Director of the Oklahoma Historical Society has
3 certified that Plaintiff is a Riot Survivor.

4 119. Plaintiff SIMEON L. NEAL is an individual
5 residing in the State of Illinois. Plaintiff was born on August
6 31, 1920. At the time of the Riot, Plaintiff lived in the
7 Greenwood District of Tulsa. Plaintiff's family property was
8 destroyed during the Riot: his father's tailor shop and three
9 rented homes were burned. Plaintiff was forced to flee from the
10 rioting white mob. As required by the Oklahoma State
11 Legislature (74 Okl. Stat. Ann. §8205 (West 2000)), the
12 Executive Director of the Oklahoma Historical Society has
13 certified that Plaintiff is a Riot Survivor.

14 120. Plaintiff ALMADGE J. NEWKIRK is an individual
15 residing in the State of California. Plaintiff was born on
16 October 13, 1913. At the time of the Riot, Plaintiff lived at
17 119 N. Greenwood Avenue in the Greenwood District of Tulsa.
18 Plaintiff's parents ran a business consisting of a bakery and a
19 confectionery shop, and a photography studio. Plaintiff's family
20 property was destroyed during the Riot. The rioting white mob
21 destroyed the buildings and the business in the course of the
22 Riot. As required by the Oklahoma State Legislature (74 Okl.
23 Stat. Ann. §8205 (West 2000)), the Executive Director of the
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2 Oklahoma Historical Society has certified that Plaintiff is a
3 Riot Survivor.

4 122. Plaintiff MYRTLE NAPIER OLIVER is an individual
5 residing in the State of Georgia. Plaintiff was born in 1911.
6 At the time of the Riot, Plaintiff lived at 526 N. Elgin Street
7 in the Greenwood District of Tulsa with her family. As required
8 by the Oklahoma State Legislature (74 Okl. Stat. Ann. §8205
9 (West 2000)), the Executive Director of the Oklahoma Historical
10 Society has certified that Plaintiff is a Riot Survivor.

11 123. Plaintiff JUANITA MAXINE SCOTT PARRY is an
12 individual residing in the State of Oklahoma. Plaintiff was
13 born on June 21, 1919. At the time of the Riot, Plaintiff lived
14 at 341 or 404 N. Elgin Street in the Greenwood District of
15 Tulsa. Plaintiff is the sister of Plaintiff JULIUS WARREN
16 SCOTT. Plaintiff's family home was destroyed during the Riot.
17 Plaintiff fled with her family to the home of an attorney named
18 I.H. Spears and saw people burning houses at Hartford near
19 Archer. As required by the Oklahoma State Legislature (74 Okl.
20 Stat. Ann. §8205 (West 2000)), the Executive Director of the
21 Oklahoma Historical Society has certified that Plaintiff is a
22 Riot Survivor.

23 124. Plaintiff IDA BURNS PATTERSON is an individual
24 residing in the State of Florida. Plaintiff was born on January
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2 25, 1919. Plaintiff is the sister of Plaintiff JOE R. BURNS.
3 At the time of the Riot, Plaintiff lived at 517 Latimer Court in
4 the Greenwood District of Tulsa. During the Riot Plaintiff fled
5 with her family from the rioting white mob and hid in a ravine
6 on Apache Street. Plaintiff suffered property damage during the
7 Riot. As required by the Oklahoma State Legislature (74 Okl.
8 Stat. Ann. §8205 (West 2000)), the Executive Director of the
9 Oklahoma Historical Society has certified that Plaintiff is a
10 Riot Survivor.

11 125. Plaintiff FREDDIE SCOTT PAYNE is an individual
12 residing in the State of California. Plaintiff was born on
13 November 8, 1914. Plaintiff resided in Greenwood, across from
14 Booker T. Washington High School on a steep hill behind the
15 school at the time of the riot. Plaintiff's grandfather and
16 uncle were killed during the riot. As required by the Oklahoma
17 State Legislature (74 Okl. Stat. Ann. §8205 (West 2000)), the
18 Executive Director of the Oklahoma Historical Society has
19 certified that Plaintiff is a Riot Survivor.

20 126. Plaintiff JOAN ALEXANDER POWDRILL is an
21 individual residing in the State of California. Plaintiff was
22 born on March 27, 1917. Plaintiff lived at 1621 North Norfolk
23 Street in the Greenwood District of Tulsa. Plaintiff is the
24 sister of Plaintiff JOHN MELVIN ALEXANDER. As required by the
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Oklahoma State Legislature (74 Okl. Stat. Ann. §8205 (West 2000)), the Executive Director of the Oklahoma Historical Society has certified that Plaintiff is a Riot Survivor.

127. Plaintiff ALICE PRESLEY is an individual residing in the State of California. Plaintiff was born on March 8, 1921. At the time of the Riot, Plaintiff lived in the Greenwood District of Tulsa. The Riot so traumatized Plaintiff's parents that they left Tulsa for good after the Riot. As required by the Oklahoma State Legislature (74 Okl. Stat. Ann. §8205 (West 2000)), the Executive Director of the Oklahoma Historical Society has certified that Plaintiff is a Riot Survivor.

128. Plaintiff DeLOIS VADEN RAMSEY is an individual residing in the State of Oklahoma. Plaintiff was born on March 5, 1919. At the time of the Riot, Plaintiff lived on Elgin Street in the Greenwood District of Tulsa. Plaintiff's father owned a Vaden's Pool Hall, a popular recreation spot frequented by many notable African Americans. Plaintiff's family property was destroyed during the Riot by the rioting white mob: they even shot her dog. As required by the Oklahoma State Legislature (74 Okl. Stat. Ann. §8205 (West 2000)), the Executive Director of the Oklahoma Historical Society has certified that Plaintiff is a Riot Survivor.

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2 129. Plaintiff CORA HAWKINS RENFRO is an individual
3 residing in the State of Illinois. Plaintiff was born on April
4 28, 1920. At the time of the Riot, Plaintiff lived in the
5 Greenwood District of Tulsa. As required by the Oklahoma State
6 Legislature (74 Okl. Stat. Ann. §8205 (West 2000)), the
7 Executive Director of the Oklahoma Historical Society has
8 certified that Plaintiff is a Riot Survivor.

9 130. Plaintiff SIMON R. RICHARDSON is an individual
10 residing in the State of Oklahoma. Plaintiff was born on
11 February 12, 1914. At the time of the Riot, Plaintiff lived on
12 Greenwood Avenue in the Greenwood District of Tulsa. Plaintiff
13 was unlawfully detained against his will in the Convention
14 Center detention center. As required by the Oklahoma State
15 Legislature (74 Okl. Stat. Ann. §8205 (West 2000)), the
16 Executive Director of the Oklahoma Historical Society has
17 certified that Plaintiff is a Riot Survivor.

18 131. Plaintiff JEWEL SMITHERMAN ROGERS is an
19 individual residing in the State of California. Plaintiff was
20 born on June 12, 1917. At the time of the Riot, Plaintiff lived
21 on Elgin Street in the Greenwood District of Tulsa. Plaintiff
22 suffered property damage during the Riot: her family home was
23 burned to the ground. As required by the Oklahoma State
24 Legislature (74 Okl. Stat. Ann. §8205 (West 2000)), the
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2 Executive Director of the Oklahoma Historical Society has
3 certified that Plaintiff is a Riot Survivor.

4 132. Plaintiff GERLINE HELEN WRIGHT SAYLES is an
5 individual residing in the State of Illinois. Plaintiff was
6 born on October 26, 1916. At the time of the Riot, Plaintiff
7 lived on 435 E. Booker Street in the Greenwood District of
8 Tulsa. Plaintiff suffered property damage during the Riot. As
9 required by the Oklahoma State Legislature (74 Okl. Stat. Ann.
10 §8205 (West 2000)), the Executive Director of the Oklahoma
11 Historical Society has certified that Plaintiff is a Riot
12 Survivor.

13 133. Plaintiff JULIUS WARREN SCOTT is an individual
14 residing in the State of Oklahoma. Plaintiff was born on
15 September 23, 1921. Plaintiff was born in a tent in the
16 Greenwood District of Tulsa in the immediate aftermath of the
17 Riot. Plaintiff is the brother of Plaintiff JUANITA MAXINE
18 SCOTT PERRY. Plaintiff's family home was destroyed during the
19 Riot. As required by the Oklahoma State Legislature (74 Okl.
20 Stat. Ann. §8205 (West 2000)), the Executive Director of the
21 Oklahoma Historical Society has certified that Plaintiff is a
22 Riot Survivor.

23 134. Plaintiff WILLIAM A. SCOTT is an individual
24 residing in Chicago, Illinois. Plaintiff's date of birth is
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2 March 15, 1913. Plaintiff resided at 620 N. Elgin Place at the
3 time of the Riot. Plaintiff's home burned to the ground and
4 Plaintiff and Plaintiff's parents moved to Plaintiff's
5 grandmother's house until the home could be rebuilt. As required
6 by the Oklahoma State Legislature (74 Okl. Stat. Ann. §8205
7 (West 2000)), the Executive Director of the Oklahoma Historical
8 Society has certified that Plaintiff is a Riot Survivor.

9 135. Plaintiff TULETA S. DUNCAN SHAWNEE is an
10 individual residing in the State of California. Plaintiff was
11 born on September 7, 1903. At the time of the Riot, Plaintiff
12 lived at 1062 N. Lansing Street in the Greenwood District of
13 Tulsa. Plaintiff fled from the rioting white mob. Plaintiff
14 left Tulsa after the Riot, never to return. As required by the
15 Oklahoma State Legislature (74 Okl. Stat. Ann. §8205 (West
16 2000)), the Executive Director of the Oklahoma Historical
17 Society has certified that Plaintiff is a Riot Survivor.

18 136. Plaintiff VENEICE DUNN SIMMS is an individual
19 residing in the State of Oklahoma. Plaintiff was born on
20 January 21, 1905. At the time of the Riot, Plaintiff lived at
21 1027 N. Kenosha Street in the Greenwood District of Tulsa.
22 Plaintiff's family home was destroyed during the Riot.
23 Plaintiff's family fled from Tulsa, never to return. As
24 required by the Oklahoma State Legislature (74 Okl. Stat. Ann.
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2 §8205 (West 2000)), the Executive Director of the Oklahoma
3 Historical Society has certified that Plaintiff is a Riot
4 Survivor.

5 137. Plaintiff HAL "CORNBREAD" SINGER is an
6 individual residing in Nanterre, France. Plaintiff was born on
7 October 8, 1919. At the time of the Riot, Plaintiff lived on
8 Frankfort Avenue in the Greenwood District of Tulsa. Plaintiff
9 suffered property damage during the Riot. The rioting white mob
10 destroyed Plaintiff's family's home and property. As required
11 by the Oklahoma State Legislature (74 Okl. Stat. Ann. §8205
12 (West 2000)), the Executive Director of the Oklahoma Historical
13 Society has certified that Plaintiff is a Riot Survivor.

14 138. Plaintiff NAOMI SIPLIN is an individual residing
15 in the State of California. At the time of the Riot, Plaintiff
16 lived in the Greenwood District of Tulsa. As required by the
17 Oklahoma State Legislature (74 Okl. Stat. Ann. §8205 (West
18 2000)), the Executive Director of the Oklahoma Historical
19 Society has certified that Plaintiff is a Riot Survivor.

20 139. Plaintiff BEULAH LOREE KEENAN SMITH is an
21 individual residing in the State of Oklahoma. Plaintiff was born
22 on May 20, 1908. At the time of the Riot, Plaintiff lived at
23 1411 N. Lansing Street in the Greenwood District of Tulsa.
24 Plaintiff's property was destroyed during the Riot. Plaintiff
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2 suffered physical injury during the Riot, as her back was
3 injured fleeing from the mob. Her family attempted to evade
4 capture by hiding in a hog pen, but her father was captured and
5 placed in a detention center. As required by the Oklahoma State
6 Legislature (74 Okl. Stat. Ann. §8205 (West 2000)), the
7 Executive Director of the Oklahoma Historical Society has
8 certified that Plaintiff is a Riot Survivor.

9 140. Plaintiff GOLDEN WILLIAMS SMITH is an individual
10 residing in the State of Oklahoma. Plaintiff was born on May 20,
11 1916. At the time of the Riot, Plaintiff lived on Greenwood
12 Avenue in the Greenwood District of Tulsa. Plaintiff's family
13 property was destroyed during the Riot. The rioting white mob
14 burned down Plaintiff's parents' home and the state or municipal
15 authorities removed Plaintiff's family to the Fairground
16 detention center. As required by the Oklahoma State Legislature
17 (74 Okl. Stat. Ann. §8205 (West 2000)), the Executive Director
18 of the Oklahoma Historical Society has certified that Plaintiff
19 is a Riot Survivor.

20 141. Plaintiff LOLA SNEED SNOWDEN is an individual
21 residing in the State of Indiana. Plaintiff was born on January
22 21, 1915. At the time of the Riot, Plaintiff resided on Cruse
23 Street in the Greenwood District of Tulsa. Plaintiff's property
24 was destroyed in the riot, including her family home. Plaintiff
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2 and her family fled to the woods and stayed with several Native
3 American families before returning to Tulsa. Plaintiff still
4 suffers from phobias and nightmares. As required by the
5 Oklahoma State Legislature (74 Okl. Stat. Ann. §8205 (West
6 2000)), the Executive Director of the Oklahoma Historical
7 Society has certified that Plaintiff is a Riot Survivor.

8 142. Plaintiff JAMES L. STEWARD is an individual
9 residing in the State of Oklahoma. Plaintiff was born on July
10 12, 1917. At the time of the Riot, Plaintiff lived at 444 E.
11 Marshall Place in the Greenwood District of Tulsa. Plaintiff's
12 family property was destroyed during the Riot. The rioting
13 white mob set fire to his home while Plaintiff and his family
14 were still inside. As required by the Oklahoma State
15 Legislature (74 Okl. Stat. Ann. §8205 (West 2000)), the
16 Executive Director of the Oklahoma Historical Society has
17 certified that Plaintiff is a Riot Survivor.

18 143. Plaintiff DOROTHY WILSON STRICKLAND is an
19 individual residing in the State of Illinois. Plaintiff was
20 born on November 6, 1912. At the time of the Riot, Plaintiff
21 lived at 419 E. Latimer Court in the Greenwood District of
22 Tulsa. Plaintiff's family suffered property damage during the
23 Riot: her father's store was one of the first buildings burned
24 by the rioting white mob. Plaintiffs were forced to flee from
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2 the rioting white mob. Plaintiff was unlawfully detained
3 against his will in one of the detention centers. As required
4 by the Oklahoma State Legislature (74 Okl. Stat. Ann. §8205
5 (West 2000)), the Executive Director of the Oklahoma Historical
6 Society has certified that Plaintiff is a Riot Survivor.

7 144. Plaintiff SARAH TATUM is an individual residing
8 in the State of Connecticut. Plaintiff was born on April 20,
9 1912. At the time of the Riot, Plaintiff lived in the Greenwood
10 District of Tulsa. As required by the Oklahoma State
11 Legislature (74 Okl. Stat. Ann. §8205 (West 2000)), the
12 Executive Director of the Oklahoma Historical Society has
13 certified that Plaintiff is a Riot Survivor.

14 145. Plaintiff LOIS WHITE TAYLOR is an individual
15 residing in the State of California. Plaintiff was born on
16 September 27, 1919. At the time of the Riot, Plaintiff resided
17 at 1273 N. Lansing Street in the Greenwood District of Tulsa.
18 Plaintiff fled from the rioting white mob with her brother and
19 mother to Turley, Oklahoma, a town north of Tulsa. Plaintiff's
20 family property was destroyed during the Riot: all their
21 personal possessions were destroyed or looted, and the family
22 home was damaged in the fire. As required by the Oklahoma State
23 Legislature (74 Okl. Stat. Ann. §8205 (West 2000)), the
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2 Executive Director of the Oklahoma Historical Society has
3 certified that Plaintiff is a Riot Survivor.

4 146. Plaintiff WILLIE MAE SHELURN THOMPSON is an
5 individual residing in the State of Oklahoma. Plaintiff was
6 born on December 4, 1912. At the time of the Riot, Plaintiff
7 lived at on Lansing Avenue in the Greenwood District of Tulsa.
8 Plaintiff's family property was destroyed during the Riot.
9 After the Riot, Plaintiff's family was so concerned for her
10 safety that they sent her to live with her father in Austin,
11 Texas. As required by the Oklahoma State Legislature (74 Okl.
12 Stat. Ann. §8205 (West 2000)), the Executive Director of the
13 Oklahoma Historical Society has certified that Plaintiff is a
14 Riot Survivor.

15 147. Plaintiff EFFIE LEE SPEARS TODD is an individual
16 residing in the State of Oklahoma. Plaintiff was born on
17 November 5, 1908. At the time of the Riot, Plaintiff lived in
18 the Greenwood District of Tulsa. Plaintiff fled from the rioting
19 white mob. Plaintiff's property was destroyed during the Riot.
20 As required by the Oklahoma State Legislature (74 Okl. Stat.
21 Ann. §8205 (West 2000)), the Executive Director of the Oklahoma
22 Historical Society has certified that Plaintiff is a Riot
23 Survivor.

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147. Plaintiff MELVIN C. TODD is an individual residing in the State of Oklahoma. Plaintiff was born on April 12, 1910. At the time of the Riot, Plaintiff lived on Elgin Street in the Greenwood District of Tulsa. Plaintiff suffered property damage during the Riot: his house was burned down. As required by the Oklahoma State Legislature (74 Okl. Stat. Ann. §8205 (West 2000)), the Executive Director of the Oklahoma Historical Society has certified that Plaintiff is a Riot Survivor.

148. Plaintiff KATHRYN MAE TAYLOR TOLIN is an individual residing in the State of California. Plaintiff was born on August 27, 1910. At the time of the Riot, Plaintiff lived in the Greenwood District of Tulsa. As required by the Oklahoma State Legislature (74 Okl. Stat. Ann. §8205 (West 2000)), the Executive Director of the Oklahoma Historical Society has certified that Plaintiff is a Riot Survivor.

149. Plaintiff BESSIE MAE AUSTIN VESTER is an individual residing in the State of Oklahoma. Plaintiff was born on September 28, 1919. At the time of the Riot, Plaintiff lived in the Greenwood District of Tulsa. Plaintiff's sister was badly burned during the Riot. As required by the Oklahoma State Legislature (74 Okl. Stat. Ann. §8205 (West 2000)), the

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2 Executive Director of the Oklahoma Historical Society has
3 certified that Plaintiff is a Riot Survivor.

4 150. Plaintiff QUEEN ESTHER LOVE WALKER is an
5 individual residing in the State of Oklahoma. Plaintiff was
6 born on May 4, 1921. At the time of the Riot, Plaintiff lived
7 in the Greenwood District of Tulsa. Plaintiff's family property
8 was destroyed during the Riot, including a house on Greenwood
9 Avenue and a prosperous restaurant. The rioting white mob shot
10 at Plaintiff and her family while they attempted to flee. As
11 required by the Oklahoma State Legislature (74 Okl. Stat. Ann.
12 §8205 (West 2000)), the Executive Director of the Oklahoma
13 Historical Society has certified that Plaintiff is a Riot
14 Survivor.

15 151. Plaintiff SAMUEL WALKER is an individual
16 residing in the State of Missouri. Plaintiff was born on
17 September 28, 1921. At the time of the Riot, Plaintiff's
18 mother, who lived on Frankfort Avenue in the Greenwood District
19 of Tulsa, was pregnant with Plaintiff. Plaintiff was born
20 prematurely in a Red Cross tent put up for the Riot survivors.
21 Plaintiff is the brother of Plaintiffs TROY SIDNEY WALKER and
22 JOYCE WALKER HILL. Plaintiff's family property was destroyed
23 during the Riot. As required by the Oklahoma State Legislature
24 (74 Okl. Stat. Ann. §8205 (West 2000)), the Executive Director
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2 of the Oklahoma Historical Society has certified that Plaintiff
3 is a Riot Survivor.

4 152. Plaintiff TROY SIDNEY WALKER is an individual
5 residing in the State of Washington. Plaintiff was born on
6 August 16, 1918. At the time of the Riot, Plaintiff lived on
7 Frankfort Avenue in the Greenwood District of Tulsa. Plaintiff
8 is brother of JOYCE WALKER HILL and SAMUEL WALKER. Plaintiff's
9 family property was destroyed during the Riot. As required by
10 the Oklahoma State Legislature (74 Okl. Stat. Ann. §8205 (West
11 2000)), the Executive Director of the Oklahoma Historical
12 Society has certified that Plaintiff is a Riot Survivor.

13 153. Plaintiff OSCAR DOUGLAS WASHINGTON is an
14 individual residing in the State of Missouri. Plaintiff was
15 born on February 18, 1912. At the time of the Riot, Plaintiff
16 lived on the 900 Block of Queen Street in the Greenwood District
17 of Tulsa. Plaintiff saw airplanes flying low over Greenwood.
18 Plaintiff fled with his family from the rioting white mob. As
19 required by the Oklahoma State Legislature (74 Okl. Stat. Ann.
20 §8205 (West 2000)), the Executive Director of the Oklahoma
21 Historical Society has certified that Plaintiff is a Riot
22 Survivor.

23 154. Plaintiff MARY LEON BROWN WATSON is an
24 individual residing in the State of Oklahoma. Plaintiff was
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born on October 9, 1909. At the time of the Riot, Plaintiff lived in the Webb Hotel on the corner of Greenwood Avenue and Archer Street in the Greenwood District of Tulsa. Plaintiff's family property was destroyed during the Riot. As required by the Oklahoma State Legislature (74 Okl. Stat. Ann. §8205 (West 2000)), the Executive Director of the Oklahoma Historical Society has certified that Plaintiff is a Riot Survivor.

155. Plaintiff ALLEN MATTHEW WHITE is an individual residing in the State of Ohio. Plaintiff was born on February 4, 1917. At the time of the Riot, Plaintiff lived at 1431 N. Lansing Street in the Greenwood District of Tulsa with his family. As required by the Oklahoma State Legislature (74 Okl. Stat. Ann. §8205 (West 2000)), the Executive Director of the Oklahoma Historical Society has certified that Plaintiff is a Riot Survivor.

156. Plaintiff CECIL WHITE is an individual residing in the State of California. Plaintiff was born on April 15, 1919. At the time of the Riot, Plaintiff lived at 427 E. Latimer Street in the Greenwood District of Tulsa. During the Riot, the rioting white mob shot and killed Plaintiff's uncle. As required by the Oklahoma State Legislature (74 Okl. Stat. Ann. §8205 (West 2000)), the Executive Director of the Oklahoma

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2 Historical Society has certified that Plaintiff is a Riot
3 Survivor.

4 157. Plaintiff MARIE WHITEHORN is an individual
5 residing in the State of California. Plaintiff was born on
6 April 24, 1910. At the time of the Riot, Plaintiff lived on
7 Greenwood Avenue in the Greenwood District of Tulsa. Plaintiff
8 fled from the rioting white mob during the course of the Riot.
9 Plaintiff suffered emotional trauma as a result of the Riot. As
10 required by the Oklahoma State Legislature (74 Okl. Stat. Ann.
11 §8205 (West 2000)), the Executive Director of the Oklahoma
12 Historical Society has certified that Plaintiff is a Riot
13 Survivor.

14 158. Plaintiff MILDRED EVITT WILBURN is an individual
15 residing in the State of Oklahoma. Plaintiff was born on January
16 17, 1921. At the time of the Riot, Plaintiff lived in the
17 Greenwood District of Tulsa with her family. As required by the
18 Oklahoma State Legislature (74 Okl. Stat. Ann. §8205 (West
19 2000)), the Executive Director of the Oklahoma Historical
20 Society has certified that Plaintiff is a Riot Survivor.

21 159. Plaintiff BERTRAM C. WILLIAMS is an individual
22 residing in the State of Washington. Plaintiff was born on
23 September 22, 1920. At the time of the Riot, Plaintiff lived at
24 543 E. Latimer Court in the Greenwood District of Tulsa.
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2 Plaintiff was unlawfully detained against his will in one of the
3 detention centers. During the Riot, Plaintiff fled from the
4 rioting white mob with his family to Mowhawk Park, where the
5 National Guard captured him and took him to a detention center.
6 As required by the Oklahoma State Legislature (74 Okl. Stat.
7 Ann. §8205 (West 2000)), the Executive Director of the Oklahoma
8 Historical Society has certified that Plaintiff is a Riot
9 Survivor.

10 160. Plaintiff LOUIE BARTON WILLIAMS is an individual
11 residing in the State of Illinois. Plaintiff was born on
12 September 21, 1912. At the time of the Riot, Plaintiff lived in
13 the Greenwood District of Tulsa. Plaintiff was order from her
14 house by the rioting white mob, and fled until she was caught.
15 Plaintiff was unlawfully detained against her will in one of the
16 detention centers. As required by the Oklahoma State
17 Legislature (74 Okl. Stat. Ann. §8205 (West 2000)), the
18 Executive Director of the Oklahoma Historical Society has
19 certified that Plaintiff is a Riot Survivor.

20 161. Plaintiff WILLIAM HAROLD WOOD is an individual
21 residing in the State of Oklahoma. At the time of the Riot,
22 Plaintiff lived in the Greenwood District of Tulsa. As required
23 by the Oklahoma State Legislature (74 Okl. Stat. Ann. §8205
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2 (West 2000)), the Executive Director of the Oklahoma Historical
3 Society has certified that Plaintiff is a Riot Survivor.

4 162. Plaintiff CLOTIE LEWIS WRIGHT is an individual
5 residing in the State of California. At the time of the Riot,
6 Plaintiff lived in the Greenwood District of Tulsa. As required
7 by the Oklahoma State Legislature (74 Okl. Stat. Ann. §8205
8 (West 2000)), the Executive Director of the Oklahoma Historical
9 Society has certified that Plaintiff is a Riot Survivor.

10 163. Plaintiff WESS YOUNG is an individual residing
11 in the State of Oklahoma. Plaintiff was born on February 20,
12 1917. At the time of the Riot, Plaintiff lived on the 300 block
13 of N. Hartford Avenue in the Greenwood District of Tulsa.
14 Plaintiff was captured by the National Guard and unlawfully
15 detained against his will at the Booker T. Washington High
16 School. As required by the Oklahoma State Legislature (74 Okl.
17 Stat. Ann. §8205 (West 2000)), the Executive Director of the
18 Oklahoma Historical Society has certified that Plaintiff is a
19 Riot Survivor.

20 164. Each of the Plaintiffs described above suffered
21 and was directly injured in some way by the unlawful conduct of
22 the Defendants.

23 ii. Descendants
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165. Plaintiff DONNA ADAMS is an individual residing in Tulsa, Oklahoma. Plaintiff is a descendant of Thomas and Tacora Adams. At the time of the Riot, Thomas and Tacora Adams lived in Greenwood District of Tulsa.

166. Plaintiff JOHNETTA ADAMS is the niece of Roy Alsup. At the time of the Riot, Roy Alsup lived on Madison Street off Lansing in the Greenwood District do of Tulsa with his mother and father and several sisters. When the riot broke out his father left the house with his gun. Roy, his mother and sister fled because of the burning that was happening. They went north along the railroad tracks toward Owasso. As they were fleeing a white woman called them over to her barn, gave them sandwiches and allowed them to stay in the barn until they were rounded up by the National Guard and taken to Carver Stadium. Mr. Alsup reported to his family many times that he saw planes flying over Greenwood dropping bombs.

167. Plaintiff THOMAS ADAMS, JR. is a descendant of Thomas and Tacora Adams. At the time of the Riot, Thomas and Tacora Adams lived in Greenwood District of Tulsa.

168. Plaintiff C.J. ALEXANDER is the son of C.J. Alexander, Sr. Plaintiff is the brother of Plaintiffs JUANITA ALEXANDER HOPKINS and Lillian Alexander. They are the children of C. J. Alexander, Jr. and the grandchildren of C. J.

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2 Alexander, Sr. At the time of the Riot, C.J. Alexander, Sr. and
3 his family lived on Williams Street in the Greenwood District of
4 Tulsa.

5 169. Plaintiff GEORGE ALEXANDER is an individual
6 residing in Tulsa, Oklahoma. Plaintiff is a descendant of Henry
7 and Ora Tilley. At the time of the Riot, Henry and Ora Tilley
8 lived in Greenwood District of Tulsa.

9 170. Plaintiff LILLIAN ALEXANDER is the daughter of
10 C.J. Alexander, Sr. Plaintiff is the sister of Plaintiffs C. J.
11 ALEXANDER, III and JUANITA ALEXANDER HOPKINS. They are the
12 children of C. J. Alexander, Jr. and the grandchildren of C. J.
13 Alexander, Sr. At the time of the Riot, C.J. Alexander, Sr. and
14 his family lived on Williams Street in the Greenwood District of
15 Tulsa.

16 171. Plaintiff BRENDA NAILS ALFORD is an individual
17 residing in Oklahoma. Plaintiff is the sister of BEVERLY NAILS
18 KELLY and CLARINDA NAILS and a descendant of James Nails. At
19 the time of the Riot, Plaintiff's father was a resident of the
20 Greenwood District.

21 172. Plaintiff BETTY ANDERSON is an individual
22 residing in Edmond, Oklahoma. Plaintiff is the grandchild of
23 Trishie Wright. At the time of the Riot, Trishie Wright lived
24 in the Greenwood District of Tulsa.

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2 173. Plaintiff RHONDA ANDERSON is an individual
3 residing in Tulsa, Oklahoma. Plaintiff is the sister of
4 Plaintiffs MARIETTA ANDERSON WAITERS, DIANNE ANDERSON STEELE,
5 and ROBERT EARL ANDERSON. Plaintiffs are the children of Mary
6 Franklin Anderson. At the time of the Riot, Mary Franklin
7 Anderson lived in the Greenwood District of Tulsa.

8 174. Plaintiff ROBERT EARL ANDERSON is an individual
9 residing in Compton, California. Plaintiff is the brother of
10 Plaintiffs MARIETTA ANDERSON WAITERS, DIANNE ANDERSON STEELE,
11 and RHONDA ANDERSON. Plaintiffs are the children of Mary
12 Franklin Anderson. At the time of the Riot, Mary Franklin
13 Anderson lived in the Greenwood District of Tulsa.

14 175. Plaintiff IRMA THOMAS ANTHONY is an individual
15 residing in Tulsa, Oklahoma. Plaintiff is the sister of
16 Plaintiffs LEONTYNE THOMAS HARRELL and JERRY FIELDS THOMAS. At
17 the time of the Riot, Myrtle Fields Parker lived in the
18 Greenwood District of Tulsa.

19 176. Plaintiff LEONA JERRY BRUNER ANTHONY is an
20 individual residing in Marshall, Texas. Plaintiff is the sister
21 of Plaintiff CLIFTON JOE TIPTON. Plaintiff is the daughter of
22 Corinne Lillian Lucas Tipton Bruner. At the time of the Riot,
23 Corinne Lillian Lucas Tipton Bruner lived at 634 E. Jasper in
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2 the Greenwood District of Tulsa. Her home was damaged when part
3 of it was burned in the Riot.

4 177. Plaintiff MARY BELL ARRINGTON is the child of
5 J.D. and Ida Mae Bell and the grandchild of Isaac (Ike) and
6 Mollie Bell. Plaintiff is the sister of Plaintiffs R.G. BELL
7 and CATHRYN BELL SNODDY. At the time of the Riot, J.D. Bell,
8 Ida Mae Bell, Isaac Bell and Mollie Bell lived in the Greenwood
9 District of Tulsa. Their mother, Ida Mae Bell, was 9 months
10 pregnant at the time of the Tulsa Race Riot. She told them that
11 she had to walk for a long time on June 1, 1921 along the
12 railroad tracks. She saw bodies thrown on the church and trucks
13 carrying bodies to the 15th Street area where she believed they
14 were buried in mass graves. The mother gave birth ten days
15 after the Tulsa Race Riot and had "female trouble" ever since
16 the Tulsa Race Riot. The Bell's owned a family business, Bells'
17 Barbershop on the corner of Greenwood and Archer. Their home
18 was burned down during the riot and the family rebuilt it.

19 178. Plaintiff ARVEN AUTRY is an individual residing
20 in Tulsa, Oklahoma. Plaintiff is a descendant of Rev. James P.
21 and Laura Jeffries Autry. At the time of the Riot, Rev. James
22 Autry was the pastor of Holsey Chapel C.M.E. Church on N. Peoria
23 Avenue in the Greenwood District of Tulsa. Plaintiff's father
24 saw bombs falling from planes over Greenwood. Rev. Autry found
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2 it difficult to return to Tulsa and was deeply emotionally
3 scarred.

4 179. Plaintiff ELMER AUTRY is the child of Rev. James
5 and Laura Jeffries Autry. Plaintiff is the brother RUTH ELLA
6 AUTRY, and JAMES AUTRY. At the time of the Riot, Rev. James
7 Autry was the pastor of Holsey Chapel C.M.E. Church on N. Peoria
8 Avenue in the Greenwood District of Tulsa. Plaintiff's father
9 saw bombs falling from planes over Greenwood. Rev. Autry found
10 it difficult to return to Tulsa and was deeply emotionally
11 scarred.

12 180. Plaintiff JAMES AUTRY is the child of Rev. James
13 and Laura Jeffries Autry. Plaintiff is the brother of
14 Plaintiffs RUTH ELLA AUTRY, and ELMER AUTRY. At the time of the
15 Riot, Rev. James Autry was the pastor of Holsey Chapel C.M.E.
16 Church on N. Peoria Avenue in the Greenwood District of Tulsa.
17 Plaintiff's father saw bombs falling from planes over Greenwood.
18 Rev. Autry found it difficult to return to Tulsa and was deeply
19 emotionally scarred.

20 181. Plaintiff OTIS AUTREY, JR. is an individual
21 residing in Texas. Plaintiff is a descendant of Otis Autrey,
22 the deceased descendant of Riot survivors Reverend James P. and
23 Laura Jefferies Autrey. At the time of the Riot, Rev. James
24 Autrey was the pastor of Holsey Chapel C.M.E. Church on North
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2 Peoria Avenue in the Greenwood District of Tulsa. Plaintiff's
3 grandfather saw bombs falling from planes over Greenwood. Rev.
4 Autrey found it difficult to return to Tulsa and was deeply
5 emotionally scarred.

6 182. Plaintiff RUTH ELLA AUTRY is the child of Rev.
7 James and Laura Jeffries Autry. Plaintiff is the sister of
8 Plaintiffs JAMES AUTRY, and ELMER AUTRY. At the time of the
9 Riot, Rev. James Autry was the pastor of Holsey Chapel C.M.E.
10 Church on N. Peoria Avenue in the Greenwood District of Tulsa.
11 Plaintiff's father saw bombs falling from planes over Greenwood.
12 Rev. Autry found it difficult to return to Tulsa and was deeply
13 emotionally scarred.

14 183. Plaintiff MARGUERITE BAGBY is an individual
15 residing in Tulsa, Oklahoma. Plaintiff is the daughter of Anna
16 Tolbert. At the time of the Riot, Anna Tolbert lived in the
17 Greenwood District of Tulsa.

18 184. Plaintiff JOHN BAILEY is the great nephew of
19 David Bailey. At the time of the Riot, David Bailey lived in
20 the Greenwood District of Tulsa.

21 185. Plaintiff NICHOLAS A. BANKS is an individual
22 residing in Vancouver, Washington. Plaintiff is the brother of
23 Plaintiffs BERNICE E. DAVIS and AUDREY BANKS PARSON. Plaintiffs
24 are the children of Nick Banks. At the time of the Riot, Nick
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2 Banks owned a pool hall, and worked as a chef at the Ketchum
3 Hotel in the Greenwood District of Tulsa.

4 186. Plaintiff EDITH MCALESTER BARNES is an
5 individual residing in Oklahoma. Plaintiff is the sister of
6 Plaintiff EARTHA MCALESTER NORMAN and a descendant of Clarence
7 and Margie King. At the time of the Riot, Plaintiffs great-aunt
8 and uncle resided in the Greenwood District.

9 187. Plaintiff LESLIE BEARD is the child of Ruth
10 Fowler Martin and the grandchild of Richard and Viola Fowler
11 (Huggins). Plaintiff is the sister of Plaintiffs DOROTHY JONES,
12 NANCY MARTIN, CATHERINE MARTIN, JAMES PRESTON MARTIN, and FELTON
13 MARTIN. At the time of the Riot, Ruth Fowler Martin, Richard
14 Fowler, and Viola Fowler lived in the Greenwood District of
15 Tulsa. Plaintiff's mother fled with her husband, Richard
16 Fowler, with her child, Ruth Fowler, from the rioting white mob.
17 The rioting white mob burned down their home and destroyed all
18 their property.

19 188. Plaintiff RAYMOND BEARD, SR. is an individual
20 residing in Tulsa, Oklahoma. At the time of the Riot,
21 Plaintiff's sister, Mary Beard, lived in the Greenwood District
22 of Tulsa.

23 189. Plaintiff AUDELE MCLEOD BEEKS is an individual
24 residing in St. Louis, Missouri. Plaintiff is the sister of
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2 Plaintiffs FELICIA MCLEOD JOHNSON, PATRICIA MCLEOD STEPHENSON,
3 and WALLACE MCLEOD. Plaintiffs are the sons and daughters of
4 Wallace McLeod, Sr. and Bessie Audele Beatty McLeod. At the
5 time of the Riot, Wallace McLeod, Sr. and Bessie Audele Beatty
6 McLeod lived at 301 N. Elgin in the Greenwood District of Tulsa.
7 The rioting white mob burned their home to the ground.
8 Plaintiff's father was unlawfully detained against his will at
9 the Convention Center detention center.

10 190. Plaintiff R.G. BELL is the child of J.D. and Ida
11 Mae Bell and the grandchild of Isaac (Ike) and Mollie Bell.
12 Plaintiff is the brother of Plaintiffs MARY BELL ARRINGTON, and
13 CATHRYN BELL SNODDY. At the time of the Riot, J.D. Bell, Ida
14 Mae Bell, Isaac Bell and Mollie Bell lived in the Greenwood
15 District of Tulsa. Their mother, Ida Mae Bell, was 9 months
16 pregnant at the time of the Tulsa Race Riot. She told them that
17 she had to walk for a long time on June 1, 1921 along the
18 railroad tracks. She saw bodies thrown on the church and trucks
19 carrying bodies to the 15th Street area where she believed they
20 were buried in mass graves. The mother gave birth ten days
21 after the Tulsa Race Riot and had "female trouble" ever since
22 the Tulsa Race Riot. The Bell's owned a family business, Bells'
23 Barbershop on the corner of Greenwood and Archer. Their home
24 was burned down during the riot and the family rebuilt it.
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2 191. Plaintiff WILMA PRESLEY BELL is the descendant
3 of John Smith Presley and Josephine Davis Presley, and the
4 grandson of Lucinda Davis. At the time of the Riot, Plaintiff's
5 family owned a home on N. Greenwood in the Greenwood District of
6 Tulsa. Plaintiff's grandmother, Lucinda Davis, who was a member
7 of the Creek Nation, owned a home near Kyle's Drugstore. Her
8 home and all of its contents were destroyed.

9 192. Plaintiff SIMON BERRY JR. is an individual
10 residing in Los Angeles, California. Plaintiff is the son of
11 Simon Berry Sr. At the time of the Riot, Simon Berry Sr., lived
12 in the Greenwood District of Tulsa.

13 193. Plaintiff REV. BRADFORD BISHOP is an individual
14 residing in Tulsa, Oklahoma. Plaintiff is the brother of
15 Plaintiffs LISA LATIMER, PATRICE LATIMER, JAYPHEE LATIMER,
16 CAESAR LATIMER, JAMES HAROLD LATIMER, CHARLES SYLVESTER LATIMER,
17 and JULIUS PEGUES. Plaintiffs are the children of James Harold
18 and Julia Latimer, who resided in the Greenwood District of
19 Tulsa at the time of the Riot.

20 194. Plaintiff EUGENE BOLTON is an individual
21 residing in Tulsa, Oklahoma. Plaintiff is a descendant of
22 Fletcher Daniels. At the time of the Riot, Fletcher Daniels
23 lived in Greenwood District of Tulsa.

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2 195. Plaintiff JAMES BOLTON is an individual residing
3 in Altadena, California. Plaintiff is a descendant of Fletcher
4 Daniels. At the time of the Riot, Fletcher Daniels lived in
5 Greenwood District of Tulsa.

6 196. Plaintiff OSCAR BOYD is the grandchild of Mr.
7 and Mrs. Willie Staples and the children of Gertrude Staples.
8 At the time of the Tulsa Race Riot, their mother was 19 years
9 old and lived with their grandparents in the Greenwood District
10 of Tulsa. The rioting white mob burned their home to the
11 ground.

12 197. Plaintiff DOROTHY WILLIAMS BRANLETT is an
13 individual residing in Tulsa, Oklahoma. Plaintiff is the
14 grandchild of Fisher James Williams and Dinah Freeman Williams.
15 At the time of the Riot, Fisher James Williams lived in the
16 Greenwood District of Tulsa, and was injured during the Riot.
17 Plaintiff's father died as a result of his injuries at St.
18 John's Hospital on June 21, 1921.

19 198. Plaintiff DOROTHY JACKSON BREWER is a descendant
20 of Henry and Ora Tilley. At the time of the Riot, Henry and Ora
21 Tilley lived in Greenwood District of Tulsa.

22 199. Plaintiff PATRICIA DUKES BROME is an individual
23 residing in Louisiana. Plaintiff is the sister of MILDRED
24 WALLACE HUDSPETH, ROBERT CHARLES DUKES, SYLVIA WARE and WILLIE
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2 DUKES and a descendant of Robert and Mildred Wallace. At the
3 time of the Riot, Plaintiff's parents resided in the Greenwood
4 District and lost their home including all their savings.

5 200. Plaintiff NAOMI LAWSON BROWN is an individual
6 residing in Colorado Springs, Colorado. Plaintiff is the sister
7 of Plaintiffs EDWARD LAWSON, WILBUR FOSTER, and RONALD EARL
8 MOORE. Plaintiffs are the sons and daughters of Naomi Foster
9 Moore and the grandson of Mattie Pearl Calhoun. At the time of
10 the Riot, Naomi Foster Moore and Mattie Pearl Calhoun lived in
11 the Greenwood District of Tulsa.

12 201. Plaintiff WILLIAM BRUNER is an individual
13 residing in California. Plaintiff is the descendant of Mary
14 Jones Parrish. At the time of the Riot, Plaintiff's mother was
15 a resident of the Greenwood District.

16 202. Plaintiff BRENDA FAIR CAMPBELL is an individual
17 residing in Tulsa, Oklahoma. She is the sister of JANET FAIR,
18 STANLEY FAIR, JR., JANE FAIR PRUETT, GERALDINE FAIR JESSIE, and
19 YVONNE FAIR SHAW. Plaintiffs are the children of Stanley Fair,
20 Sr., who resided in the Greenwood District of Tulsa at the time
21 of the Riot.

22 203. Plaintiff HENRY CANNON is an individual residing
23 in Tulsa, Oklahoma. Plaintiff is the brother of Plaintiffs
24 JOHNNYE CANNON LAWSON, NATHANIEL CANNON, and MILDRED CANNON
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WALLACE. Plaintiffs are the sons and daughters Johnnye M. Mitchell Cannon and grandchildren of Charles and Jessie Mitchell. At the time of the Riot, Johnnye M. Mitchell Cannon, Charles Cannon, and Jessie Mitchell lived in the Greenwood District of Tulsa. Plaintiffs' mother and grandparents were forced to flee Greenwood in order save their lives. Plaintiffs' parents and grandparent's home was burned to the ground.

204. Plaintiff NATHANIEL CANNON is an individual residing in Muskogee, Oklahoma. Plaintiff is the brother of Plaintiffs JOHNNYE CANNON LAWSON, HENRY CANNON, and CANNON

WALLACE. Plaintiffs are the sons and daughters Johnnye M. Mitchell Cannon and grandchildren of Charles and Jessie Mitchell. At the time of the Riot, Johnnye M. Mitchell Cannon, Charles Cannon, and Jessie Mitchell lived in the Greenwood District of Tulsa. Plaintiffs' mother and grandparents were forced to flee Greenwood in order save their lives. Plaintiffs' parents and grandparent's home was burned to the ground.

205. Plaintiff EDWINA WALKER CARR is an individual residing in Las Angeles, California. Plaintiff is a descendant of Raphael Walker. At the time of the Riot, Raphael Walker lived in the Greenwood District of Tulsa.

206. Plaintiff BERNARD CARTER is an individual residing in Compton, California. Plaintiff is a descendant of

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Robert Carter. At the time of the Riot, Robert Carter lived in the Greenwood District of Tulsa.

207. Plaintiff EDDIE HUE CARTER is an individual residing in Compton, California. Plaintiff is a descendant of Robert Carter. At the time of the Riot, Robert Carter lived in the Greenwood District of Tulsa.

208. Plaintiff ROBERT CARTER, JR, is an individual residing in Bakersfield, California. Plaintiff is a descendant of Robert Carter. At the time of the Riot, Robert Carter lived in the Greenwood District of Tulsa.

209. Plaintiff SAMUEL LEE CARTER is an individual residing in Bakersfield, California. Plaintiff is a descendant of Robert Carter. At the time of the Riot, Robert Carter lived in the Greenwood District of Tulsa.

210. Plaintiff ELIZABETH COOLEY CHAPPELLE is the widow of Rev. T. Oscar Chappelle. At the time of the Riot, Rev. T. Oscar Chappelle lived in Greenwood District of Tulsa.

211. Plaintiff ANITA WILLIAMS CHRISTOPHER is the daughter of William D. and Lula Williams and granddaughter of John Wesley Williams. At the time of the Riot, William D. Williams, Lula Williams, and John Wesley Williams all resided at Greenwood and Archer in the Greenwood District of Tulsa. They

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2 owned the Dreamland Theatre that was burned down and their home
3 was burned down.

4 212. Plaintiff VASSIE CLARK is an individual residing
5 in Tulsa, Oklahoma. He is the brother of VAL GENE JOHNSON, SR.,
6 MARY L. EMERSON, and BOBBIE WILSON. Plaintiffs are the children
7 of Robert Franklin Johnson, who resided in the Greenwood
8 District of Tulsa at the time of the Riot.

9 213. Plaintiff AILEEN JOANNE AUSTIN COBURN is the
10 daughter of Simon and Senora Austin. Plaintiff is the sister of
11 LEONA AUSTIN McCAIN. At the time of the Riot, Simon and Senora
12 Austin lived in the Greenwood district of Tulsa.

13 214. Plaintiff MARILYN KAY JOHNSON COLEY is an
14 individual residing in Plumerville, Arkansas. She is the sister
15 of SHIRLEY A. JOHNSON TYUS, JANICE LOU JOHNSON ROSS, LENA MAE
16 JOHNSON PAYNE, and RONALD WAYNE JOHNSON. Plaintiffs are the
17 children of Bennie Lee Johnson, who resided in the Greenwood
18 District of Tulsa at the time of the Riot.

19 215. Plaintiff ERLINE CROSSLIN is the child of Fannie
20 Mae Bagby. Plaintiff is the sister of BILLIE WAYNE RUCKER, J.
21 C. RUCKER, ROBERT C. RUCKER and ROSEZELLA TURNER. At the time
22 of the Riot, Fannie Mae Bagby lived in Greenwood District of
23 Tulsa.

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216. Plaintiff BERNICE E. BANKS DAVIS is the child of Nick Banks. Plaintiff is the sister of Plaintiffs NICHOLAS A. BANKS and AUDREY BANKS PARSON. At the time of the Riot, Nick Banks owned a pool hall and was a chef at the Ketchum Hotel in the Greenwood District of Tulsa.

217. Plaintiff FRED DAVIS is an individual residing in Tulsa, Oklahoma. Plaintiff is the brother of Plaintiffs MILDRED LOUISE DAVIS SCOTT, THERESA DAVIS SCOTT, and SANDRA JEAN DAVIS LANDRUM is an individual residing in Tulsa, Oklahoma. Plaintiffs are the surviving children of Thomas R. Davis and Rosa Davis. At the time of the Riot, Thomas R. Davis and Rosa Davis lived in the Greenwood District of Tulsa.

218. Plaintiff ROY DAVIS is the son of Peter Bailey. At the time of the Riot, Peter Bailey owned a business in Greenwood, located at Pine and Greenwood.

219. Plaintiff LAWRENCE HERMAN DENNIE is the grandchild of Howard and Ida Rodgers. At the time of the Riot, Howard and Ida Rodgers lived in the 100 or 200 block of Hartford Street in the Greenwood District of Tulsa. Plaintiff's parents' home was seriously damaged during the Tulsa Race Riot. Their uncle, George Dennie, Jr. was injured during the Tulsa Race Riot and hospitalized.

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2 220. Plaintiff EVELYN DIGGS is an individual residing
3 in California. Plaintiff is the sister of Plaintiff SAYYID JAMI
4 and descendant of Ernest and Gladys Crooms, the deceased
5 descendants of Riot Survivor Mary Horn, Tulsa's first African-
6 American policewoman. At the time of the Riot, Mary Horn lived
7 on Archer Avenue in the area known as "The Hill." Plaintiff's
8 grandmother's home was burned to the ground and all personal
9 possessions were destroyed.

10 221. Plaintiff ROBERT CHARLES DUKES is an individual
11 residing in Louisiana. Plaintiff is the brother of MILDRED
12 WALLACE HUDSPETH, PATRICIA DUKES BROME, SYLVIA WARE and WILLIE
13 DUKES and a descendant of Robert and Mildred Wallace. At the
14 time of the Riot, Plaintiff's parents resided in the Greenwood
15 District and lost their home including all their savings.

16 222. Plaintiff WILLIE DUKES is an individual residing
17 in California. Plaintiff is the sister of MILDRED WALLACE
18 HUDSPETH, PATRICIA DUKES BROME, ROBERT CHARLES DUKES and SYLVIA
19 WARE and a descendant of Robert and Mildred Wallace. At the
20 time of the Riot, Plaintiff's parents resided in the Greenwood
21 District and lost their home including all their savings.

22 223. Plaintiff RITA DUNCAN is an individual residing
23 in Tulsa, Oklahoma. Plaintiff is a descendant of James L. and
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2 Carrie Duncan. At the time of the Riot, James L. and Carrie
3 Duncan lived in Greenwood District of Tulsa.

4 224. Plaintiff ROGER DUNCAN is an individual residing
5 in San Diego, California. Plaintiff is a descendant of James L.
6 and Carrie Duncan. At the time of the Riot, James L. and Carrie
7 Duncan lived in Greenwood District of Tulsa.

8 225. Plaintiff SYLVIA A. DUNN is an individual
9 residing in the State of California. Plaintiff is the daughter
10 of Hattie Lillie Dunn, who, at the time of the Riot, lived on
11 Elgin Street in the Greenwood District of Tulsa. Plaintiff's
12 family property and home were destroyed during the Riot.

13 226. Plaintiff AMY GAMBLE EIDSON is an individual
14 residing in Tulsa, Oklahoma. She is the sister of EVA GAMBLE
15 MORRIS. Plaintiffs are the children of Harry Gamble, Jr., who
16 resided in the Greenwood District of Tulsa at the time of the
17 Riot.

18 227. Plaintiff MARY L. EMERSON is an individual
19 residing in Tulsa, Oklahoma. She is the sister of VAL GENE
20 JOHNSON, SR., BOBBIE WILSON, and VASSIE CLARK. Plaintiffs are
21 the children of Robert Franklin Johnson, who resided in the
22 Greenwood District of Tulsa at the time of the Riot.

23 228. Plaintiff BILL EWING is an individual residing
24 in Louisville, Colorado. Plaintiff is the brother of Plaintiffs
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2 JO ANN EWING, WANDA EWING POPE, and ROBERT EWING. Plaintiffs
3 are the children of Eva Small. At the time of the Riot, Eva
4 Small lived in the Greenwood District of Tulsa.

5 229. Plaintiff JO ANN EWING is an individual residing
6 in Aurora, Colorado. Plaintiff is the sister of Plaintiffs
7 WANDA EWING POPE, ROBERT EWING, and BILL EWING. Plaintiffs are
8 the children of Eva Small. At the time of the Riot, Eva Small
9 lived in the Greenwood District of Tulsa.

10 230. Plaintiff ROBERT EWING is an individual residing
11 in Oakland, California. Plaintiff is the brother of Plaintiffs
12 JO ANN EWING, WANDA EWING POPE, and BILL EWING is an individual
13 residing in Louisville, Colorado. Plaintiffs are the children
14 of Eva Small. At the time of the Riot, Eva Small lived in the
15 Greenwood District of Tulsa.

16 231. Plaintiff JANET FAIR is the sister of JANE FAIR
17 PRUETT, BRENDA FAIR CAMPBELL, STANLEY FAIR, JR., GERALDINE FAIR
18 JESSIE, and YVONNE FAIR SHAW. Plaintiffs are the children of
19 Stanley Fair, Sr., who resided in the Greenwood District of
20 Tulsa at the time of the Riot.

21 232. Plaintiff STANLEY FAIR, JR., is an individual
22 residing in Tulsa, Oklahoma. He is the brother of JANET FAIR,
23 JANE FAIR PRUETT, BRENDA FAIR CAMPBELL, GERALDINE FAIR JESSIE,
24 and YVONNE FAIR SHAW. Plaintiffs are the children of Stanley
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2 Fair, Sr., who resided in the Greenwood District of Tulsa at the
3 time of the Riot.

4 233. Plaintiff WILBUR FOSTER is an individual
5 residing in Los Angeles, California. Plaintiff is the brother
6 of Plaintiffs NAOMI LAWSON BROWN, EDWARD LAWSON, and RONALD EARL
7 MOORE. Plaintiffs are the sons and daughters of Naomi Foster
8 Moore and the grandson of Mattie Pearl Calhoun. At the time of
9 the Riot, Naomi Foster Moore and Mattie Pearl Calhoun lived in
10 the Greenwood District of Tulsa.

11 234. Plaintiff ALFREDA O. DENNIE FRANKLIN is the
12 grandchild of Howard and Ida Rodgers. At the time of the Riot,
13 Howard and Ida Rodgers lived in the 100 or 200 block of
14 Hartford Street in the Greenwood District of Tulsa. Plaintiff's
15 parents' home was seriously damaged during the Tulsa Race Riot.
16 Their uncle, George Dennie, Jr. was injured during the Tulsa
17 Race Riot and hospitalized.

18 235. Plaintiff JOHN HOPE FRANKLIN is the son of B.C.
19 Franklin. At the time of the Riot, Plaintiff's father was an
20 attorney in the Greenwood District of Tulsa during the Riot.
21 Plaintiff's home and office burned to the ground and he worked
22 out of a tent for several months. Plaintiff's father was also
23 detained and taken to the Convention Hall detention center
24 during the Riot.

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2 236. Plaintiff JEAN FREENY is an individual residing
3 in California. Plaintiff is a descendant of Ernest and Gladys
4 Crooms, the deceased descendants of Riot Survivor Mary Horn,
5 Tulsa's first African-American policewoman. At the time of the
6 Riot, Mary Horn lived on Archer Avenue in the area known as "The
7 Hill." Plaintiff's grandmother's home was burned to the ground
8 and all personal possessions were destroyed.

9 237. Plaintiff THELMA KINLAW GERMANY is the daughter
10 of Evans and Caldonia Collins Kinlaw. At the time of the Riot,
11 Evans and Caldonia Collins Kinlaw rented a home in Greenwood
12 District of Tulsa. During the Riot the home was burned and they
13 lost all their personal property.

14 238. Plaintiff MARGARET JEAN TILLEY GIBBS is an
15 individual residing in Oklahoma. Plaintiff is the sister of
16 DOROTHY JACKSON BREWER AND ANNIE ALEXANDER WILSON and a
17 descendant of Henry and Ora Tilley. At the time of the Riot,
18 Plaintiff's parent resided in the Greenwood District.

19 239. Plaintiff BOBBYE LOUISE GILBERT is an individual
20 residing in Midland, Texas. Plaintiff is the sister of
21 Plaintiff FANNIE WILLIAMS. Plaintiffs are children of Joseph
22 and Mamie Henderson. At the time of the Riot, Joseph Henderson
23 and Mamie Henderson lived in the Greenwood District of Tulsa.
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240. Plaintiff JEANNE OSBY GOODWIN is the widow of E. L. Goodwin. At the time of the Riot, E. L. Goodwin lived in Greenwood District of Tulsa.

241. Plaintiff LINDA EDMONDSON GRAVES is an individual residing in Tulsa, Oklahoma. Plaintiff is the daughter of Luther Edmondson. At the time of the Riot, Luther Edmondson lived in the Greenwood District of Tulsa. Plaintiff's father damaged his knees while swimming across the Arkansas River to escape the white mob and fled to Sapulpa, west of Tulsa.

242. Plaintiff ALBERT GRAYSON is the son of Willie and Doris Grayson. At the time of the Riot, Willie and Doris Grayson lived in Greenwood District of Tulsa.

243. Plaintiff KATHERINE WOOD HALE is an individual residing in Minnesota. Plaintiff is the descendant of George and Florence Wood. At the time of the Riot, Plaintiff's parents owned a home and a restaurant in the Greenwood District. Both properties were destroyed and Plaintiff's parents moved to Coffeyville, Kansas after the Riot.

244. Plaintiff LEONTYNE THOMAS HARRELL is an individual residing in Oakland California. Plaintiff is the sister of Plaintiffs IRMA THOMAS ANTHONY and JERRY FIELDS THOMAS. Plaintiffs are the children of Myrtle Fields Parker.

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At the time of the Riot, Myrtle Fields Parker lived in the Greenwood District of Tulsa.

245. Plaintiff DELORES HARRINGTON is an individual residing in St. Louis, Missouri. Plaintiff is the sister of Plaintiff SHIRLEY RIDLEY. Plaintiffs are the daughters of Marion Spears. At the time of the Riot, Marion Spears lived in the Greenwood District of Tulsa.

246. Plaintiff MARY PRISCILLA PARKER HARRISON is the daughter of Ellen Ursuline Richards Tillman. Plaintiff is the sister of and GENIEIVE JACKSON. At the time of the Riot, Ellen Ursuline Richards Tillman lived in the Greenwood District of Tulsa.

247. Plaintiff JEANETTE HAWKINS is an individual residing in Chicago, Illinois. Plaintiff is a descendant of Clarence Hawkins, Jr. At the time of the Riot, Clarence Hawkins, Jr., lived in the Greenwood District of Tulsa.

248. Plaintiff OLANDER HAWKINS is an individual residing in Chicago, Illinois. PLAINTIFF is a descendant of Lula Hawkins. At the time of the Riot, Lula Hawkins lived in the Greenwood District of Tulsa.

249. Plaintiff STARLA HAWKINS is an individual residing in Denver, Colorado. Plaintiff is a descendant of

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Berzell Williams Hawkins. At the time of the Riot, Berzell Williams Hawkins lived in the Greenwood District of Tulsa.

250. Plaintiff JOBIE ELIZABETH HOLDERNESS is the widow of Lynn Holderness. At the time of the Riot, Lynn Holderness lived in Greenwood District of Tulsa.

251. Plaintiff MAYBELLINE PRESLEY HOOKS is the descendant of John Smith Presley and Josephine Davis Presley, and the grandson of Lucinda Davis. At the time of the Riot, Plaintiff's family owned a home on N. Greenwood in the Greenwood District of Tulsa. Plaintiff's grandmother, Lucinda Davis, who was a member of the Creek Nation, owned a home near Kyle's Drugstore. Her home and all of its contents were destroyed.

252. Plaintiff JUANITA ALEXANDER HOPKINS is the daughter of C.J. Alexander, Sr. Plaintiff is the sister of Plaintiffs C. J. ALEXANDER, III and LILLIAN ALEXANDER. They are the children of C. J. Alexander, Jr. and the grandchildren of C. J. Alexander, Sr. At the time of the Riot, C.J. Alexander, Sr. and his family lived on Williams Street in the Greenwood District of Tulsa.

253. Plaintiff SHARON HOPKINS is an individual residing in Oklahoma. Plaintiff is a descendant of Otis Autrey, the deceased descendant of Riot survivors Rev. James P. and Laura Jefferies Autrey. At the time of the Riot, Rev. James

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2 Autrey was the pastor of Holsey Chapel C.M.E. Church on North
3 Pretoria Avenue in the Greenwood District of Tulsa. Plaintiff's
4 grandfather saw bombs falling from planes over Greenwood. Rev.
5 Autrey found it difficult to return to Tulsa and was deeply
6 emotionally scarred.

7 254. Plaintiff EMMA LOCKARD HORN is an individual
8 residing in Muskogee, Oklahoma. Plaintiff is the sister of
9 Plaintiffs SELMA LOCKARD, FRANK LOCKARD, JESSIE MAE LOCKARD,
10 EDWARD LOCKARD, ERNEST LOCKARD, OSCAR LOCKARD, and CORTEZ
11 LOCKARD. Plaintiffs are children of Joe Lockard and Rina
12 Hawkins-Lockard. At the time of the Riot, Joe Lockard and Rina
13 Hawkins-Lockard lived in the Greenwood District of Tulsa.

14 255. Plaintiff MAXIMILLIAN HOWELL is an individual
15 residing in Topeka, Kansas. He is the son of Johnson Howell,
16 who resided in the Greenwood District of Tulsa at the time of
17 the Riot.

18 256. Plaintiff MILDRED WALLACE HUDSPETH is an
19 individual residing in California. Plaintiff is the sister of
20 PATRICIA DUKES BROME, ROBERT CHARLES DUKES, SYLVIA WARE and
21 WILLIE DUKES and a descendant of Robert and Mildred Wallace. At
22 the time of the Riot, Plaintiff's parents resided in the
23 Greenwood District and lost their home including all their
24 savings.

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2 257. Plaintiff HELEN SIPUEL HUGGINS is the daughter
3 of Rev. Travis B. and Martha Bell Smith Sipuel. At the time of
4 the Riot, Rev. Travis B. and Martha Bell Smith Sipuel lived in
5 the Greenwood District of Tulsa. The rioting white mob burned
6 Plaintiff's parent's home to the ground and all their personal
7 property lost. Her father, who was a dark skinned African
8 American, was taken by the militia to McNulty Park. Her mother
9 was very light in complexion and was standing in front of the
10 home watching it burn. A militia officer saw her mother
11 standing there and asked: "Lady, what are you doing here?" and
12 the mother could not respond so he said "Well, you'd better get
13 yourself back to the white part of town before the niggers get
14 ahold of you." Shortly thereafter her parents moved to
15 Chicksaw, Oklahoma.

16 258. Plaintiff CLARENCE JACKSON is an individual
17 residing in Tulsa, Oklahoma. Plaintiff is a descendant of Henry
18 and Ora Tilley. At the time of the Riot, Henry and Ora Tilley
19 lived in Greenwood District of Tulsa.

20 259. Plaintiff DELLA SHELTON JACKSON an individual
21 residing in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. Plaintiff is the
22 grandchild of Trishie Wright. At the time of the Riot, Trishie
23 Wright lived in the Greenwood District of Tulsa.
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2 260. Plaintiff GAIL JACKSON is an individual residing
3 in Oklahoma. Plaintiff is a descendant of Henry Knox, John
4 Edward Knox. At the time of the Riot, the Plaintiff's
5 grandfather and father fled the rioting white mob and were
6 later held in detention.

7 261. Plaintiff GENIEIVE JACKSON is the daughter of
8 Ellen Ursuline Richards Tillman. Plaintiff is the sister of
9 Plaintiff MARY PRISCILLA PARKER HARRISON. At the time of the
10 Riot, Ellen Ursuline Richards Tillman lived in the Greenwood
11 District of Tulsa.

12 262. Plaintiff ROSIE LEE JACKSON is an individual
13 residing in Tulsa, Oklahoma. Plaintiff is the sister of
14 Plaintiffs FRED SMITH, FANIE SMITH VERNER, and ERMA SMITH
15 THOMPSON. Plaintiffs are the children of Willis and Maggie
16 Smith. At the time of the Riot, Willis and Maggie Smith lived
17 in the Greenwood District of Tulsa.

18 263. Plaintiff SAYYID JAMI is an individual residing
19 in California. Plaintiff is a descendant of Ernest and Gladys
20 Crooms, the deceased descendants of Riot survivor Mary Horn,
21 Tulsa's first African American policewoman. At the time of the
22 Riot, Mary Horn lived on Archer Avenue in the area known as "The
23 Hill." Plaintiff's grandmother's home was burned to the ground
24 and all personal possessions were destroyed.

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2 264. Plaintiff ARTHUR JEFFERSON is the grandchild of
3 Johnny Adams, children of Eliza Adams and nephew and niece of
4 "Saucer" Grayson. At the time of the Riot, Plaintiffs and
5 Plaintiffs mother lived on Jasper Street. Plaintiff's family
6 also owned six or seven rent houses on Jasper Street just off
7 Greenwood Avenue. Everything they owned was burned down by the
8 white mob. The family hid in an old shed behind their homes
9 near an alley and watched through cracks as the white mob set
10 fire to their property. The white mob was heavily armed,
11 shooting everywhere and their uncle, "Saucer" Grayson was shot
12 and killed.

13 265. Plaintiff LULA MAE JEFFERSON is an individual
14 residing in Kansas. Plaintiff is the sister of MARTHA MCGLORIE
15 SWINDALL, MATTHEW JEFFERSON, ROBERT JEFFERSON, VERNELL KELLEY
16 and MARGE WALLACE and the descendant of the Reverend A.L. and
17 Lucinda McGlorie who resided in the Greenwood District at the
18 time of the Riot.

19 266. Plaintiff MATTHEW JEFFERSON is an individual
20 residing in Kansas. Plaintiff is the brother of LULA MAE
21 JEFFERSON, ROBERT JEFFERSON, VERNELL KELLEY, MARTHA MCGLORIE
22 SWINDALL and MARGE WALLACE and the descendant of the Reverend
23 A.L. and Lucinda McGlorie who resided in the Greenwood District
24 at the time of the Riot.

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2 267. Plaintiff ROBERT JEFFERSON is an individual
3 residing in Kansas. Plaintiff is the brother of MARTHA MCGLORIE
4 SWINDALL, LULA MAE JEFFERSON, MATTHEW JEFFERSON, VERNELL KELLEY
5 and MARGE WALLACE and the descendant of the Reverend A.L. and
6 Lucinda McGlorie who resided in the Greenwood District at the
7 time of the Riot.

8 268. Plaintiff GERALDINE FAIR JESSIE is an individual
9 residing in Tulsa, Oklahoma. She is the sister of JANET FAIR,
10 STANLEY FAIR, JR., JANE FAIR PRUETT, BRENDA FAIR CAMPBELL, and
11 YVONNE FAIR SHAW. Plaintiffs are the children of Stanley Fair,
12 Sr., who resided in the Greenwood District of Tulsa at the time
13 of the Riot.

14 269. Plaintiff CAROLYN PRICE JOHNSON is an individual
15 residing in Plano, Texas. Plaintiff is the sister of Plaintiff
16 FLOYD PRICE. Plaintiffs are the children of Ruth Fairchild
17 Price. At the time of the Riot, Ruth Fairchild Price lived in
18 the Greenwood District of Tulsa.

19 270. Plaintiff FELICIA MCLEOD JOHNSON is an
20 individual residing in Los Angeles, California. Plaintiff is the
21 sister of Plaintiffs AUDELE MCLEOD BEEKS, PATRICIA MCLEOD
22 STEPHENSON, and WALLACE MCLEOD, JR. is in individual residing in
23 Tulsa. Plaintiffs are the sons and daughters of Wallace McLeod,
24 Sr. and Bessie Audele Beatty McLeod. At the time of the Riot,
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2 Wallace McLeod, Sr. and Bessie Audele Beatty McLeod lived at 301
3 N. Elgin in the Greenwood District of Tulsa. The rioting white
4 mob burned their home to the ground. Plaintiff's father was
5 unlawfully detained against his will at the Convention Center
6 detention center.

7 271. Plaintiff JOANN JOHNSON is individual residing
8 in California. Plaintiff is a descendant of the Reverend
9 William Harrison Woods, Jr. At the time of the Riot, Plaintiff
10 father lived in the Greenwood District.

11 272. Plaintiff RONALD WAYNE JOHNSON is an individual
12 residing in Plumerville, Arkansas. He is the brother of SHIRLEY
13 A. JOHNSON TYUS, JANICE LOU JOHNSON ROSS, MARILYN KAY JOHNSON
14 COLEY, and LENA MAE JOHNSON PAYNE. Plaintiffs are the children
15 of Bennie Lee Johnson, who resided in the Greenwood District of
16 Tulsa at the time of the Riot.

17 273. Plaintiff VAL GENE JOHNSON, SR. is an individual
18 residing in Tulsa, Oklahoma. He is the brother of MARY L.
19 EMERSON, BOBBIE WILSON, and VASSIE CLARK. Plaintiffs are the
20 children of Robert Franklin Johnson, who resided in the
21 Greenwood District of Tulsa at the time of the Riot.

22 274. Plaintiff DOROTHY JONES is the child of Ruth
23 Fowler Martin and the grandchild of Richard and Viola Fowler
24 (Huggins). Plaintiff is the sister of, NANCY MARTIN, CATHERINE
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2 MARTIN, JAMES PRESTON MARTIN, FELTON MARTIN, LESLIE BEARD. At
3 the time of the Riot, Ruth Fowler Martin, Richard Fowler, and
4 Viola Fowler lived in the Greenwood District of Tulsa.

5 Plaintiff's mother fled with her husband, Richard Fowler, with
6 her child, Ruth Fowler, from the rioting white mob. The rioting
7 white mob burned down their home and destroyed all their
8 property.

9 275. Plaintiff EVA MAE TILLEY JONES is an individual
10 residing in Tulsa, Oklahoma. Plaintiff is a descendant of Henry
11 and Ora Tilley. At the time of the Riot, Henry and Ora Tilley
12 lived in Greenwood District of Tulsa.

13 276. Plaintiff MELVIN "TIP" JONES is an individual
14 residing in Beggs, Oklahoma. He is the son of plaintiffs LEE
15 AND STELLA JONES, who resided in the Greenwood District of Tulsa
16 at the time of the Riot.

17 277. Plaintiff MILDREN PRELSEY KAVANAUGH is the
18 descendant of John Smith Presley and Josephine Davis Presley,
19 and the grandson of Lucinda Davis. At the time of the Riot,
20 Plaintiff's family owned a home on N. Greenwood in the Greenwood
21 District of Tulsa. Plaintiff's grandmother, Lucinda Davis, who
22 was a member of the Creek Nation, owned a home near Kyle's
23 Drugstore. Her home and all of its contents were destroyed.
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2 278. Plaintiff VERNELL KELLEY is an individual
3 residing in Kansas. Plaintiff is the sister of LULA MAE
4 JEFFERSON, MARTHA MCGLORIE SWINDALL, MATTHEW JEFFERSON, ROBERT
5 JEFFERSON, and MARGE WALLACE and the descendant of the Reverend
6 A.L. and Lucinda McGlorie who resided in the Greenwood District
7 at the time of the Riot.

8 279. Plaintiff BEVERLY NAILS KELLY, is an individual
9 residing in Oklahoma. Plaintiff is the sister of BRENDA NAILS
10 ALFORD AND CLARINDA NAILS and a descendant of James Nails. At
11 the time of the Riot, Plaintiff's father was a resident of the
12 Greenwood District.

13 280. Plaintiff LORELL KIRK is the widow of Thomas
14 Kirk. At the time of the Riot, Thomas Kirk lived in Greenwood
15 District of Tulsa.

16 281. Plaintiff FRANCINE JOHNSON KNAPPER is an
17 individual residing in Oklahoma. Plaintiff is the sister of
18 Plaintiffs OVETA MIXON and GLENDA LEBEAUX and a descendant of
19 Val Gene Johnson. At the time of the Riot, Plaintiff lived in
20 the Greenwood District. Plaintiff and family had to flee to
21 escape the rioting white mob.

22 282. Plaintiff JAMES BERNARD KNIGHTEN is the child of
23 James and Julia Knighten. Plaintiff is the brother of Plaintiff
24 ALLENE KNIGHTEN RAYFORD. At the time of the Riot, James and
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2 Julia Knighten lived in the Greenwood District of Tulsa.
3 Plaintiff's parents lost everything in the Tulsa Race Riot
4 including the family home, a small rental house, service
5 station, small shop and a tow story store front building. They
6 also lost a car and a truck. The approximate value of the
7 property lost is \$100,000 including furnishings.

8 283. Plaintiff MAXINE JACKSON LACY is the daughter of
9 Ed and Cory Jackson and the granddaughter of Ella Johnson. At
10 the time of the Riot, Ed Jackson, Cory Jackson, and Ella Johnson
11 owned two homes, one on N. Owasso and the other on Easton near
12 Mt. Zion Baptist Church. The house on Easton was completely
13 destroyed in the Riot. Plaintiff's father attempted to escape
14 with his family. Plaintiff's pregnant mother fell down during
15 her escape. Plaintiff's family fled to Claremore, Oklahoma,
16 where they were rescued by their employer, Miller Hamett.
17 Plaintiff's grandmother, Ella Johnson disappeared and was never
18 heard from again.

19 284. Plaintiff SANDRA JEAN DAVIS LANDRUM is an
20 individual residing in Tulsa, Oklahoma. Plaintiff is the sister
21 of Plaintiffs MILDRED LOUISE DAVIS SCOTT, THERESA DAVIS SCOTT,
22 and FRED DAVIS. Plaintiffs are the surviving children of Thomas
23 R. Davis and Rosa Davis. At the time of the Riot, Thomas R.
24 Davis and Rosa Davis lived in the Greenwood District of Tulsa.
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2 285. Plaintiff CAESAR LATIMER is an individual
3 residing in Tulsa, Oklahoma. Plaintiff is the brother of
4 Plaintiffs REV. BRADFORD BISHOP, LISA LATIMER, PATRICE LATIMER,
5 JAYPHEE LATIMER, JAMES HAROLD LATIMER, CHARLES SYLVESTER
6 LATIMER, JULIUS PEGUES. Plaintiffs are the children of James
7 Harold and Julia Latimer, who resided in the Greenwood District
8 of Tulsa at the time of the Riot.

9 286. Plaintiff CHARLES SYLVESTER LATIMER, is an
10 individual residing in Tulsa, Oklahoma. Plaintiff is the
11 brother of Plaintiffs REV. BRADFORD BISHOP, LISA LATIMER,
12 PATRICE LATIMER, JAYPHEE LATIMER, CAESAR LATIMER, JAMES HAROLD
13 LATIMER, JULIUS PEGUES. Plaintiffs are the children of James
14 Harold and Julia Latimer, who resided in the Greenwood District
15 of Tulsa at the time of the Riot.

16 287. Plaintiff HAZEL LATIMER is the widow of Fred
17 Latimer, Sr. At the time of the Riot, Fred Latimer, Sr. lived
18 in Greenwood District of Tulsa.

19 288. Plaintiff JAMES HAROLD LATIMER is an individual
20 residing in Tulsa, Oklahoma. Plaintiff is the brother of
21 Plaintiffs REV. BRADFORD BISHOP, LISA LATIMER, PATRICE LATIMER,
22 JAYPHEE LATIMER, CAESAR LATIMER, CHARLES SYLVESTER LATIMER,
23 JULIUS PEGUES. Plaintiffs are the children of James Harold and
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2 Julia Latimer, who resided in the Greenwood District of Tulsa at
3 the time of the Riot.

4 289. Plaintiff JAYPHEE LATIMER is an individual
5 residing in Tulsa, Oklahoma. Plaintiff is the brother of
6 Plaintiffs REV. BRADFORD BISHOP, LISA LATIMER, PATRICE LATIMER,
7 CAESAR LATIMER, JAMES HAROLD LATIMER, CHARLES SYLVESTER LATIMER,
8 JULIUS PEGUES. Plaintiffs are the children of James Harold and
9 Julia Latimer, who resided in the Greenwood District of Tulsa at
10 the time of the Riot.

11 290. Plaintiff LISA LATIMER, is an individual
12 residing in Tulsa, Oklahoma. Plaintiff is the brother of
13 Plaintiffs REV. BRADFORD BISHOP, PATRICE LATIMER, JAYPHEE
14 LATIMER, CAESAR LATIMER, JAMES HAROLD LATIMER, CHARLES SYLVESTER
15 LATIMER JULIUS PEGUES. Plaintiffs are the children of James
16 Harold and Julia Latimer, who resided in the Greenwood District
17 of Tulsa at the time of the Riot.

18 291. Plaintiff PATRICE LATIMER, is an individual
19 residing in Tulsa, Oklahoma. Plaintiff is the brother of
20 Plaintiffs REV. BRADFORD BISHOP, LISA LATIMER, JAYPHEE LATIMER,
21 CAESAR LATIMER, JAMES HAROLD LATIMER, CHARLES SYLVESTER LATIMER,
22 JULIUS PEGUES. Plaintiffs are the children of James Harold and
23 Julia Latimer, who resided in the Greenwood District of Tulsa at
24 the time of the Riot.

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2 292. Plaintiff BERNICE LAWLER is the daughter of
3 Wilma Kirkwood. Plaintiff is the sister of Plaintiff LORRAINE
4 MCFARLAND. At the time of the Riot, Wilma Kirkwood lived in the
5 Greenwood District of Tulsa. Plaintiffs' mother witnessed the
6 white mob lynch an African American during the Tulsa Race Riot.

7 293. Plaintiff EDWARD LAWSON is an individual
8 residing in Beverly Hills, California. Plaintiff is the brother
9 of Plaintiffs NAOMI LAWSON BROWN, WILBUR FOSTER, and RONALD EARL
10 MOORE. Plaintiffs are the sons and daughters of Naomi Foster
11 Moore and the grandson of Mattie Pearl Calhoun. At the time of
12 the Riot, Naomi Foster Moore and Mattie Pearl Calhoun lived in
13 the Greenwood District of Tulsa.

14 294. Plaintiff JOHNNYE CANNON LAWSON is an individual
15 residing in Houston, Texas. Plaintiff is the sister of
16 Plaintiffs NATHANIEL CANNON, HENRY CANNON, and MILDRED CANNON
17 WALLACE. Plaintiffs are the sons and daughters Johnnye M.
18 Mitchell Cannon and grandchildren of Charles and Jessie
19 Mitchell. At the time of the Riot, Johnnye M. Mitchell Cannon,
20 Charles Cannon, and Jessie Mitchell lived in the Greenwood
21 District of Tulsa. Plaintiffs' mother and grandparents were
22 forced to flee Greenwood in order save their lives. Plaintiffs'
23 parents and grandparent's home was burned to the ground.

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2 295. Plaintiff MARCUS LAWSON is an individual
3 residing in Colorado Springs, Colorado. Plaintiff is the
4 brother of Plaintiffs NAOMI LAWSON BROWN, EDWARD LAWSON, WILBUR
5 FOSTER, and RONALD EARL MOORE. Plaintiffs are the sons and
6 daughters of Naomi Foster Moore and the grandson of Mattie Pearl
7 Calhoun. At the time of the Riot, Naomi Foster Moore and Mattie
8 Pearl Calhoun lived in the Greenwood District of Tulsa.

9 296. Plaintiff MARGARET ANN LAWSON is an individual
10 residing in Colorado Springs, Colorado. Plaintiff is the sister
11 of Plaintiffs NAOMI LAWSON BROWN, EDWARD LAWSON, WILBUR FOSTER,
12 and RONALD EARL MOORE. Plaintiffs are the sons and daughters of
13 Naomi Foster Moore and the grandson of Mattie Pearl Calhoun. At
14 the time of the Riot, Naomi Foster Moore and Mattie Pearl
15 Calhoun lived in the Greenwood District of Tulsa.

16 297. Plaintiff PALMER LAWSON, JR. is an individual
17 residing in Buffalo, New York. Plaintiff is a descendant of
18 Londy Bohannon and Travelene Bohannon Lawson. At the time of
19 the Riot, Londy Bohannon and Travelene Bohannon Lawson lived the
20 Greenwood District of Tulsa.

21 298. Plaintiff GLENDA LEBEAUX is an individual
22 residing in Oklahoma. Plaintiff is the sister of Plaintiffs
23 OVETA MIXON and FRANCINE JOHNSON KNAPPER and a descendant of Val
24 Gene Johnson. At the time of the Riot, Plaintiff lived in the
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2 Greenwood District. Plaintiff and family had to flee to escape
3 the rioting white mob.

4 299. Plaintiff MARGARET LEE is an individual residing
5 in Oklahoma. Plaintiff is the grandchild of Trishie Wright. At
6 the time of the Riot, Trishie Wright lived in the Greenwood
7 District of Tulsa.

8 300. Plaintiff NORMA JEAN DENNIE LESHIE is the
9 grandchild of Howard and Ida Rodgers. At the time of the Riot,
10 Howard and Ida Rodgers lived in the 100 or 200 block of Hartford
11 Street in the Greenwood District of Tulsa. Plaintiff's parents'
12 home was seriously damaged during the Tulsa Race Riot. Their
13 uncle, George Dennie, Jr. was injured during the Tulsa Race Riot
14 and hospitalized.

15 301. Plaintiff JIMMIE LEWIS is an individual residing
16 in Tulsa, Oklahoma. He is the brother of LORRAINE LEWIS and JOE
17 LEWIS. Plaintiffs are the children of Willie Lewis, who resided
18 in the Greenwood District of Tulsa at the time of the Riot.

19 302. Plaintiff JOE LEWIS is an individual residing in
20 Tulsa, Oklahoma. He is the brother of LORRAINE LEWIS and JIMMIE
21 LEWIS. Plaintiffs are the children of Willie Lewis, who resided
22 in the Greenwood District of Tulsa at the time of the Riot.

23 303. Plaintiff LORRAINE LEWIS is an individual
24 residing in Tulsa, Oklahoma. She is the sister JIMMIE LEWIS and
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2 JOE LEWIS. Plaintiffs are the children of Willie Lewis, who
3 resided in the Greenwood District of Tulsa at the time of the
4 Riot.

5 304. Plaintiff CORTEZ LOCKARD is an individual
6 serving in the United States Army and is stationed in Japan.
7 Plaintiff is the brother of Plaintiffs SELMA LOCKARD, FRANK
8 LOCKARD, JESSIE MAE LOCKARD, EDWARD LOCKARD, ERNEST LOCKARD,
9 OSCAR LOCKARD, and EMMA LOCKARD HORN. Plaintiffs are children
10 of Joe Lockard and Rina Hawkins-Lockard. At the time of the
11 Riot, Joe Lockard and Rina Hawkins-Lockard lived in the
12 Greenwood District of Tulsa.

13 305. Plaintiff EDWARD LOCKARD is an individual
14 residing in Chicago, Illinois. Plaintiff is the brother of
15 Plaintiffs SELMA LOCKARD, FRANK LOCKARD, JESSIE MAE LOCKARD,
16 ERNEST LOCKARD, OSCAR LOCKARD, CORTEZ LOCKARD, and EMMA LOCKARD
17 HORN. Plaintiffs are children of Joe Lockard and Rina Hawkins-
18 Lockard. At the time of the Riot, Joe Lockard and Rina Hawkins-
19 Lockard lived in the Greenwood District of Tulsa.

20 306. Plaintiff ERNEST LOCKARD is an individual
21 residing in Detroit, Michigan. Plaintiff is the brother of
22 Plaintiffs SELMA LOCKARD, FRANK LOCKARD JESSIE MAE LOCKARD,
23 EDWARD LOCKARD, OSCAR LOCKARD, CORTEZ LOCKARD, and EMMA LOCKARD
24 HORN. Plaintiffs are children of Joe Lockard and Rina Hawkins-
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2 Lockard. At the time of the Riot, Joe Lockard and Rina Hawkins-
3 Lockard lived in the Greenwood District of Tulsa.

4 307. Plaintiff FRANK LOCKARD is an individual
5 residing in Tulsa, Oklahoma. Plaintiff is the brother of
6 Plaintiffs SELMA LOCKARD, JESSIE MAE LOCKARD, EDWARD LOCKARD,
7 ERNEST LOCKARD, OSCAR LOCKARD, CORTEZ LOCKARD, and EMMA LOCKARD
8 HORN. Plaintiffs are children of Joe Lockard and Rina Hawkins-
9 Lockard. At the time of the Riot, Joe Lockard and Rina Hawkins-
10 Lockard lived in the Greenwood District of Tulsa.

11 308. Plaintiff JESSIE MAE LOCKARD is an individual
12 residing in Detroit, Michigan. Plaintiff is the sister of
13 Plaintiffs SELMA LOCKARD, FRANK LOCKARD, EDWARD LOCKARD, ERNEST
14 LOCKARD, OSCAR LOCKARD, CORTEZ LOCKARD, and EMMA LOCKARD HORN.
15 Plaintiffs are children of Joe Lockard and Rina Hawkins-Lockard.
16 At the time of the Riot, Joe Lockard and Rina Hawkins-Lockard
17 lived in the Greenwood District of Tulsa.

18 309. Plaintiff OSCAR LOCKARD is an individual
19 residing in Detroit, Michigan. Plaintiff is the brother of
20 Plaintiffs SELMA LOCKARD, FRANK LOCKARD, JESSIE MAE LOCKARD,
21 EDWARD LOCKARD, ERNEST LOCKARD, CORTEZ LOCKARD, and EMMA LOCKARD
22 HORN. Plaintiffs are children of Joe Lockard and Rina Hawkins-
23 Lockard. At the time of the Riot, Joe Lockard and Rina Hawkins-
24 Lockard lived in the Greenwood District of Tulsa.

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2 310. Plaintiff SELMA LOCKARD is an individual
3 residing in Tulsa, Oklahoma. Plaintiff is the sister of
4 Plaintiffs FRANK LOCKARD, JESSIE MAE LOCKARD, EDWARD LOCKARD,
5 ERNEST LOCKARD, OSCAR LOCKARD, CORTEZ LOCKARD, and EMMA LOCKARD
6 HORN. Plaintiffs are children of Joe Lockard and Rina Hawkins-
7 Lockard. At the time of the Riot, Joe Lockard and Rina Hawkins-
8 Lockard lived in the Greenwood District of Tulsa.

9 311. Plaintiff MARY LOUPE is the widow of Richard
10 Wesley Loupe. At the time of the Riot, Richard Wesley Loupe
11 lived in Greenwood District of Tulsa.

12 312. Plaintiff CATHERINE MARTIN is the child of Ruth
13 Fowler Martin and the grandchild of Richard and Viola Fowler
14 (Huggins). Plaintiff is the sister of Plaintiffs DOROTHY JONES,
15 NANCY MARTIN, JAMES PRESTON MARTIN, FELTON MARTIN, LESLIE BEARD.
16 At the time of the Riot, Ruth Fowler Martin, Richard Fowler, and
17 Viola Fowler lived in the Greenwood District of Tulsa.

18 Plaintiff's mother fled with her husband, Richard Fowler, with
19 her child, Ruth Fowler, from the rioting white mob. The rioting
20 white mob burned down their home and destroyed all their
21 property.

22 313. Plaintiff FELTON MARTIN is the child of Ruth
23 Fowler Martin and the grandchild of Richard and Viola Fowler
24 (Huggins). Plaintiff is the brother of DOROTHY JONES, NANCY
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MARTIN, CATHERINE MARTIN, JAMES PRESTON MARTIN, LESLIE BEARD.

At the time of the Riot, Ruth Fowler Martin, Richard Fowler, and Viola Fowler lived in the Greenwood District of Tulsa.

Plaintiff's mother fled with her husband, Richard Fowler, with her child, Ruth Fowler, from the rioting white mob. The rioting white mob burned down their home and destroyed all their property.

314. Plaintiff JAMES PRESTON MARTIN is the child of Ruth Fowler Martin and the grandchild of Richard and Viola Fowler (Huggins). Plaintiff is the brother of Plaintiffs DOROTHY JONES, NANCY MARTIN, CATHERINE MARTIN, FELTON MARTIN, LESLIE BEARD. At the time of the Riot, Ruth Fowler Martin, Richard Fowler, and Viola Fowler lived in the Greenwood District of Tulsa. Plaintiff's mother fled with her husband, Richard Fowler, with her child, Ruth Fowler, from the rioting white mob. The rioting white mob burned down their home and destroyed all their property.

315. Plaintiff NANCY MARTIN is the child of Ruth Fowler Martin and the grandchild of Richard and Viola Fowler (Huggins). Plaintiff is the sister of Plaintiff DOROTHY JONES, CATHERINE MARTIN, JAMES PRESTON MARTIN, FELTON MARTIN, LESLIE BEARD. At the time of the Riot, Ruth Fowler Martin, Richard Fowler, and Viola Fowler lived in the Greenwood District of

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2 Tulsa. Plaintiff's mother fled with her husband, Richard
3 Fowler, with her child, Ruth Fowler, from the rioting white mob.
4 The rioting white mob burned down their home and destroyed all
5 their property.

6 316. Plaintiff FAYE MAY is an individual residing in
7 Oklahoma. Plaintiff is the grandchild of Trishie Wright. At the
8 time of the Riot, Trishie Wright lived in the Greenwood District
9 of Tulsa.

10 317. Plaintiff SARAH CURVAY MAYSHAW is an individual
11 residing in Tulsa, Oklahoma. Plaintiff was born on June 13,
12 1923. Plaintiff is the daughter of Arthur Chester Curvay and
13 Mattie Owens Curvay. At the time of the Riot, Arthur Chester
14 Curvay and Mattie Owens Curvay resided at 1411 N. Owasso in the
15 Greenwood District of Tulsa. The house was ransacked and
16 damaged by the white mob. The only personal property remaining
17 at the house was a pair of rubber boots with \$300.00 hidden
18 inside.

19 318. Plaintiff LEONA AUSTIN MCCAIN is the daughter of
20 Simon and Senora Austin. Plaintiff is the sister of AILEEN
21 JOANNE AUSTIN COBURN. At the time of the Riot, Simon and Senora
22 Austin lived in the Greenwood district of Tulsa.

23 319. Plaintiff PAULINE MCCANTS is an individual
24 residing in California. Plaintiff a descendant of Ernest and
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2 Gladys Crooms, the deceased descendants of Riot Survivor Mary
3 Horn, Tulsa's first African-American policewoman. At the time
4 of the Riot, Mary Horn lived on Archer Avenue in the area known
5 as "The Hill." Plaintiff's grandmother's home was burned to the
6 ground and all personal possessions were destroyed.

7 320. Plaintiff DENISE MCCRAY is an individual
8 residing in Tulsa, Oklahoma. Plaintiff is a descendant of Ed
9 and Viola Wallace. At the time of the Riot, Ed and Viola
10 Wallace lived in Greenwood District of Tulsa.

11 321. Plaintiff OTIS MCCRAY III is a descendant of Ed
12 and Viola Wallace. At the time of the Riot, Ed and Viola
13 Wallace lived in Greenwood District of Tulsa.

14 322. Plaintiff LORRAINE MCFARLAND is the daughter of
15 Wilma Kirkwood. Plaintiff is the sister of Plaintiff BERNICE
16 LAWLER. At the time of the Riot, Wilma Kirkwood lived in the
17 Greenwood District of Tulsa. Plaintiffs' mother witnessed the
18 white mob lynch an African American during the Tulsa Race Riot.

19 323. Plaintiff JEAN WILLIAMS MCGILL is the niece of
20 Judge Amos T. Hall. At the time of the Riot, Judge Amos T. Hall
21 lived in the Greenwood District of Tulsa. Plaintiff's uncle was
22 seriously injured during the Tulsa Race Riot.

23 324. Plaintiff DONALD JOHN MCGOWAN is an individual
24 residing in Tulsa, Oklahoma. He is the son of Clyde William
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2 McGowan, who resided in the Greenwood District of Tulsa at the
3 time of the Riot.

4 325. Plaintiff WALLACE MCLEOD, JR. is in individual
5 residing in Tulsa. Plaintiff is the brother of Plaintiffs
6 AUDELE MCLEOD BEEKS, FELICIA MCLEOD JOHNSON, and PATRICIA MCLEOD
7 STEPHENSON. Plaintiffs are the sons and daughters of Wallace
8 McLeod, Sr. and Bessie Audele Beatty McLeod. At the time of the
9 Riot, Wallace McLeod, Sr. and Bessie Audele Beatty McLeod lived
10 at 301 N. Elgin in the Greenwood District of Tulsa. The rioting
11 white mob burned their home to the ground. Plaintiff's father
12 was unlawfully detained against his will at the Convention
13 Center detention center.

14 326. Plaintiff BETTY PRESLEY MCMILLAN is the
15 descendant of John Smith Presley and Josephine Davis Presley,
16 and the grandson of Lucinda Davis. At the time of the Riot,
17 Plaintiff's family owned a home on N. Greenwood in the Greenwood
18 District of Tulsa. Plaintiff's grandmother, Lucinda Davis, who
19 was a member of the Creek Nation, owned a home near Kyle's
20 Drugstore. Her home and all of its contents were destroyed.

21 327. Plaintiff LADAWNA MILLER is an individual
22 residing in Austin, Texas. Plaintiff is the descendant of Tom
23 Swift Hamel and Luvenia Williams. At the time of the Riot, Tom
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2 Swift Hamel and Luvenia Williams lived in the Greenwood District
3 of Tulsa.

4 328. Plaintiff MILDRED MARIAN HAMEL MILLER is an
5 individual residing in Austin, Texas. Plaintiff is the
6 descendant of Tom Swift Hamel and Luvenia Williams. At the time
7 of the Riot, Tom Swift Hamel and Luvenia Williams lived in the
8 Greenwood District of Tulsa.

9 329. Plaintiff PEGGY ANN MCRUFFIN MITCHELL is an
10 individual residing in Dallas, Texas. Plaintiff is the daughter
11 of John B. McRuffin and Hattie Johnson McRuffin. At the time of
12 the Riot, John B. McRuffin and Hattie Johnson McRuffin resided
13 in the Greenwood District of Tulsa. Plaintiff's family home was
14 destroyed as well as all the family's personal possessions
15 including jewelry, a fur coat and clothing. Plaintiff's parents
16 escaped to St. Louis and later moved to Detroit Michigan.

17 330. Plaintiff OVETA MIXON is an individual residing
18 in California. Plaintiff is the sister of GLENDA LEBEAUX and
19 FRANCINE JOHNSON KNAPPER and a descendant of Val Gene Johnson.
20 At the time of the riot, Plaintiff lived the Greenwood District.
21 Plaintiff and family had to flee to escape the rioting white
22 mob.

23 331. Plaintiff ELIZABETH PRESLEY MONDAY is the
24 descendant of John Smith Presley and Josephine Davis Presley,
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2 and the grandson of Lucinda Davis. At the time of the Riot,
3 Plaintiff's family owned a home on N. Greenwood in the Greenwood
4 District of Tulsa. Plaintiff's grandmother, Lucinda Davis, who
5 was a member of the Creek Nation, owned a home near Kyle's
6 Drugstore. Her home and all of its contents were destroyed.

7 332. Plaintiff PAT GALBRAITH MOORE is an individual
8 residing in Tulsa, Oklahoma. She is the daughter of Mattie King
9 Mitchell, who resided in the Greenwood District of Tulsa at the
10 time of the Riot.

11 333. Plaintiff RONALD EARL MOORE is an individual
12 residing in Springfield, Missouri. Plaintiff is the brother of
13 Plaintiffs NAOMI LAWSON BROWN, EDWARD LAWSON, and WILBUR FOSTER
14 is an individual residing in Los Angeles, California. Plaintiffs
15 are the sons and daughters of Naomi Foster Moore and the
16 grandson of Mattie Pearl Calhoun. At the time of the Riot,
17 Naomi Foster Moore and Mattie Pearl Calhoun lived in the
18 Greenwood District of Tulsa.

19 334. Plaintiff EVA GAMBLE MORRIS is an individual
20 residing in Tulsa, Oklahoma. She is the sister of AMY GAMBLE
21 EIDSON. Plaintiffs are the children of Harry Gamble, Jr., who
22 resided in the Greenwood District of Tulsa at the time of the
23 Riot.

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2 335. Plaintiff CLARINDA NAILS is an individual
3 residing in Oklahoma. Plaintiff is the sister of BEVERLY NAILS
4 KELLY AND BRENDA NAILS ALFORD and a descendant of James Nails.
5 At the time of the Riot, Plaintiffs father was a resident of the
6 Greenwood District.

7 336. Plaintiff TERRY NASH is the son of Oscar and
8 Mollie Nash. At the time of the Riot, Plaintiff's parents lived
9 on North Owasso Street in the Greenwood District of Tulsa at the
10 time of the Riot. All of their property was destroyed during
11 the Riot.

12 337. Plaintiff EARTHA MCALESTER NORMAN is an
13 individual residing in Oklahoma. Plaintiff is the sister of
14 Plaintiff EDITH MCALESTER BARNES and a descendant of Clarence
15 and Margie King. At the time of the Riot, Plaintiffs great-aunt
16 and uncle resided in the Greenwood District.

17 338. Plaintiff MATTIE DAVIS OLIVER is the daughter of
18 Mary Ella Green. At the time of the Riot, Mary Ella Green lived
19 in the Greenwood District of Tulsa with her sister. Ms. Ella
20 Green and her sister fled when the riot began to an all-African
21 American town, Wybark, OK. They met other African Americans on
22 the Muskogee Bridge attempting to cross the bridge to come to
23 Tulsa to assist the Greenwood residents. White policemen
24 prevented them from entering Tulsa.

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2 339. Plaintiff LAVADA LOUISE PARKER OSBOURNE is the
3 daughter of Steve and Mary Lue Hicks Parker. At the time of the
4 Riot, Steve and Mary Lue Hicks Parker owned a home and Parker's
5 Grocery and Restaurant, which was located at 1439 Iroquois
6 Street in the Greenwood District of Tulsa. Plaintiff's parents
7 were unlawfully detained against their will in one of the
8 detention centers.

9 340. Plaintiff AUDREY BANKS PARSON is the child of
10 Nick Banks. Plaintiff is the sister of Plaintiffs NICHOLAS A.
11 BANKS and BERNICE E. BANKS DAVIS. At the time of the Riot, Nick
12 Banks owned a pool hall and was a chef at the Ketchum Hotel in
13 the Greenwood District of Tulsa.

14 341. Plaintiff JOHN W. PATTON is an individual
15 residing in Edmond, Oklahoma. Plaintiff is the son of Calvin
16 Patton. At the time of the Riot, Calvin Patton lived in the
17 Greenwood District of Tulsa.

18 342. Plaintiff LENA MAE JOHNSON PAYNE is an
19 individual residing in Plumerville, Arkansas. She is the sister
20 of SHIRLEY A. JOHNSON TYUS, JANICE LOU JOHNSON ROSS, MARILYN KAY
21 JOHNSON COLEY, and RONALD WAYNE JOHNSON. Plaintiffs are the
22 children of Bennie Lee Johnson, who resided in the Greenwood
23 District of Tulsa at the time of the Riot.

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2 343. Plaintiff JULIUS PEGUES is an individual
3 residing in Tulsa, Oklahoma. Plaintiff is the brother of
4 Plaintiffs REV. BRADFORD BISHOP, LISA LATIMER, PATRICE LATIMER,
5 JAYPHEE LATIMER, CAESAR LATIMER, JAMES HAROLD LATIMER, CHARLES
6 SYLVESTER LATIMER. Plaintiffs are the children of James Harold
7 and Julia Latimer, who resided in the Greenwood District of
8 Tulsa at the time of the Riot.

9 344. Plaintiff GERALDINE PERRYMAN-TEASE is an
10 individual residing in Tulsa, Oklahoma. The plaintiff is the
11 daughter of Addie Perryman-Tease and the niece of Bob Perryman.
12 At the time of the Riot, Addie Perryman-Tease and Bob Perryman
13 lived in the Greenwood District of Tulsa. Bob Perryman was
14 killed during the Riot.

15 345. Plaintiff WANDA EWING POPE is an individual
16 residing in Accra, Ghana, West Africa. Plaintiff is the sister
17 of Plaintiffs JO ANN EWING, ROBERT EWING, and BILL EWING.
18 Plaintiffs are the children of Eva Small. At the time of the
19 Riot, Eva Small lived in the Greenwood District of Tulsa.

20 346. Plaintiff ESCO PORTERFIELD is an individual
21 residing in Oklahoma. Plaintiff is the brother of Plaintiffs
22 PAM VINCENT and MARK PORTERFIELD and a descendant of Theodore
23 Porterfield. At the time of the Riot, Plaintiff's father
24 resided at 323 N. Frankfort Avenue in the Greenwood District.

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2 347. Plaintiff MARK PORTERFIELD is an individual
3 residing in Oklahoma. Plaintiff is the brother of Plaintiffs
4 ESCO PORTERFIELD and PAM VINCENT and a descendant of Theodore
5 Porterfield. At the time of the Riot, Plaintiff's father
6 resided at 323 N. Frankfort Avenue in the Greenwood District.

7 348. Plaintiffs JILL ELIZABETH PRESLEY is the great
8 grandchild of Lucinda Pittman Davis, granddaughter of Lucinda
9 Davis Pittman and daughter of Doris Patricia Presley. At the
10 time of the Riot, Lucinda Pittman Davis, Lucinda Davis Pittman
11 lived in the Greenwood District of Tulsa. The Davis' family
12 home was burned to the ground during the Tulsa Race Riot and all
13 the family's property was lost.

14 349. Plaintiff JOYCE MARIE PRESLEY is the descendant
15 of John Smith Presley and Josephine Davis Presley, and the
16 grandson of Lucinda Davis. At the time of the Riot, Plaintiff's
17 family owned a home on N. Greenwood in the Greenwood District of
18 Tulsa. Plaintiff's grandmother, Lucinda Davis, who was a member
19 of the Creek Nation, owned a home near Kyle's Drugstore. Her
20 home and all of its contents were destroyed.

21 350. Plaintiff LISA PRESLEY is the great grandchild
22 of Lucinda Pittman Davis, granddaughter of Lucinda Davis Pittman
23 and daughter of Doris Patricia Presley. At the time of the
24 Riot, Lucinda Pittman Davis, Lucinda Davis Pittman lived in the
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2 Greenwood District of Tulsa. The Davis' family home was burned
3 to the ground during the Tulsa Race Riot and all the family's
4 property was lost.

5 351. Plaintiff RAYMOND PRESLEY is the son of John
6 Smith Presley and Josephine Davis Presley, and the grandson of
7 Lucinda Davis. At the time of the Riot, Plaintiff's family owned
8 a home on N. Greenwood in the Greenwood District of Tulsa.
9 Plaintiff's grandmother, Lucinda Davis, who was a member of the
10 Creek Nation, owned a home near Kyle's Drugstore. Her home and
11 all of its contents were destroyed.

12 352. Plaintiff RONALD DEAN PRESLEY is the descendant
13 of John Smith Presley and Josephine Davis Presley, and the
14 grandson of Lucinda Davis. At the time of the Riot, Plaintiff's
15 family owned a home on N. Greenwood in the Greenwood District of
16 Tulsa. Plaintiff's grandmother, Lucinda Davis, who was a member
17 of the Creek Nation, owned a home near Kyle's Drugstore. Her
18 home and all of its contents were destroyed.

19 353. Plaintiff FLOYD PRICE is an individual residing
20 in Tulsa, Oklahoma. Plaintiff is the brother of Plaintiff
21 CAROLYN PRICE JOHNSON. Plaintiffs are the children of Ruth
22 Fairchild Price. At the time of the Riot, Ruth Fairchild Price
23 lived in the Greenwood District of Tulsa.

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2 354. Plaintiff JANE FAIR PRUETT is an individual
3 residing in Tulsa, Oklahoma. She is the sister of JANET FAIR,
4 STANLEY FAIR, JR., BRENDA FAIR CAMPBELL, GERALDINE FAIR JESSIE,
5 and YVONNE FAIR SHAW. Plaintiffs are the children of Stanley
6 Fair, Sr., who resided in the Greenwood District of Tulsa at the
7 time of the Riot.

8 355. Plaintiff MARCIA WALKER PUCKETT is an individual
9 residing in Chicago, Illinois. Plaintiff is a descendant of
10 Raphael Walker. At the time of the Riot, Raphael Walker lived
11 in the Greenwood District of Tulsa.

12 356. Plaintiff JOYCE RAMSEY is an individual residing
13 in Tulsa, Oklahoma. Plaintiff is the sister of Plaintiff Maxine
14 JESSIE VADEN. Plaintiffs are the daughters of Hosea Vaden and
15 Linda Agnetta Vaden. At the time of the Riot, Hosea Vaden and
16 Linda Agnetta Vaden lived in the Greenwood District of Tulsa.

17 357. Plaintiff ALLENE KNIGHTEN RAYFORD is the child
18 of James and Julia Knighten. Plaintiff is the sister of
19 Plaintiff JAMES BERNARD KNIGHTEN. At the time of the Riot,
20 James and Julia Knighten lived in the Greenwood District of
21 Tulsa. Plaintiff's parents lost everything in the Tulsa Race
22 Riot including the family home, a small rental house, service
23 station, small shop and a tow story store front building. They
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2 also lost a car and a truck. The approximate value of the
3 property lost is \$100,000 including furnishings.

4 358. Plaintiff MAE ETTA REYNOLDS is an individual
5 residing in Tulsa, Oklahoma. Plaintiff is the sister of
6 Plaintiff LEROY KIRK, JR. Plaintiffs are the children of Mary
7 Payne. At the time of the Riot, Mary Payne lived in the
8 Greenwood District of Tulsa.

9 359. Plaintiff SHIRLEY RIDLEY is an individual
10 residing in Chicago, Illinois. Plaintiff is the sister of
11 Plaintiff DELORES HARRINGTON. Plaintiffs are the daughters of
12 Marion Spears. At the time of the Riot, Marion Spears lived in
13 the Greenwood District of Tulsa.

14 360. Plaintiff PATSY ROBINSON is the granddaughter of
15 Pearl Oliver, the daughter of Montana Wright and the niece of
16 Paris Oliver. At the time of the Riot, Pearl Oliver and Paris
17 Oliver lived in the Greenwood District of Tulsa. Plaintiff and
18 her family lived on Greenwood at the time of the Riot.
19 Plaintiff's grandmother suffered an emotional and mental
20 breakdown as a result of the Riot and was never the same.
21 Plaintiff's uncle was harmed in the Riot. Plaintiff's family
22 home was destroyed in the Riot.

23 361. Plaintiff FRANK EUGENE RODGERS is the grandchild
24 of Howard and Ida Rodgers. At the time of the Riot, Howard and
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2 Ida Rodgers lived in the 100 or 200 block of Hartford Street in
3 the Greenwood District of Tulsa. Plaintiff's parents' home was
4 seriously damaged during the Tulsa Race Riot. Their uncle,
5 George Dennie, Jr. was injured during the Tulsa Race Riot and
6 hospitalized.

7 362. Plaintiff ERIC ROLLERSON is an individual
8 residing in Tulsa, Oklahoma. He is the brother of LEON
9 ROLLERSON, YVONNE ROLLERSON, and WILA ROLLERSON. Plaintiffs are
10 the children of Lloyd and Myrtle Rollerson, who resided in the
11 Greenwood District of Tulsa at the time of the Riot.

12 363. Plaintiff LEON ROLLERSON is an individual
13 residing in Tulsa, Oklahoma. He is the brother of plaintiffs
14 ERIC ROLLERSON, YVONNE ROLLERSON, and WILA ROLLERSON.
15 Plaintiffs are the children of Lloyd and Myrtle Rollerson, who
16 resided in the Greenwood District of Tulsa at the time of the
17 Riot.

18 364. Plaintiff WILA ROLLERSON is an individual
19 residing in Tulsa, Oklahoma. She is the sister of LEON
20 ROLLERSON, ERIC ROLLERSON, and YVONNE ROLLERSON. Plaintiffs are
21 the children of Lloyd and Myrtle Rollerson, who resided in the
22 Greenwood District of Tulsa at the time of the Riot.

23 365. Plaintiff YVONNE ROLLERSON is an individual
24 residing in Tulsa, Oklahoma. She is the sister of ERIC
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2 ROLLERSON, LEON ROLLERSON, and WILA ROLLERSON. Plaintiffs are
3 the children of Lloyd and Myrtle Rollerson, who resided in the
4 Greenwood District of Tulsa at the time of the Riot.

5 366. Plaintiff JANICE LOU JOHNSON ROSS is an
6 individual residing in Plumerville, Arkansas. She is the sister
7 of SHIRLEY A. JOHNSON TYUS, MARILYN KAY JOHNSON COLEY, LENA MAE
8 JOHNSON PAYNE, and RONALD WAYNE JOHNSON. Plaintiffs are the
9 children of Bennie Lee Johnson, who resided in the Greenwood
10 District of Tulsa at the time of the Riot.

11 367. Plaintiff BILLIE WAYNE RUCKER is the child of
12 Fannie Mae Bagby. Plaintiff is the sister of ERLINE CROSSLIN,
13 J.C. RUCKER, ROBERT C. RUCKER and ROSEZELLA TURNER. At the time
14 of the Riot, Fannie Mae Bagby lived in Greenwood District of
15 Tulsa.

16 368. Plaintiff J.C. RUCKER is the child of Fannie Mae
17 Bagby. Plaintiff is the brother of ERLINE CROSSLIN, BILLIE
18 WAYNE RUCKER, ROBERT C. RUCKER and ROSEZELLA TURNER. At the
19 time of the Riot, Fannie Mae Bagby lived in Greenwood District
20 of Tulsa.

21 369. Plaintiff ROBERT C. RUCKER is the child of
22 Fannie Mae Bagby. Plaintiff is the brother of Plaintiffs ERLINE
23 CROSSLIN, BILLIE WAYNE RUCKER, J.C. RUCKER, and ROSEZELLA
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2 TURNER. At the time of the Riot, Fannie Mae Bagby lived in
3 Greenwood District of Tulsa.

4 370. Plaintiff BOBBIE JEAN SAULET is an individual
5 residing in Kansas City, Missouri. She is the daughter of
6 Willie James and Dorothy Grayson, who resided in the Greenwood
7 District of Tulsa at the time of the Riot.

8 371. Plaintiff MILDRED LOUISE DAVIS SCOTT is an
9 individual residing in Detroit, Michigan. Plaintiff is the
10 sister of Plaintiffs THERESA DAVIS SCOTT, FRED DAVIS, and SANDRA
11 JEAN DAVIS LANDRUM. Plaintiffs are the surviving children of
12 Thomas R. Davis and Rosa Davis. At the time of the Riot, Thomas
13 R. Davis and Rosa Davis lived in the Greenwood District of
14 Tulsa.

15 372. Plaintiff THERESA DAVIS SCOTT is an individual
16 residing in Tulsa, Oklahoma. Plaintiff is the sister of
17 Plaintiffs MILDRED LOUISE DAVIS SCOTT, FRED DAVIS, and SANDRA
18 JEAN DAVIS LANDRUM. Plaintiffs are the surviving children of
19 Thomas R. Davis and Rosa Davis. At the time of the Riot, Thomas
20 R. Davis and Rosa Davis lived in the Greenwood District of
21 Tulsa.

22 373. Plaintiff YVONNE FAIR SHAW is an individual
23 residing in Tulsa, Oklahoma. She is the sister of JANE FAIR
24 PRUETT, BRENDA FAIR CAMPBELL, and GERALDINE FAIR JESSIE.
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2 Plaintiffs are the children of Stanley Fair, Sr., who resided in
3 the Greenwood District of Tulsa at the time of the Riot.

4 374. Plaintiff BILLY SHELTON is an individual
5 residing in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. Plaintiff is the
6 grandchild of Trishie Wright. At the time of the Riot, Trishie
7 Wright lived in the Greenwood District of Tulsa.

8 375. Plaintiff DIANA LYNN SHELTON is the daughter of
9 Billy Shelton and granddaughter of Ollie Steele. Plaintiff is
10 the sister of Plaintiff and SHIRLEY SHELTON. At the time of the
11 Riot, Ollie Steele was a hairdresser and beauty shop owner in
12 the Greenwood District of Tulsa. Ollie Steele was crippled in
13 the riot. She was shot in the legs and her legs were burned.
14 She kept her legs wrapped with surgical wrap and walked with a
15 cane the rest of her life.

16 376. Plaintiff JOHNNY SHELTON an individual residing
17 in Los Angeles, California. Plaintiff FAYE MAY is an individual
18 residing in Oklahoma. Plaintiff is the grandchild of Trishie
19 Wright. At the time of the Riot, Trishie Wright lived in the
20 Greenwood District of Tulsa.

21 377. Plaintiff MAIME SHELTON is an individual
22 residing in Los Angeles, California. Plaintiff is the
23 grandchild of Trishie Wright. At the time of the Riot, Trishie
24 Wright lived in the Greenwood District of Tulsa.

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2 378. Plaintiff SHIRLEY SHELTON is the daughter of
3 Billy Shelton and granddaughter of Ollie Steele. Plaintiff is
4 the sister of Plaintiff DIANA LYNN SHELTON. At the time of the
5 Riot, Ollie Steele was a hairdresser and beauty shop owner in
6 the Greenwood District of Tulsa. Ollie Steele was crippled in
7 the riot. She was shot in the legs and her legs were burned.
8 She kept her legs wrapped with surgical wrap and walked with a
9 cane the rest of her life.

10 379. Plaintiff EUNA VANN SMITH is an individual
11 residing in Tulsa, Oklahoma. Plaintiff is the daughter of Guy
12 Vann and Ida Whitmore Vann. At the time of the Riot, Guy Vann
13 and Ida Whitmore Vann lived in the Greenwood District of Tulsa.

14 380. Plaintiff FRED SMITH is an individual residing
15 in Tulsa, Oklahoma. Plaintiff is the brother of Plaintiffs ROSIE
16 LEE JACKSON, FANNIE SMITH VERNER, and ERMA SMITH THOMPSON.
17 Plaintiffs are the children of Willis and Maggie Smith. At the
18 time of the Riot, Willis and Maggie Smith lived in the Greenwood
19 District of Tulsa.

20 381. Plaintiff HARRIET ADAMS SMITH is an individual
21 residing in Tulsa, Oklahoma. Plaintiff is a descendant of
22 Thomas and Tacora Adams. At the time of the Riot, Thomas and
23 Tacora Adams lived in the Greenwood District of Tulsa.
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2 382. Plaintiff ORA SMITH is an individual residing in
3 Oklahoma. Plaintiff is a widow of Willie Smith. At the time of
4 the Riot, Willie Smith lived in Greenwood District of Tulsa.

5 383. Plaintiff CLAUDIA MAUDE SMITHERMAN is the widow
6 of Theodore Smitherman. At the time of the Riot, Theodore
7 Smitherman lived in Greenwood District of Tulsa.

8 384. Plaintiff CATHRYN BELL SNODDY is the child of
9 J.D. and Ida Mae Bell and the grandchild of Isaac (Ike) and
10 Mollie Bell. Plaintiff is the sister of Plaintiffs MARY BELL
11 ARRINGTON and R.G. BELL. At the time of the Riot, J.D. Bell,
12 Ida Mae Bell, Isaac Bell and Mollie Bell lived in the Greenwood
13 District of Tulsa. Their mother, Ida Mae Bell, was 9 months
14 pregnant at the time of the Tulsa Race Riot. She told them that
15 she had to walk for a long time on June 1, 1921 along the
16 railroad tracks. She saw bodies thrown on the church and trucks
17 carrying bodies to the 15th Street area where she believed they
18 were buried in mass graves. The mother gave birth ten days
19 after the Tulsa Race Riot and had "female trouble" ever since
20 the Tulsa Race Riot. The Bell's owned a family business, Bells'
21 Barbershop on the corner of Greenwood and Archer. Their home
22 was burned down during the riot and the family rebuilt it.

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2 385. Plaintiff BETTY SPEARS is the widow of Marvin
3 Spears. At the time of the Riot, Marvin Spears lived in
4 Greenwood District of Tulsa.

5 386. Plaintiff DIANE ANDERSON STEELE is the child of
6 Mary Franklin Anderson. Plaintiff is the sister of RHONDA
7 ANDERSON, ROBERT EARL ANDERSON, and MARIETTA ANDERSON WAITERS.
8 At the time of the Riot, Ms. Anderson lived in the Greenwood
9 District of Tulsa.

10 387. Plaintiff PATRICIA MCLEOD STEPHENSON is the
11 sister of Plaintiffs AUDELE MCLEOD BEEKS, FELICIA MCLEOD JOHNSON
12 and WALLACE MCLEOD. Plaintiffs are the sons and daughters of
13 Wallace McLeod, Sr. and Bessie Audele Beatty McLeod. At the
14 time of the Riot, Wallace McLeod, Sr. and Bessie Audele Beatty
15 McLeod lived at 301 N. Elgin in the Greenwood District of Tulsa.
16 The rioting white mob burned their home to the ground.
17 Plaintiff's father was unlawfully detained against his will at
18 the Convention Center detention center.

19 388. Plaintiff LAUREL STRADFORD is an individual
20 residing in the State of Illinois. Plaintiff is a descendant of
21 J.B. Stradford, a survivor of the riot. At the time of the
22 riot, Plaintiff's grandfather was a prominent lawyer, real
23 estate developer and the owner of the Stradford Hotel.
24 Plaintiff's grandfather fled to Kansas and then to Chicago,
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2 Illinois to avoid prosecution for inciting the Riot. Plaintiff's
3 grandfather filed a lawsuit against American Central Insurance
4 Company in Chicago, Illinois because he could not get a fair
5 hearing in Tulsa. Plaintiff's grandfather's case was dismissed
6 in 1925 and he never recovered any insurance proceeds for his
7 property losses.

8 389. Plaintiff ROSE STRIPLIN is the widow of
9 Sylvester Striplin, Sr. At the time of the Riot, Sylvester
10 Striplin, Sr. lived in Greenwood District of Tulsa.

11 390. Plaintiff CARRIE M. MCDONALD STROTHER an
12 individual residing at Kansas City, Missouri. Plaintiff is a
13 descendant of Carrie B. McDonald. At the time of the Riot,
14 Carrie B. McDonald owned a boarding house/hotel, a restaurant,
15 and a grocery store in the Greenwood District of Tulsa. The
16 rioting white mob looted or burned Carrie B. McDonald's leather
17 sofas and chairs and marble topped mahogany library tables
18 during the Riot.

19 391. Plaintiff MARTHA MCGLORIE SWINDALL is an
20 individual residing in Tulsa, Oklahoma. She is the daughter of
21 Reverend A.L. and Lucinda McGlorie, who resided in the Greenwood
22 District of Tulsa at the time of the Riot.

23 392. Plaintiff AUDREY TAYLOR is an individual
24 residing in Tulsa, Oklahoma. Plaintiff is the descendant of
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2 Osborne Monroe, Lottie Monroe, and Ester Tyree. At the time of
3 the Riot, Osborne Monroe, Lottie Monroe, and Ester Tyree lived
4 in the Greenwood District of Tulsa.

5 393. Plaintiff BYRON TAYLOR is an individual residing
6 in Tulsa, Oklahoma. Plaintiff is the descendant of Osborne
7 Monroe, Lottie Monroe, and Ester Tyree. At the time of the
8 Riot, Osborne Monroe, Lottie Monroe, and Ester Tyree lived in
9 the Greenwood District of Tulsa.

10 394. Plaintiff BOBBIE JEAN CARTER TENNYSON is an
11 individual residing in Tulsa, Oklahoma. Plaintiff is a
12 descendant of Robert Carter. At the time of the Riot, Robert
13 Carter lived in the Greenwood District of Tulsa.

14 395. Plaintiff SYLVESTER TERRY, JR. is a descendant
15 of Fannie Rose Frazier Jackson. At the time of the Riot, Fannie
16 Rose Frazier Jackson lived in Greenwood District of Tulsa.

17 396. Plaintiff MARGARET THARPE is the daughter of
18 Geraldine Smith Marks, the granddaughter of Omega Smith and the
19 great-granddaughter of Abigail Goodson. At the time of the
20 Riot, Geraldine Smith Marks, Omega Smith and Abigail Goodson
21 lived in the Greenwood District of Tulsa. Plaintiff's uncle
22 disappeared during the Riot and was never heard from again.

23 397. Plaintiff JERRY FIELDS THOMAS is an individual
24 residing in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. Plaintiff is the brother
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2 of Plaintiffs IRMA THOMAS ANTHONY and LEONTYNE THOMAS HARRELL.
3 Plaintiffs are the children of Myrtle Fields Parker. At the
4 time of the Riot, Myrtle Fields Parker lived in the Greenwood
5 District of Tulsa.

6 398. Plaintiff JESSIE THOMAS is the grandchild of
7 Johnny Adams, children of Eliza Adams and nephew and niece of
8 "Saucer" Grayson. At the time of the Riot, Plaintiffs and
9 Plaintiffs mother lived on Jasper Street. Plaintiff's family
10 also owned six or seven rent houses on Jasper Street just off
11 Greenwood Avenue. Everything they owned was burned down by the
12 white mob. The family hid in an old shed behind their homes
13 near an alley and watched through cracks as the white mob set
14 fire to their property. The white mob was heavily armed,
15 shooting everywhere and their uncle, "Saucer" Grayson, was shot
16 and killed.

17 399. Plaintiff ERMA SMITH THOMPSON is an individual
18 residing in Montclair, California. Plaintiff is the sister of
19 Plaintiffs ROSIE LEE JACKSON, FRED SMITH, and FANNIE SMITH
20 VERNER. Plaintiffs are the children of Willis and Maggie Smith.
21 At the time of the Riot, Willis and Maggie Smith lived in the
22 Greenwood District of Tulsa.

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2 400. Plaintiff PANSY TILLEY is the widow of Delmar
3 Tilley. At the time of the Riot, Delmar Tilley lived in
4 Greenwood District of Tulsa.

5 401. Plaintiff CLIFTON JOE TIPTON is an individual
6 residing in Tulsa, Oklahoma. Plaintiff is the brother of
7 Plaintiff LEONA JERRY BRUNER ANTHONY. Plaintiff is the son of
8 Corinne Lillian Lucas Tipton Bruner. At the time of the Riot,
9 Corinne Lillian Lucas Tipton Bruner lived at 634 E. Jasper in
10 the Greenwood District of Tulsa. Her home was damaged when part
11 of it was burned in the Riot.

12 402. Plaintiff ROSEZELLA TURNER is the child of
13 Fannie Mae Bagby. Plaintiff is the sister of ERLINE CROSSLIN,
14 BILLIE WAYNE RUCKER, J. C. RUCKER, and ROBERT C. RUCKER. At the
15 time of the Riot, Fannie Mae Bagby lived in Greenwood District
16 of Tulsa.

17 403. Plaintiff SHIRLEY A. JOHNSON TYUS is an
18 individual residing in Conway, Arkansas. She is the sister of
19 JANICE LOU JOHNSON ROSS, MARILYN KAY JOHNSON COLEY, LENA MAE
20 JOHNSON PAYNE, and RONALD WAYNE JOHNSON. Plaintiffs are the
21 children of Bennie Lee Johnson, who resided in the Greenwood
22 District of Tulsa at the time of the Riot.

23 404. Plaintiff MAXINE JESSIE VADEN is an individual
24 residing in Tulsa, Oklahoma. Plaintiff is the sister of
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2 Plaintiff JOYCE RAMSEY. Plaintiffs are the daughters of Hosea
3 Vaden and Linda Agnetta Vaden. At the time of the Riot, Hosea
4 Vaden and Linda Agnetta Vaden lived in the Greenwood District of
5 Tulsa.

6 405. Plaintiff LORENZO CARLOS VANN is an individual
7 residing in Tulsa, Oklahoma. Plaintiff is a descendant of Vera
8 C. Marshall McGowen. At the time of the Riot, Vera C. Marshall
9 owned Poro Beauty College in the Greenwood District of Tulsa.
10 This property was destroyed by the rioting white mob.

11 406. Plaintiff ALICE BOYD VAUGHN is the grandchild of
12 Mr. and Mrs. Willie Staples and the children of Gertrude
13 Staples. At the time of the Tulsa Race Riot, their mother was
14 19 years old and lived with their grandparents in the Greenwood
15 District of Tulsa. The rioting white mob burned their home to
16 the ground.

17 407. Plaintiff FANNIE SMITH VERNER is an individual
18 residing in Tulsa, Oklahoma. Plaintiff is the sister of
19 Plaintiffs ROSIE LEE JACKSON, FRED SMITH, and ERMA SMITH
20 THOMPSON. Plaintiffs are the children of Willis and Maggie
21 Smith. At the time of the Riot, Willis and Maggie Smith lived
22 in the Greenwood District of Tulsa.

23 408. Plaintiff PAM VINCENT is an individual residing
24 in Oklahoma. Plaintiff is the sister of Plaintiffs ESCO
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2 PORTERFIELD and MARK PORTERFIELD and a descendant of Theodore
3 Porterfield. At the time of the Riot, Plaintiff's father
4 resided at 323 N. Frankfort Avenue in the Greenwood District.

5 409. Plaintiff MARIETTA ANDERSON WAITERS is the child
6 of Mary Franklin Anderson. Plaintiff is the sister of
7 Plaintiffs RHONDA ANDERSON, ROBERT EARL ANDERSON, DIANE ANDERSON
8 STEELE. At the time of the Riot, Ms. Anderson lived in the
9 Greenwood District of Tulsa.

10 410. Plaintiff DENETTE MARIA WALKER is an individual
11 residing in Tulsa, Oklahoma. Plaintiff is a descendant of Riley
12 Walker, Sr., and Imogene Walker. At the time of the Riot, Riley
13 Walker, Sr., and Imogene Walker resided at 423 E. Latimer Ct.,
14 in the Greenwood District of Tulsa.

15 411. Plaintiff FRANK WALKER, SR, an individual
16 residing in Inglewood, California. Plaintiff is a descendant of
17 Riley Walker, Sr., and Imogene Walker. At the time of the Riot,
18 Riley Walker, Sr., and Imogene Walker resided at 423 E. Latimer
19 Ct., in the Greenwood District of Tulsa.

20 412. Plaintiff HARRY DANIEL WALKER is an individual
21 residing in Fullerton California. Plaintiff is a descendant of
22 Riley Walker, Sr., and Imogene Walker. At the time of the Riot,
23 Riley Walker, Sr., and Imogene Walker resided at 423 E. Latimer
24 Ct., in the Greenwood District of Tulsa.

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2 413. Plaintiff HARRY LEON WALKER is an individual
3 residing in Richmond, California. Plaintiff is a descendant of
4 Riley Walker, Sr., and Imogene Walker. At the time of the Riot,
5 Riley Walker, Sr., and Imogene Walker resided at 423 E. Latimer
6 Ct., in the Greenwood District of Tulsa.

7 414. Plaintiff RILEY WALKER, JR residing in Oakland,
8 California. Plaintiff is a descendant of Riley Walker, Sr., and
9 Imogene Walker. At the time of the Riot, Riley Walker, Sr., and
10 Imogene Walker resided at 423 E. Latimer Ct., in the Greenwood
11 District of Tulsa.

12 415. Plaintiff WILLIAM D. WALKER is an individual
13 residing in Tulsa, Oklahoma. Plaintiff is a descendant of
14 Raphael Walker. At the time of the Riot, Raphael Walker lived
15 in the Greenwood District of Tulsa.

16 416. Plaintiff MARGE WALLACE is an individual
17 residing in Kansas. Plaintiff is the sister of LULA MAE
18 JEFFERSON, MARTHA MCGLORIE SWINDALL, MATTHEW JEFFERSON, ROBERT
19 JEFFERSON, VERNELL KELLEY and the descendant of the Reverend
20 A.L. and Lucinda McGlorie who resided in the Greenwood District
21 at the time of the Riot.

22 417. Plaintiff MAYBELLE WALLACE is an individual
23 residing in Tulsa, Oklahoma. Plaintiff is a descendant of Ed
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2 and Viola Wallace. At the time of the Riot, Ed and Viola
3 Wallace lived in Greenwood District of Tulsa.

4 418. Plaintiff MILDRED CANNON WALLACE is an
5 individual residing in Houston, Texas. Plaintiff is the sister
6 of Plaintiffs JOHNNYE CANNON LAWSON, NATHANIEL CANNON, and HENRY
7 CANNON. Plaintiffs are the sons and daughters Johnnye M.
8 Mitchell Cannon and grandchildren of Charles and Jessie
9 Mitchell. At the time of the Riot, Johnnye M. Mitchell Cannon,
10 Charles Cannon, and Jessie Mitchell lived in the Greenwood
11 District of Tulsa. Plaintiffs' mother and grandparents were
12 forced to flee Greenwood in order save their lives. Plaintiffs'
13 parents and grandparent's home was burned to the ground.

14 419. Plaintiff SYLVIA WARE is an individual residing
15 in California. Plaintiff is the sister of MILDRED WALLACE
16 HUDSPETH, PATRICIA DUKES BROME, ROBERT CHARLES DUKES and WILLIE
17 DUKES and a descendant of Robert and Mildred Wallace. At the
18 time of the Riot, Plaintiff's parents resided in the Greenwood
19 District and lost their home including all their savings.

20 420. Plaintiff OLENE WALKER WASHINGTON is an
21 individual residing in Tulsa, Oklahoma. Plaintiff is a
22 descendant of Raphael Walker. At the time of the Riot, Raphael
23 Walker lived in the Greenwood District of Tulsa.

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2 421. Plaintiff JIMMIE WICKAM is an individual
3 residing in McAlister, Oklahoma. Plaintiff is a descendant of
4 Dr. Charles Wickham. At the time of the Riot, Dr. Charles
5 Wickham lived across the street from Mount Zion Baptist Church
6 in the Greenwood District of Tulsa.

7 422. Plaintiff YVONNE WILEY-WEBB is an individual
8 residing in California. Plaintiff is the sister of Plaintiff
9 SAYYID JAMI and descendant of Ernest and Gladys Crooms, the
10 deceased descendants of Riot Survivor Mary Horn, Tulsa's first
11 African-American policewoman. At the time of the Riot, Mary
12 Horn lived on Archer Avenue in the area known as "The Hill."
13 Plaintiff's grandmother's home was burned to the ground and all
14 personal possessions were destroyed.

15 423. Plaintiff CHARLOTTE WILLIAMS is an individual
16 residing in Washington, D.C. Plaintiff is a descendant of
17 Orlando Williams, Sr. At the time of the Riot Orlando Willard
18 Williams, Sr., lived in the Greenwood District of Tulsa. His
19 home was burned down during the Riot. In his home was a hidden
20 trunk containing \$1000.00, which was also lost.

21 424. Plaintiff DAVID WILLIAMS is an individual
22 residing in Oklahoma. Plaintiff is a descendant of John and
23 Lula Williams. At the time of the Riot, Plaintiffs parents were
24 the owners of Lula's Confectionary, businesses located at the
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2 northwest corner of Greenwood and Archer avenues. The
3 businesses were in a three-story brick building and the third
4 floor of the building was rented to dentists, doctors and
5 lawyers. Plaintiff's parents also owned a two-story brick
6 structure further up Greenwood Avenue, which was a twenty-one
7 room boarding house and a garage. Plaintiff's parents also
8 converted this building to hold the first black theatre in Tulsa
9 called the Williams Dreamland Theatre.

10 425. Plaintiff FANNIE WILLIAMS is an individual
11 residing in Arlington, Texas. Plaintiff is the sister of
12 Plaintiff BOBBYE LOUISE GILBERT. Plaintiffs are children of
13 Joseph and Mamie Henderson. At the time of the Riot, Joseph
14 Henderson and Mamie Henderson lived in the Greenwood District of
15 Tulsa.

16 426. Plaintiff GRANT WILLIAMS is an individual
17 residing in University City, Missouri. Plaintiff is the
18 grandchild of Fisher James Williams and Dinah Freeman Williams.
19 At the time of the Riot, Fisher James Williams lived in the
20 Greenwood District of Tulsa, and was injured during the Riot.
21 Plaintiff's father died as a result of his injuries at St.
22 John's Hospital on June 21, 1921.

23 427. Plaintiff PATRICIA WILLIAMS is an individual
24 residing in Madison, Wisconsin. Plaintiff is the grandchild of
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2 Deltessa Starr Williams. At the time of the Riot, Deltessa
3 Starr Williams lived in the Greenwood District of Tulsa.

4 428. Plaintiff IDA LOUISE DENNIE WILLIS is the
5 grandchild of Howard and Ida Rodgers. At the time of the Riot,
6 Howard and Ida Rodgers lived in the 100 or 200 block of
7 Hartford Street in the Greenwood District of Tulsa. Plaintiff's
8 parents' home was seriously damaged during the Tulsa Race Riot.
9 Their uncle, George Dennie, Jr. was injured during the Tulsa
10 Race Riot and hospitalized.

11 429. Plaintiff ANNIE ALEXANDER WILSON is an
12 individual residing in Tulsa, Oklahoma. Plaintiff is a
13 descendant of Henry and Ora Tilley. At the time of the Riot,
14 Henry and Ora Tilley lived in Greenwood District of Tulsa.

15 430. Plaintiff BERTHA WILSON is the sister of
16 Plaintiffs MARY WILSON and ELIZABETH WILSON. Plaintiff is a
17 descendant of Dan Wilson, Violet Dixon Wilson, and Richard E.
18 Wilson. At the time of the Riot, Dan Wilson, Violet Dixon
19 Wilson, and Richard E. Wilson lived in the Greenwood District of
20 Tulsa. Dan Wilson, who came to Tulsa from Kingfisher, Oklahoma,
21 was captured during the Riot and disappeared.

22 431. Plaintiff BOBBIE WILSON is an individual
23 residing in Tulsa, Oklahoma. She is the sister of VAL GENE
24 JOHNSON, SR., MARY L. EMERSON, and VASSIE CLARK. Plaintiffs are
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2 the children of Robert Franklin Johnson, who resided in the
3 Greenwood District of Tulsa at the time of the Riot.

4 432. Plaintiff ELIZABETH WILSON is the sister of
5 Plaintiffs BERTHA WILSON and MARY WILSON. Plaintiff is a
6 descendant of Dan Wilson, Violet Dixon Wilson, and Richard E.
7 Wilson. At the time of the Riot, Dan Wilson, Violet Dixon
8 Wilson, and Richard E. Wilson lived in the Greenwood District of
9 Tulsa. Dan Wilson, who came to Tulsa from Kingfisher, Oklahoma,
10 was captured during the Riot and disappeared.

11 433. Plaintiff MARY A. WILSON is an individual
12 residing at Englewood, Colorado. Plaintiff is a descendant of
13 Dan Wilson, Violet Dixon Wilson, and Richard E. Wilson. At the
14 time of the Riot, Dan Wilson, Violet Dixon Wilson, and Richard
15 E. Wilson lived in the Greenwood District of Tulsa. Dan Wilson,
16 who came to Tulsa from Kingfisher, Oklahoma, was captured during
17 the Riot and disappeared.

18 434. Plaintiff NAOMI NASH WILLIAMS WIMBERLY is an
19 individual residing in Tulsa, Oklahoma. Plaintiff is the
20 daughter of Mable Carter and granddaughter of Emma Hervey. At
21 the time of the Riot, Mable Carter Emma Hervey lived in the
22 Greenwood District of Tulsa. During the Riot, the Rioting white
23 mob burned Plaintiff's home to the ground.

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2 435. Plaintiff RAMONA DINKINS WIMBERLY is the
3 daughter of Grace Russell Ayers Wimberly. At the time of the
4 Riot, Grace Wimberly lived in the Greenwood district of Tulsa.
5 Ms. Wimberly's mother worked for a white woman and hid at her
6 place of work during the riot. Plaintiff's home was burned and
7 the family had to find another place to live.

8 436. Plaintiff EDNA EARLY WORKS is the grandchild of
9 Howard and Ida Rodgers. At the time of the Riot, Howard and Ida
10 Rodgers lived in the 100 or 200 block of Hartford Street in the
11 Greenwood District of Tulsa. Plaintiff's parents' home was
12 seriously damaged during the Tulsa Race Riot. Their uncle,
13 George Dennie, Jr. was injured during the Tulsa Race Riot and
14 hospitalized.

15 437. Plaintiff CHARLOTTE WRIGHT is an individual
16 residing in California. Plaintiff a descendant of Ernest and
17 Gladys Crooms, the deceased descendants of Riot Survivor Mary
18 Horn, Tulsa's first African-American policewoman. At the time
19 of the Riot, Mary Horn lived on Archer Avenue in the area known
20 as "The Hill." Plaintiff's grandmother's home was burned to the
21 ground and all personal possessions were destroyed.

22 438. As a direct consequence of the riot, the
23 descendant Plaintiffs named in paragraphs 165 to 437 suffered
24 the loss of real and/or personal property.

B. Defendants

439. THE STATE OF OKLAHOMA is named as a defendant.

440. Defendant THE CITY OF TULSA is a municipality located in the State of Oklahoma.

441. Defendant THE CHIEF OF POLICE OF THE CITY OF TULSA is an individual living in the State of Oklahoma, and is sued in his official capacity.

442. Defendant THE CITY OF TULSA POLICE DEPARTMENT is an entity located in the State of Oklahoma.

443. Plaintiffs are unaware of the true names and capacities of Defendants DOES 1 through 100, inclusive, and accordingly sue said Defendants by such fictitious names. As soon as Plaintiffs learn the true names and capacities of Defendants DOES 1 through 100, inclusive, it will amend this Complaint accordingly. Plaintiffs are informed and believe and therefore allege that Defendants DOES 1 through 100, inclusive, are in some way responsible for the acts and obligations sued upon herein. "THE STATE OF OKLAHOMA," "THE CITY OF TULSA," "THE CHIEF OF POLICE," "THE CITY OF TULSA POLICE DEPARTMENT," and DOES 1 through 100, inclusive, shall be referred to collectively herein as "Defendants."

FACTUAL BACKGROUND³⁶

A. Greenwood, 1921

444. The widespread atmosphere of racial hostility in Oklahoma in the years preceding the Riot was exacerbated by Tulsa whites' anger at the prosperity of the Greenwood District.³⁷

445. In the spring of 1921, Greenwood, the African American section of Tulsa, was one of the most vibrant African American communities in America. About 8,000 people lived in the largely self-sufficient community.³⁸

446. Greenwood's professional class had become so prosperous by 1921 that the streets on which it conducted its

³⁶ The factual references in the factual background are taken from the Commission Report and the documents published along with it; Scott Ellsworth, Death in a Promised Land: The Riot of 1921 (1982); Alfred Brophy, Reconstructing the Dreamland (2002); and the recollection of various Survivors of the Riot.

³⁷ See Scott Ellsworth, Death in a Promised Land: The Riot of 1921 (1982).

³⁸ Alfred Brophy, Reconstructing the Dreamland : The Tulsa Riot of 1921 (2002).

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2 business were collectively known nationally as the "Negro Wall
3 Street."³⁹

4 447. Running north out of the downtown commercial
5 district—and shaped, more or less, like an elongated jigsaw
6 puzzle piece—Greenwood was bordered by the Frisco railroad yards
7 to the south, by Lansing Street and the Midland Valley tracks to
8 the east, and by Stand Pipe and Sunset Hills to the west.⁴⁰

9 448. The southern end of Greenwood Avenue, including
10 the adjacent side streets, was the home of the African American
11 commercial district. This several block stretch of handsome
12 one, two, and three-story red brick buildings housed dozens of
13 African American-owned and -operated businesses, including
14 grocery stores and meat markets, clothing and dry good stores,
15 billiard halls, beauty parlors and barber shops, as well as a
16 drug store, a jewelry store, an upholstery shop, and a
17 photography studio.

18 449. Greenwood's economy was diverse, consisting of
19 business persons and professionals as well as skilled and semi-
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21 ³⁹ Scott Ellsworth, Death in a Promised Land: The Riot of 1921
22 (1982).

23 ⁴⁰ Dr. Scott Ellsworth, The Riot, published with the
24 Commission Report, 37, 40 (2001).

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2 skilled workers. Because of racial segregation, these businesses
3 served primarily African Americans. It is estimated that
4 Greenwood had 33 professionals, including 2 dentists, 4
5 druggists, 1 jeweler, 3 lawyers, 2 photographers, 10 physicians,
6 and 6 real estate/insurance agents. It is estimated that by
7 1921 Greenwood boasted 108 business establishments, which
8 included 9 billiard halls, 2 retail stores, 4 confectioneries, 1
9 feed and grain store, 11 boarding houses, 2 garages, 41
10 groceries, 5 hotels, 30 restaurants, 2 movie theaters, and 1
11 undertaker's parlor. Greenwood's economy also consisted of an
12 estimated 24 skilled crafts persons, including 5 builders, 2
13 dressmakers, 1 plumber, 1 printer, 4 shoemakers, 10 tailors, and
14 1 upholsterer, plus an estimated 26 low-skilled workers, with 12
15 barbers, 5 cleaners, 3 hairdressers, and 6 shoeshiners.

16 450. There were two African American newspapers: the
17 Tulsa Star and the Oklahoma Sun. Moreover, Greenwood was also
18 home to a local business league, various fraternal orders, a
19 Y.M.C.A. branch, and a number of women's clubs.⁴¹

20 451. On a per capita basis, there were more churches
21 in Greenwood than there were in the city's white community as
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24 ⁴¹ Dr. Scott Ellsworth, The Riot, published with the
25 Commission Report, 37, 39 (2001).

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2 well as a number of Bible study groups, Christian youth
3 organizations, and chapters of national religious societies. All
4 told, there were more than a dozen African American churches in
5 Tulsa at the time of the Riot, including First Baptist, Vernon
6 A.M.E., Brown's Chapel, Morning Star, Bethel Seventh Day
7 Adventist, and Paradise Baptist, as well as Church of God,
8 Nazarene, and Church of God in Christ congregations. Mount Zion
9 Baptist Church was dedicated on April 10, 1921—less than eight
10 weeks before the Riot.

11 452. Greenwood was also home to other highly
12 successful business entrepreneurs, including two hotels: the
13 Gurley Hotel and the Stradford Hotel. The Stradford was a modern
14 fifty-four room structure, one of the largest African American-
15 owned businesses in Oklahoma.

16 453. Most of the African American-owned businesses in
17 Tulsa were much more modest. Scattered about the district were
18 numerous small stores, from two-seater barbershops to family-run
19 grocery stores, that helped to make pre-Riot Greenwood, on a per
20 capita basis, one of the most business-laden African American
21 communities in the country.

22 B. Prelude to the Riot

23 454. In the early evening of May 31, 1921, a crowd of
24 whites began gathering at the Tulsa County Courthouse, drawn
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2 there in part because of a newspaper story suggesting that a
3 nineteen year-old African American youth, Dick Rowland, had
4 assaulted a white elevator operator, seventeen-year-old Sarah
5 Page.

6 455. Sometime around 4:00 to 5:00 p.m., and certainly
7 by 6:30 p.m., rumors circulated in the Greenwood community that
8 Dick Rowland would be lynched that evening.

9 456. The previous August, a mob had taken a man out
10 of the cell where Rowland was being held, and lynched him.
11 Twenty-three African Americans had been lynched in the previous
12 decade.

13 457. Two prominent African Americans came to the
14 Courthouse to investigate the rumored lynching.

15 458. Sometime after 6:30 p.m., other African
16 Americans began to gather at the Courthouse. By about 7:00 p.m.
17 there were perhaps about 800 people of both races at the
18 Courthouse and tensions were running high. Some white people
19 were yelling to "Get these niggers away from here."

20 459. About this time, a number of whites went to the
21 National Guard armory seeking arms. At the same time, several
22 carloads of armed African Americans headed towards the
23 Courthouse to protect Dick Rowland from the gathering white mob.
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2 460. According to J.B. Stradford, an African American
3 businessman, Sheriff McCulloch stated that he could "handle" the
4 crowd and that he did not require assistance from the African
5 American residents of the town. He did not turn away, however,
6 a growing number of white men who continued to mob the
7 Courthouse, many of them having returned drunk from the armory.

8 461. A white man then made a speech in front of the
9 Courthouse and advised the crowd to go home, stating that
10 African Americans were riding around with high-powered revolvers
11 and guns downtown. The speech had some effect and the crowd
12 started to disperse.

13 462. At the Courthouse, a white man confronted some
14 of the African American men and began disarming them. One man
15 refused to give up his gun to the white man. The white man
16 asked, "Nigger, where you goin' with that gun?" A struggle
17 resulted, the gun went off, police officers and white men
18 started firing on the African Americans, an African American man
19 was killed, and the Riot started.⁴² Sheriff McCullough testified
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22 ⁴² See Scott Ellsworth, Death in a Promised Land: The Riot of
23 1921 (1982). See also Guardsmen With Machine Guns Ready for Any
24 Emergency, St. Louis Post-Dispatch 2 (June 1, 1921) ("One
25 version of the beginning of the trouble says the first firing
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2 that when the shot was fired, "that was just like throwing a
3 match in the powder can."⁴³ The street cleared quickly.

4 C. The Riot Starts: All Hell Breaks Loose

5 463. According to O.W. Gurley, a prominent African
6 American businessman, at that point "all hell broke loose."

7 464. As the streets cleared, the African American
8 victim of the shooting lay in front of the Courthouse. Walter
9 White, associate secretary of the NAACP, who came to Tulsa
10 immediately after the Riot to investigate it, reported that the
11 African American victim lay dying, under a billboard with a
12 picture of Mary Pickford, America's sweetheart, smiling
13 winsomely.⁴⁴

14
15 came shortly after dark, when a negro was stopped by an officer
16 and his gun taken away. He attempted to resist, according to
17 the officer, and was shot dead. Three hours later his body was
18 picked up from the street and taken to Police Headquarters,
19 which was used as a temporary morgue.").

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21 ⁴³ Stradford v. American Central Ins. Co, Superior Court of
22 Cook County, Illinois, No. 370,274 (1921), McCullough Deposition
23 at 19.

24 ⁴⁴ See F.W. Prentice, Oklahoma Race Riot, 90 Scribner's 151,
25 152 (August 1931).

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2 465. Almost immediately, members of the white mob
3 opened fire on the African American men, who defended themselves
4 by firing back. Outnumbered more than twenty to one, the
5 African American men fought in retreat towards the Greenwood
6 District.

7 466. With armed whites in close pursuit, the African
8 American men came under heavy gunfire along Fourth Street, two
9 blocks north of the Courthouse.

10 467. A short while later, a second, deadlier,
11 skirmish broke out at the corner of Second and Cincinnati
12 Streets. A second contingent of African American men came under
13 fire from the rioting white mob and had to fight for their
14 lives.

15 468. Heavily outnumbered by the whites, and suffering
16 casualties, most of the African Americans were able, however, to
17 make it safely across the Frisco railroad tracks and into
18 Greenwood.

19 469. By 10:00 p.m. the police station was filled with
20 a mob of armed whites. Groups of these white men left the
21 police station in squads and returned sometime later.

22 470. The white Police Chief John A. Gustafson,
23 deputized between 250 and 500 white men. The police issued guns
24 to the newly deputized white citizens of Tulsa to put down what
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2 they referred to as a "Negro uprising," but failed to even
3 record the names of the people to whom they gave the guns.
4 After the Riot, Police Chief Gustafson pleaded in the pages of a
5 white Tulsa newspaper for the return of guns, stating they were
6 issued with the understanding that they would be returned when
7 the need for them passed.

8 471. The police department commandeered the gun shops
9 and the pawnshops and issued guns to the newly deputized white
10 mob that then made its way towards Greenwood. The police
11 department also ordered deputies and non-deputies alike to "go
12 home, get a gun, and get a nigger."⁴⁵

13 472. Local officials sought the assistance of the
14 State National Guard.

15 473. A State National Guard commander arrived with
16 two officers and sixteen men at approximately 10:30 p.m. They
17 went to the police station, where they began working in
18 conjunction with the police.

19 474. Binkley Wright, who was seventeen at the time of
20 the Riot, was an eyewitness to the events.

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24 ⁴⁵ Dr. Scott Ellsworth, *The Riot*, published with the
25 Commission Report, 37, 64 (2001).

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2 475. According to one Survivor, Binkley Wright,
3 African Americans formed a "protective brigade" at Mt. Zion
4 Baptist Church, helping to fight off the rioting white mob,
5 which included newly deputized members of the police department,
6 entering Greenwood.

7 476. Binkley Wright saw many African Americans killed
8 when the white mob, including newly deputized members of the
9 police department and men in military uniform, broke through and
10 heavily attacked the Church.

11 477. Throughout the night of May 31, 1921 to June 1,
12 1921, the white mob, including men newly deputized by the police
13 department, came across the Frisco railroad into Greenwood.
14 Although outnumbered, the African American residents fought to
15 keep them out, but the whites forced their way into Greenwood,
16 shooting, wounding, and killing many African Americans, and
17 burning down everything in their path.

18 478. State National Guardsmen fired upon a number of
19 African American Greenwood residents in the process of
20 responding to the "Negro uprising." Some time after 11:00 p.m.,
21 twenty Guardsmen arrived at the police station, where they had
22 set up headquarters. They guarded the border between white
23 Tulsa and the African American Greenwood District for several
24 hours.

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2 479. Some African Americans attempted to organize an
3 effort to defend themselves against the oncoming mob, which
4 included newly deputized members of the police department, on
5 Brickyard Hill between Haskell and Jasper Streets.

6 480. Between the hours of 1:00 a.m. and 2:00 a.m.,
7 J.B.A. Robertson, the Governor of Oklahoma, declared martial law
8 throughout Tulsa County, and ordered the troops to suppress the
9 "Negro Uprising."⁴⁶

10 481. The Guard, which had been instructed by the
11 State to restore order, joined the rioters on some occasions
12 instead, acting "like wild men."⁴⁷

13 482. At 1:15 a.m. some white Guardsmen placed a
14 machine gun on a truck, along with three experienced white
15 machine gunners and six other white enlisted men. They traveled
16 around the city putting down African American efforts to defend
17 themselves from the white mob. At 3:00 a.m., Guardsmen were
18 ordered to Stand Pipe Hill. Their commander deployed the
19 Guardsmen along Detroit Avenue, from Stand Pipe Hill to Archer
20 Street, on the west side of Greenwood. They began a bridgehead
21 into Greenwood, using a truck with a machine gun mounted upon
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23 ⁴⁶ Id. at 12-13.

24 ⁴⁷ Prologue to Commission Report at viii.
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2 it, and entered the town, disarming and placing African American
3 men in "protective custody" and sending them to the Convention
4 Hall by police cars and trucks.

5 483. African Americans at Paradise Baptist Church
6 told one survivor, Binkley Wright, that the mayor of the CITY OF
7 TULSA had opened the Armory and given two machine guns to whites
8 and that whites "were using those machine guns to mow down our
9 people."⁴⁸

10 484. Binkley Wright was then asked by some of the
11 African American men to aid in the defense of Greenwood, loading
12 and reloading guns behind the steps of Paradise Baptist Church
13 for the human chain of African American defenders.

14 485. Later, these African Americans moved on to Stand
15 Pipe Hill to defend the people of North Tulsa who were under
16 attack. Led by "Peg-Leg" Taylor, these African Americans met
17 and "conferenced" behind the steps of Paradise Baptist Church.
18 Then they made a human chain and went up the hill to defend
19 African Americans from the white mob.

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22 ⁴⁸ Testimony of Binkley Wright published by the Tulsa
23 Reparations Coalition on their web page at
24 <http://www.tulsareparations.org/>.
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2 486. The white mob, including recently deputized
3 members of the police department and uniformed members of the
4 National Guard, were firing machine guns.

5 487. This white mob, containing newly deputized
6 members of the police department, and Guardsmen outnumbered and
7 shot the African American men stationed at Paradise Baptist
8 Church.

9 488. Plaintiff KINNY BOOKER witnessed bullets raining
10 down upon him, either from an airplane or Stand Pipe Hill, while
11 he hid in the upper floors of his home.

12 489. On June 1, 1921, there were only two planes in
13 Tulsa. One was a government-owned plane. The government may
14 have commandeered other planes.⁴⁹

15 490. At Sunset Hill, located on the northwest side of
16 Greenwood, the Guardsmen advanced on the African Americans
17 living there and fired at will for nearly half an hour. Before
18 advancing on Greenwood, they shot the African American men,
19 women, and children who hid behind barricades to defend their
20 homes. The guardsmen also attacked African Americans barricaded
21 in a concrete store in the northeast corner of Greenwood. The

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24 ⁴⁹ Richard Warner, Airplanes and the Riot, published with the
25 Commission Report, 103, 104 (2001).

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2 Guardsmen fought along side white civilians, including those who
3 had been newly deputized by the police department, killing
4 African Americans.

5 491. At some point during the Riot, the Chief of
6 Police informed a prominent African American businessman that if
7 the African American residents ceased their resistance to the
8 white mob, they would be "treated fairly" the next day.

9 492. At 5:00 a.m., in the morning of June 1, 1921, a
10 whistle blew as a signal to the white mob, containing
11 individuals newly deputized by the police department, and the
12 National Guard, to enter Greenwood.

13 493. As soon as the African American residents
14 stopped defending themselves, however, the Chief of Police
15 contacted nearby cities and towns for reinforcements. By 9:00
16 a.m. the next day, Guardsmen had arrived from Muskogee, Oklahoma
17 City, and Wagoner.⁵⁰

18 494. The Guardsmen worked in close conjunction with
19 the Tulsa police. The police and Guardsmen placed a large number
20 of Greenwood residents in "protective custody," a euphemism for
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23 ⁵⁰ See 85 Whites and Negroes Die in Tulsa Riots as 3,000 Armed
24 Men Battle in Streets, 30 Blocks Burned, Military Rule in City,
25 N.Y. Times, June 2, 1921, at 2.

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2 illegal imprisonment, and turned them over to the police cars
3 that stood close by.

4 495. Defendants instructed the Guard to take the
5 African American residents of Greenwood into "protective
6 custody."⁵¹ The majority of the city's African American men,
7 women, and children had either fled to the countryside or were
8 held — allegedly for their own protection — against their will
9 in one of a handful of hastily set-up internment centers,
10 including Convention Hall, the Fairgrounds, and McNulty Baseball
11 Park.

12 496. Plaintiff KINNY BOOKER was removed from his home
13 some time after martial law was declared. Even though Plaintiff
14 KINNY BOOKER and his sister and three brothers hid in the attic,
15 and despite the pleas of his father, the rioting white mob set
16 his home on fire. His family was able to get out without injury
17 despite coming under small arms fire.

18 497. Plaintiff KINNY BOOKER's family was transported
19 by the National Guard to the Convention Hall.

20 498. As the Guardsmen were advancing, the white mob
21 accompanying them, and including individuals newly deputized by
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24 ⁵¹ See Scott Ellsworth, Death in a Promised Land: The Riot of
25 1921 61 (1982).

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2 the white police department, set fires all over Greenwood. As
3 the Guardsmen swept through Greenwood disarming and placing the
4 residents in "protective custody," the white mob followed
5 closely after setting fire to the buildings.

6 499. Brigadier General Charles F. Barrett, who was in
7 charge of the National Guard brigade, stated that, on the
8 morning of June 1, 1921, he witnessed a rioting white mob of
9 15,000 to 20,000 in Greenwood, which was by now on fire. The
10 National Guard marched through the crowded streets. Trucks
11 loaded with scared and partially clothed African American men,
12 women, and children were parading the streets under heavily
13 armed guards.

14 500. "Personal belongings and household goods had
15 been removed from many homes and piled in the streets. On the
16 steps of the few houses that remained sat feeble and gray Negro
17 men and women and occasionally a small child. The look in their
18 eyes was one of dejection and supplication. Judging from their
19 attitude, it was not of material consequence to them whether
20 they lived or died. Harmless themselves, they apparently could
21 not conceive the brutality and fiendishness of men who would
22 deliberately set fire to the homes of their friends and
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2 neighbors and just as deliberately shoot them down in their
3 tracks."⁵²

4 501. Brigadier General Barrett wrote that "In all my
5 experience, I have never witnessed such scenes that prevailed in
6 this city when I arrived at the height of the rioting — 25,000
7 whites, armed to the teeth were ranging the city in utter and
8 ruthless defiance of every concept of law and righteousness.
9 Motorcars bristling with guns swept through your city, their
10 occupants firing at will."⁵³

11 502. Maurice Willows, the Director of the local Red
12 Cross, stated that "all that fire, rifles, revolvers, machine
13 guns, and inhuman bestiality could be done with 35 city blocks
14 with its 10,000 Negro population, was done."⁵⁴

15 503. The Guardsmen facilitated the destruction of
16 Greenwood. They removed African American residents against
17 their will. Many of these residents believed that, if the
18 Guardsmen would only help them, they were capable of defending
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21 ⁵² Tulsa Daily World, June 2, 1921 (cited in Prologue to
22 Commission Report at iv).

23 ⁵³ Charles F. Barrett, Oklahoma After Fifty Years: A History
24 of the Sooner State and Its People, 1889-1939 (1941).

25 ⁵⁴ Id.

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2 themselves and their property from the depredations of the white
3 mob, which included individuals newly deputized by the police
4 department. Instead, the Guard worked at the Defendants'
5 direction to place African American Greenwood residents in
6 "protective custody" instead of protecting Greenwood property.

7 504. All firing had ceased by 11:00 a.m., not because
8 the Guard had succeeded in bringing the white rioters under
9 control but rather because the African American Greenwood
10 residents had been killed, placed in "protective custody," or
11 driven out.⁵⁵ Even after the Riot ceased, the newly deputized
12 white citizens were told that they were to "go out and shoot any
13 nigger you see and the law'll be behind you."⁵⁶

14 505. As many as 300 African Americans were killed.⁵⁷

15 506. Forty-two square blocks of property was laid
16 waste in ashes and 8,000-10,000 African Americans were rendered
17 homeless.⁵⁸

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20 ⁵⁵ Alfred Brophy, Reconstructing the Dreamland : The Tulsa
21 Riot of 1921 (2002).

22 ⁵⁶ R. Halliburton, Jr., The Tulsa Race War of 1921 10 (1975).

23 ⁵⁷ Commission Report at 12-13.

24 ⁵⁸ Charles F. Barrett, Oklahoma After Fifty Years: A History
25 of the Sooner State and Its People, 1889-1939 (1941).

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2 507. Defendant the CITY OF TULSA held many of the
3 African American men, women, and children in custody against
4 their will for days after the Riot. The police and National
5 Guard were used as guards in the various camps to ensure the
6 African Americans remained in custody. Defendants THE STATE OF
7 OKLAHOMA and the CITY OF TULSA forced African Americans to work
8 their way out of custody by cleaning up the destruction caused
9 by the white rioters. At some time on June 2, General Barrett
10 issued Field Order Number 4, which decreed that "all able bodied
11 [N]egro men remaining in detention camp at the Fairgrounds and
12 other places in the City of Tulsa [would] be required to render
13 such service and perform such labor as [was] required by the
14 military commission."⁵⁹ The African American Greenwood residents
15 were treated like chattel and, in treatment reminiscent of
16 slavery, were often only released when their white employer
17 vouched for them. Those released wore green tags to identify
18 that they had been properly released from custody.

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22 ⁵⁹ Gerald Jerome Smith, Note: Constitutionality Of States' Use
23 Of Police And Military Force to Arrest, Detain, And Confine
24 American Citizens Because Of Race, 27 Okla. City U. L. Rev. 451
25 454-55 (2002).

D. Defendants' Policy and Custom
of Racial Discrimination

505. The Defendants engaged in a longstanding and official policy, practice, custom, habit and usage to deny African Americans their equal rights under the law. This was done in numerous ways, described below.

506. Defendants created and condoned a climate of racial hatred that presented a clear and present danger, led to actual tragedy, and contributed to the environment of racially motivated suppression. This climate of racial hatred also operated to prevent the victims from obtaining redress and from rebuilding their community.

507. Tulsa newspapers contributed to the climate of racial hatred. For example, the Tulsa Tribune called Greenwood "Niggertown" and published a front-page article suggesting that a nineteen year-old African American youth, Dick Rowland, had assaulted a white elevator operator, seventeen-year-old Sarah Page. Witnesses recollect an editorial headlined "To Lynch Negro Tonight."⁶⁰ These publications served as an incitement to riot.

⁶⁰ Dr. Scott Ellsworth, The Riot, published with the Commission Report, 58-59 (2001).

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2 508. Defendants permitted Plaintiffs to be physically
3 attacked, aided and abetted the attacks, encouraged and condoned
4 the attacks and even participated in some of the attacks,
5 resulting in bodily injury, death and destruction and theft of
6 property. Defendants, with deliberate indifference and on the
7 basis of race, failed to protect Plaintiffs from repeated
8 criminal acts, failed to equally enforce the laws and branded
9 Plaintiffs with the racial badges of inferiority and slavery in
10 the form of racially motivated violence. Defendants' failure to
11 prevent or aid in preventing the commission of racial crimes
12 exacerbated the Riot and led to further wrongs against
13 Plaintiffs.

14 509. Defendants negligently endangered plaintiffs by
15 deputizing and issuing ammunition and guns to persons they knew
16 or should have known posed a danger to the African American
17 community of Greenwood.

18 510. Defendants placed Plaintiffs and the African
19 American community of Greenwood at an unjustifiably high risk of
20 harm.

21 511. Defendants failed to adequately train and
22 supervise those persons it deputized and those persons to whom
23 it issued ammunition during the Riot.

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2 512. Defendants' deliberate policy and practice was
3 designed to drive Plaintiffs out of Greenwood or intimidate
4 Plaintiffs such that the Greenwood community was devastated
5 physically and economically.

6 513. Defendants failed to meaningfully investigate
7 and act upon complaints filed by Plaintiffs on the basis of
8 race. Defendants routinely under-investigated, under-responded,
9 undercharged, mishandled and failed to protect Plaintiffs from a
10 series of criminal acts or prosecute those responsible for such
11 acts. Defendants abdicated their responsibility to investigate,
12 develop and charge white citizens with crimes against
13 Plaintiffs, thereby ratifying and jointly participating in
14 racially motivated acts to deprive Plaintiffs of their
15 constitutional and statutory rights. Defendants made decisions
16 on a racially discriminatory basis.

17 514. Defendants conspired together and acted in
18 concert with one another throughout and after the Riot.

19 515. Defendants failed to make restitution and
20 reparations it promised Plaintiffs and interfered with
21 Plaintiffs efforts to rebuild their community.

22 516. All of Defendants' actions and inaction, as
23 alleged in the Complaint, were pursuant to Defendants' policy,
24 custom, habit, usage and pattern and practice of unequal
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2 enforcement of the law depriving Plaintiffs of their Fourteenth
3 Amendment constitutional rights and statutory rights.

4 Defendants did not treat white citizens in the same or similar
5 manner as Plaintiffs.

6 517. As a direct and proximate result of Defendants'
7 unconstitutional and illegal racially motivated actions,
8 Plaintiffs have suffered the loss of their property, physical
9 injury, and emotional distress from witnessing the murder and
10 injury of their family members.

11 E. Findings of The Oklahoma Commission to
12 Study the Riot of 1921

13 518. The 1921 Riot Commission was created pursuant to
14 House Joint Resolution No. 1035. The statute, as amended,
15 charged the commission to:

16 "undertake a study to develop a historical record of
17 the 1921 Riot including the identification of persons
18 who:

18 1. Can provide adequate proof to the Commission that
19 the person was an actual resident of the Greenwood
20 area or community of the City of Tulsa on or about May
21 31, 1921, or June 1, 1921; or

22 2. Can demonstrate to the satisfaction of the
23 members of the Commission that the person sustained an
24 identifiable loss to their person, personal relations,
25 real property, personal property or other loss as a
26 result of tortious or criminal conduct, whether or not
the conduct was ever adjudicated, occurring during the
period beginning on or about May 31, 1921, and ending
not later than June 30, 1921, resulting from the

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2 activity commonly described as the 1921 Riot."⁶¹

3 519. The Statute also required that the Commission
4 produce, by February 28, 2001, "a final report of its findings
5 and recommendations" and to submit that report "in writing to
6 the Governor, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, the
7 President Pro Tempore of the Senate, and the Mayor and each
8 member of the City Council of the City of Tulsa, Oklahoma."

9 520. Most importantly, under the terms of the statute:

10 "The Report may contain specific recommendations
11 regarding whether or not reparations can or should be
12 made and the appropriate methods to achieve the
13 recommendations made in the final report."⁶²

13 521. After four years of intense study, the
14 Commission generated a comprehensive study that examined more
15 than 20,000 pages on the Riot.⁶³ The final Commission Report did
16 contain a recommendation that reparations should be made and
17 detailed the manner in which Defendants THE STATE OF OKLAHOMA
18 and the CITY OF TULSA make reparations.⁶⁴

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21 ⁶¹ 74 Okl. St. Ann. §8201 (West 2000).

22 ⁶² Id. (emphasis added).

23 ⁶³ Id. at 8.

24 ⁶⁴ Commission Report at 20: "Reparations are the right thing
25 to do."

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2 522. A number of documents were attached to the
3 Commission Report, providing support for each of the
4 Commission's findings concerning the causes and consequences of
5 the Riot, the Defendants' participation in and responsibility
6 for the Riot, and Defendants THE STATE OF OKLAHOMA's and the
7 CITY OF TULSA's moral and legal liability to pay restitution to
8 the African American survivors of the Riot and their
9 descendants.

10 523. The findings were published in the Commission
11 Report and incorporated by statute.⁶⁵

12 524. The findings include determinations that: the
13 "root causes" of the Riot stemmed from a history racism and
14 violence in both Tulsa and Oklahoma;⁶⁶ the action or inaction of
15 "local municipal and county officials" enabled a white mob, that
16 included state and local officials, to kill 100-300 African
17 Americans, loot and burn 1,256 African American residences and
18 businesses in Greenwood;⁶⁷ and that the property lost should be
19 valued at "approximately \$2 million in 1921 dollars or
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22 ⁶⁵ See 74 Okl. St. Ann. §8000.1 (West 2002).

23 ⁶⁶ 74 Okl. St. Ann. §8000.1.1 (West 2002).

24 ⁶⁷ Id. at §8000.1.2.

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2 \$16,752,600 in 1999 dollars."⁶⁸ The Oklahoma State Legislature
3 further concluded that there had been no convictions or payments
4 of any kind to the African American victims of the Riot, and
5 that "local officials attempted to block the rebuilding of the
6 Greenwood";⁶⁹ and that the Defendants ignored their "moral
7 responsibilities at the time of the riot [and have continued to
8 do so] ever since rather than confront the realities of an
9 Oklahoma history of race relations that allowed one race to 'put
10 down' another race."⁷⁰

11 525. The Commission Report, which was endorsed by the
12 State of Oklahoma's legislature, made the following additional
13 findings and recommendations:

14 a. "As hostile groups gathered and their
15 confrontation worsened, municipal and county
16 authorities failed to take actions to calm or
17 contain the situation."⁷¹

18 b. "At the eruption of violence, civil officials
19 selected many men, all of them white and some
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21 ⁶⁸ Id. at §8000.1.3.

22 ⁶⁹ Id.

23 ⁷⁰ Id. at §8000.1.6.

24 ⁷¹ Commission Report at 11.

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2 of them participants in that violence, and made
3 those men their agents as deputies."⁷²

4 c. "In that capacity, deputies did not stem the
5 violence but added to it, often through overt
6 acts themselves illegal."⁷³

7 d. "Public officials provided firearms and
8 ammunition to individuals, again all of them
9 white."⁷⁴

10 e. "Units of the Oklahoma National Guard
11 participated in the mass arrests of all or
12 nearly all of Greenwood's residents, removed
13 them to other parts of the city, and detained
14 them in holding centers."⁷⁵

15 f. "Entering the Greenwood District, [White]
16 people stole, damaged or destroyed personal
17 property left behind in homes and businesses."⁷⁶

20 ⁷² Id.

21 ⁷³ Id.

22 ⁷⁴ Id.

23 ⁷⁵ Id. at 12.

24 ⁷⁶ Id.

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2 g. "[White p]eople, some of them agents of
3 government, also deliberately burned or
4 otherwise destroyed homes credibly estimated to
5 have numbered 1,256, along with virtually every
6 other structure—including churches, schools,
7 businesses, even a hospital and library—in the
8 Greenwood district."⁷⁷

9
10 h. "Despite duties to preserve order and to
11 protect property, no government at any level
12 offered adequate resistance, if any at all, to
13 what amounted to the destruction of the
14 neighborhood referred to commonly as 'Little
15 Africa' and politely as the 'Negro quarter.'"⁷⁸

16 i. "[C]redible evidence makes it probable that
17 many people, likely numbering between one and
18 three hundred, were killed during the riot."⁷⁹

19 j. "Not one of these criminal acts was then or
20 ever has been prosecuted or punished by
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22 ⁷⁷ Id.

23 ⁷⁸ Id.

24 ⁷⁹ Id. at 13.

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2 government at any level, municipal, county,
3 state, or federal."⁸⁰

4 k. "Even after the restoration of order it was
5 official policy to release a African American
6 detainee only upon the application of a white
7 person, and then only if that white person
8 agreed to accept responsibility for that
9 detainee's subsequent behavior."⁸¹

10 l. "[N]either [city and county government]
11 contributed substantially to Greenwood's
12 rebuilding; in fact, municipal authorities
13 acted initially to impede rebuilding."⁸²

14 m. "In the end, the restoration of Greenwood after
15 its systematic destruction was left to the
16 victims of that destruction."⁸³

17 2. According to the Report of the Oklahoma
18 Commission to Study the Riot of 1921, an accurate assessment of
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21 ⁸⁰ Id.

22 ⁸¹ Id.

23 ⁸² Id. at 14.

24 ⁸³ Larry O'Dell, Riot Property Loss, published with the
25 Commission Report, 143, 149 (2001).

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2 the value of the property, destroyed by the rioters, totals at
3 least \$16,752,600 in 1999 dollars.⁸⁴
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5 F. Statute of Limitations Should Be
6 Equitably Tolled and Waived

7 526. Because of the work of the Commission, there
8 exists today a tremendous amount of information that was not
9 available in 1921 about the Tulsa Riot, Defendants' culpability,
10 and the implications of such culpability on the legal redress
11 available to the Plaintiffs. Defendants acted, both in 1921 and
12 subsequently, to hide evidence of their culpability and to
13 prevent African American victims of the Riot and their
14 descendants from bringing suit against Defendants. Furthermore,
15 the STATE OF OKLAHOMA, in its statute creating the Commission,
16 waived the statute of limitations as an affirmative defense.
17 Thus, the applicable statute of limitations is subject to
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19 ⁸⁴ Scholarly studies of the race riot are in substantial
20 agreement with the Commission's assessment. See, e.g., Alfred
21 Brophy, *Reconstructing the Dreamland : The Tulsa Riot of 1921*
22 (2002); Roy L. Brooks, *Integration or Separation?* (1996), Ch.
23 17; Randall Kennedy, Foreword in Alfred Brophy, *Reconstructing*
24 *the Dreamland : The Tulsa Riot of 1921* (2002).
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2 equitable tolling or, in the alternative, to waiver, implicitly
3 or explicitly, by the STATE OF OKLAHOMA.

4 527. Defendants, acting new their official capacities,
5 misrepresented and concealed information about their role in the
6 Riot. Defendants have knowingly perpetuated confusion and
7 misinformation or failed to provide information about the
8 factual circumstances underlying the Riot. As a result of
9 Defendants' fraudulent concealment, Plaintiffs have been unable,
10 even with reasonable diligence, to discover the underlying facts
11 and evidence to successfully bring a cause of action.

12 Consequently, Defendants are precluded by their own acts and
13 omissions from asserting the statute of limitations as a
14 defense. Under the doctrine of unclean hands, Defendants are
15 estopped from claiming this affirmative defense.

16 528. The STATE OF OKLAHOMA created the Commission in
17 large part precisely to discover hidden or suppressed facts
18 surrounding the Riot that could not otherwise have been
19 discovered by Plaintiffs. The Commission Report revealed
20 information never before made available to the public. The
21 Commission described the Commission Report as a "tower of new
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2 knowledge" that enabled "visions never seen before."⁸⁵

3 Specifically, the Commission stated that the Commission Report:

4 "[i]ncluded . . . records and papers long presumed
5 lost, if their existence had been known at all. Some
6 were official documents, pulled together and packed
7 away, years earlier. Uncovered and examined, they
8 took the commission back in time, back to the years
9 just before and just after 1921. Some were musty
10 legal records saved from the shredders. Briefs filed,
11 dockets set, lawsuits decided—each opened an avenue
12 into another corner of history. Pages after pages
13 laid [sic] open the city commission's deliberations
14 and decisions as they affected the Greenwood area.
15 Overlooked records from the National Guard offered
16 overlooked perspectives and illuminated them with
17 misplaced correspondence, lost after-action reports,
18 obscure field manuals, and self-typed accounts from
19 men who were on duty at the riot."⁸⁶

20 529. A significant amount of previously unavailable
21 evidence —including long-forgotten documents and photographs —
22 has been discovered.

23 530. Not until now has the story of the Tulsa Riot
24 been told fully and truthfully. The Report of the Oklahoma
25 Commission to Study the Riot of 1921, stated that: "Much of the
26 evidence used in preparing the report was recently discovered.":

"Before there was this commission, much was known
about the Riot. More was unknown. It was buried
somewhere, lost somewhere, or somewhere undiscovered.
No longer. Old records have been reopened, missing
files have been recovered, new sources have been

23 ⁸⁵ Commission Report at 8.

24 ⁸⁶ Id. at 4.

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2 found."⁸⁷

3 531. The Commission Report breaks the "conspiracy of
4 silence" that has existed for over a half century and for the
5 first time "this past tragedy has been extensively aired."⁸⁸

6 "Until recently, the Riot has been the most important
7 least known event in the state's entire history. Even
8 the most resourceful of scholars stumbled as they
9 neared it for it was dimly lit by evidence and the
evidentiary record faded more with every passing
year."⁸⁹

10 532. However, the history of the Riot "may now
11 comprise the most thoroughly documented moments ever to have
12 occurred in Oklahoma."⁹⁰ The Commission itself acknowledged
13 surprise over the amount of "new evidence" and that it
14 "contributed so much."⁹¹ Even the book Death in a Promised Land;
15 the Riot of 1921, written by Scott Ellsworth (the acknowledged
16 expert on the Riot) and published in 1982, did not have the
17 evidence contained in the Commission Report.⁹²

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20 ⁸⁷ Id. at 8.

21 ⁸⁸ Id.

22 ⁸⁹ Id. at 6.

23 ⁹⁰ Id.

24 ⁹¹ Id. at 7.

25 ⁹² Id. at 8 ("no one had it").

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2 533. Only now do Plaintiffs have sufficient
3 information to state the nature of the causes of action they can
4 bring and against whom. Prior to the Commission's Report, the
5 Defendants concluded that the Riot was "something to be swept
6 well beneath the history's carpet."⁹³ Plaintiffs made repeated
7 requests for information that was denied to them by Defendants,
8 which prevented them from being able to pursue legal action.
9 Not until the Commission published its Commission Report were
10 Plaintiffs provided with the information needed to bring suit.

11 534. Thus, Plaintiffs are excused from the time limits
12 on filing, and the statute of limitations should be equitably
13 tolled insofar as much of the information upon which this
14 lawsuit rests was only discovered by the efforts of the Oklahoma
15 Commission to Study the Riot of 1921.

16 535. Defendants also erected barriers making it
17 extremely difficult, if not impossible, for Plaintiffs to seek
18 legal redress for injuries resulting from the Riot. The
19 atmosphere surrounding Tulsa in the wake of the Riot made
20 conditions potentially deadly for individuals who wanted to seek
21 restitution through the courts. Such barriers included:

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24 _____
25 ⁹³ 74 Okl. St. Ann. §8000.1.4.

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a. The Grand Jury convened by the State of Oklahoma returned indictments against African Americans for inciting the Riot. Because of the discriminatory manner in which the indictments were returned, African American residents of Greenwood were prevented or inhibited from filing or continuing lawsuits on behalf of the African American residents of Greenwood. In an absurdly biased grand jury report, which was orchestrated by the Oklahoma attorney general, Tulsa blamed the African American community for the Riot, further prejudicing the claims of Riot victims in the courts. Tulsa prosecutors threatened to imprison key Greenwood leaders, like A.J. Smitherman, editor of the Tulsa Star, and J.B. Stradford, which caused them to flee Oklahoma. Stradford filed suit in Chicago, but could not adequately prosecute his claim, for fear of imprisonment and bodily harm.

Stradford never set foot in Oklahoma again.

b. The court system was corrupted with the pernicious influence of the Ku Klux Klan, thereby resulting in a racially discriminatory

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2 judicial system. In fact, about one year after
3 the Riot, Oklahoma's Governor declared martial
4 law in Tulsa, citing among other reasons the
5 pervasive control of the courts by the Ku Klux
6 Klan.⁹⁴ According to the Commission Report:
7 "Everyone (on the Commission) agrees that
8 within months of the riot Tulsa's Klan chapter
9 had become one of the nation's largest and most
10 powerful, able to dictate its will with the
11 ballot as well as the whip. Everyone agrees
12 that many of the city's most prominent men were
13 Klansmen in the early 1920's and that some
14 remained Klansmen throughout the decade.
15 Everyone agrees that Tulsa's atmosphere reeked
16 with a Klan-like stench that oozed through the
17 robes of the Hooded Order."

18 c. The Oklahoma Supreme Court discouraged lawsuits
19 by limiting municipal liability on the basis of
20 territorial common law,⁹⁵ and acknowledging the
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22 ⁹⁴ Appellee's brief in Sanford v. Markham, 221 P. 36 (Okla.
23 1923).

24 ⁹⁵ See Alfred L. Brophy, The Riot in the Oklahoma Supreme
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2 role that special deputies played in destroying
3 Greenwood but failing to find the CITY OF TULSA
4 responsible for such conduct.⁹⁶

5 d. The CITY OF TULSA summarily denied the
6 restitution claims of African American
7 residents, while paying those of whites, in
8 order to prevent or inhibit the filing or
9 continuance of restitution claims by the
10 African American citizens of Greenwood. In
11 particular, the CITY OF TULSA permitted
12 restitution claims made by white owners of
13 stores, who had arms or ammunition looted from
14 their stores. THE STATE OF OKLAHOMA created
15 conditions so adverse to the prosecuting of
16 lawsuits that over 130 complaints filed against
17 insurers, the city, and the state, were
18 prevented from proceeding past the filing
19 stage.
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22 Court, 54 Okla. L. Rev. 67 (2001).

23 ⁹⁶ See Redfearn v. American Central Insurance Co., 221 P. 929
24 (1926).
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e. According to the Commission Report, the state and local governments were instruments of repression used to prevent African Americans from obtaining justice. In fact, after considering a variety of acts of violent repression of African Americans in Oklahoma, Commission concluded that the discussion of the State and City Defendants' culpability in racially motivated attacks on African Americans in the years before, during, and after the Riot could be summed up as follows:

- "In some government participated in the deed.
- In some government performed the deed.
- In none did government prevent the deed.
- In none did government punish the deed."⁹⁷

f. Oklahoma history textbooks published during the 1920s did not mention the Riot at all—nor did ones published in the 1930s.

471. Accordingly, the CITY OF TULSA and THE STATE OF OKLAHOMA should be equitably estopped from asserting any defense

⁹⁷ Commission Report at 19.

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2 premised upon latches or the tolling of the statute of
3 limitations.

4 536. Alternatively, Defendant the CITY OF TULSA in
5 1921 also waived the statute of limitations as an affirmative
6 defense by its express commitment to provide restitution for
7 Riot victims. Specifically, the City stated that a claims
8 commission would compensate the victims of the Riot, thereby
9 inducing them not to file suit.⁹⁸ Additionally, the City
10 actively discouraged fundraising efforts that had begun across
11 the country and interfered with Plaintiffs ability to rebuild
12 their community.

13 537. Furthermore, THE STATE OF OKLAHOMA resurrected
14 Plaintiffs' claims for restitution in 1997 and can not seek
15 harbour behind a statute of limitations defense.

16 538. More specifically, in 1997 and again in 1999, the
17 State Legislature commissioned a report from the Commission,
18 funded the Commission, and charged it with conducting an
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21 ⁹⁸ Alfred Brophy, Reconstructing the Dreamland : The Tulsa
22 Riot of 1921 107 (2002); and at n. 85. (In the June 15, 1921
23 issue of the Nation, the Chair of the Emergency Committee stated
24 that "Tulsa weeps at this unspeakable crime and will make good
25 the damage, so far as it can be done, to the last penny.").

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2 investigation to determine the causes of the Riot, identify
3 those parties responsible for the Riot and the victims, and to
4 make recommendations regarding reparations and restitution.

5 539. House Joint Resolution 1035 (1997), the statute
6 passed by the Oklahoma legislature and that created the
7 Commission, waives the statute of limitations defense. That
8 statute conceded that:

9 "black persons of that era were practically denied
10 equal access to the civil or criminal justice system
11 in order to obtain damages or other relief for the
12 tortious and criminal conduct which had been
13 committed."

14 and that:

15 "the Greenwood community and the residents who lived
16 and worked there were irrevocably damaged by the
17 tortious and criminal conduct that occurred during the
18 Riot; . . . and . . . at the time of the 1921 riot in
19 the City of Tulsa, the Oklahoma Constitution contained
20 provisions, still effective as law, which provided
21 that: 'All persons have the inherent right to life,
22 liberty, the pursuit of happiness, and the enjoyment
23 of the gains of their own industry.' and further that:
24 'the courts of justice of the State shall be open to
25 every person, and speedy and certain remedy afforded
26 for every wrong and for every injury to person,
property and reputation; and right and justice shall
be administered without sale, denial, delay or
prejudice.'"

540. The Oklahoma State Legislature empowered the
Commission to redress these wrongs, and in so doing waived any
limitations defense the State may mount.

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2 541. Furthermore, the Oklahoma State Legislature, in
3 adopting and implementing the Commission's findings and
4 recommendations by creating The Tulsa Reconciliation Education
5 and Scholarship Program⁹⁹ and the Tulsa Riot Memorial and
6 Reconciliation Act,¹⁰⁰ has expressly or implicitly waived any
7 limitations defense it may mount, since these measures adopt the
8 injunctive relief recommended by the Commission.

9 542. Finally, Governor Keating, acting in his official
10 capacity as Governor of the State of Oklahoma, stated that he
11 "supported direct payments to the 120 survivors of the bloody
12 riots if the report contained persuasive evidence of state
13 culpability."¹⁰¹ Governor Keating admitted that "Compensation for
14 direct loss occasioned by direct state or city action is not
15 inappropriate. . . . But it has to be shown that there was real
16 harm to existing, living individuals and that direct action by
17 the city and the state caused the harm."¹⁰² Clearly, the

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19 ⁹⁹ See 70 Okl. St. Ann. §2621 (West 2002).

20 ¹⁰⁰ See id. at §8201.1.

21 ¹⁰¹ Lois Romano, No Vow to Make Amends for Tulsa; Legislators'
22 Sidestepping Disappoints Survivors of 1921 Race Riot, The
23 Washington Post, Thursday, March 1, 2001 Section A.

24 ¹⁰² Lois Romano, Tulsa Airs a Race Riot's Legacy; State
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2 Commission Report demonstrates such harm. Governor Keating's
3 statement demonstrates the State's express or implied intent to
4 waive any limitations defense should legal liability be
5 established.

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7 FIRST CAUSE OF ACTION
8 FOR DEPRIVATION OF LIFE AND LIBERTY
9 AND THE PRIVILEGES AND IMMUNITIES
10 OF UNITED STATES CITIZENSHIP
11 IN VIOLATION OF THE FOURTEENTH AMENDMENT
12 OF THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION

13 (Against THE CITY OF TULSA, THE CHIEF OF POLICE, and
14 THE TULSA POLICE DEPARTMENT)

15 543. Plaintiffs repeat and re-allege the above
16 allegations as if fully set forth herein.

17 544. Defendants deprived the following Plaintiffs of
18 their constitutionally protected interest in their life,
19 liberty, and bodily integrity, and in enjoying the privileges
20 and immunities of their United States citizenship: JOHN
21 ALEXANDER, JUANITA SMITH BOOKER, KINNEY BOOKER, DOROTHY BOOKER
22 BOULDING, JOHNNIE L. GRAYSON BROWN, JOE R. BURNS, ROSA L. GREEN
23 BYNUM, BEATRICE CAMPBELL-WEBSTER, NAOMI HOOKER CHAMBERLAIN,

24 Historical Panel's Call for Restitution Spurs a Debate, The
25 Washington Post, Wednesday, January 19, 2000, at Section A.

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2 MILDRED MITCHELL CHRISTOPHER, CARRIE HUMPHREY CUDJOE, LUCILLE
3 BUCHANAN FIGURES, ERNESTINE GIBBS, HAROLD GIBBS, HAZEL FRANKLIN
4 HACKETT, MADELEINE HAYNES, JOYCE WALKER HILL, VERA INGRAM,
5 EUNICE CLOMAN JACKSON, DR. HOBART JARRETT, HAZEL DELORES SMITH
6 JONES, MARY TACOMA MAUPIN, ALICE HIGGS LOLLIS, ISHMAEL S. MORAN,
7 SIMON R. RICHARDSON, BEULAH LOREE KEENAN SMITH, GOLDEN WILLIAMS
8 SMITH, DOROTHY WILSON STRICKLAND, LOIS WHITE TAYLOR, BERTRAM C.
9 WILLIAMS, LOUIE BARTON WILLIAMS, and WESS YOUNG.

10 545. The following plaintiffs had relatives who were
11 killed by Defendants: J.B. BATES, LEROY LEON HATCHER, and CECIL
12 WHITE.

13 546. The following plaintiffs were physically and
14 emotionally injured by Defendants: CARRIE HUMPHREY CUDJOE, JAMES
15 DURANT, BEULAH LOREE KEENAN SMITH, LOLA SNEED SNOWDEN, and MARIE
16 WHITEHORN.

17 547. Defendants' actions were deliberate and
18 premeditated. Such actions shock the conscience, and
19 demonstrate a deliberate indifference to life, liberty and
20 bodily integrity.

21 548. As a consequence of Defendants' intentionally
22 discriminatory actions, Plaintiffs JOHN ALEXANDER, JUANITA SMITH
23 BOOKER, KINNEY BOOKER, DOROTHY BOOKER BOULDING, JOHNNIE L.
24 GRAYSON BROWN, JOE R. BURNS, ROSA L. GREEN BYNUM, BEATRICE
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2 CAMPBELL-WEBSTER, NAOMI HOOKER CHAMBERLAIN, MILDRED MITCHELL
3 CHRISTOPHER, CARRIE HUMPHREY CUDJOE, LUCILLE BUCHANAN FIGURES,
4 ERNESTINE GIBBS, HAROLD GIBBS, HAZEL FRANKLIN HACKETT, MADELEINE
5 HAYNES, JOYCE WALKER HILL, VERA INGRAM, EUNICE CLOMAN JACKSON,
6 DR. HOBART JARRETT, HAZEL DELORES SMITH JONES, MARY TACOMA
7 MAUPIN, ALICE HIGGS LOLLIS, ISHMAEL S. MORAN, SIMON R.
8 RICHARDSON, BEULAH LOREE KEENAN SMITH, GOLDEN WILLIAMS SMITH,
9 DOROTHY WILSON STRICKLAND, LOIS WHITE TAYLOR, BERTRAM C.
10 WILLIAMS, LOUIE BARTON WILLIAMS, WESS YOUNG, J.B. BATES, LEROY
11 LEON HATCHER, CECIL WHITE, CARRIE HUMPHREY CUDJOE, JAMES DURANT,
12 BEULAH LOREE KEENAN SMITH, LOLA SNEED SNOWDEN, and MARIE
13 WHITEHORN were denied their life, liberty, and bodily integrity,
14 and the enjoyment of the privileges and immunities of United
15 States citizenship,¹⁰³ and have sustained physical and mental
16 injuries, and are entitled to damages in amount to be determined
17 at trial.

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21 ¹⁰³ See, e.g., Clarence Thomas, The Higher Law Background of
22 the Privileges or Immunities Clause, 12 Harv. J.L. & Pub. Pol.
23 63, 68 (1989); Philip B. Kirkland, The Privileges or Immunities
24 Clause: Its Hour Come 'Round at Last, Its Hour Come 'Round at
25 Last? 1972 Washington Univ. L.Q. 405 at 418-420.

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SECOND CAUSE OF ACTION
FOR DEPRIVATION OF PROPERTY AND PRIVILEGES
AND IMMUNITIES IN VIOLATION OF THE FOURTEENTH
AMENDMENT OF THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION

(Against THE CITY OF TULSA, THE CHIEF OF POLICE, and
THE TULSA POLICE DEPARTMENT)

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549. Plaintiffs repeat and re-allege the above
allegations as if fully set forth herein.

550. Defendants deprived the following Plaintiffs of
their constitutionally protected property interest in their
residences, places of business, land, and personal property:
J.B. BATES, ESSIE LEE JOHNSON BECK, J.D. BELL, PHINES BELL,
EUGENE BOLTON, JAMES BOLTON, JUANITA SMITH BOOKER, KINNEY
BOOKER, DOROTHY BOOKER BOULDING, JEANETTE McNEAL BRADSHAW,
TERESA EARLEE BRIDGES DYSART, PATRICIA DUKES BROME, JOHNNIE L.
GRAYSON BROWN, ROSA L. GREEN BYNUM, MURIEL MIGNON LILLY CABELL,
MILDRED MITCHELL CHRISTOPHER, MILDRED LUCAS CLARK, OTIS
GRANVILLE CLARK, BLANCHE CHATMAN COLE, CARRIE HUMPHREY CUDJOE,
ROBERT CHARLES DUKES, WILLIE DUKES, HATTIE LILLY DUNN, JAMES
DURANT, LUCILLE BUCHANAN FIGURES, ARCHIE JACKSON FRANKLIN,
JIMMIE LILLY FRANKLIN, ERNESTINE GIBBS, HAROLD GIBBS, MARGARET
TILLEY GIBBS, THERESSA CORNELLA McNEAL GILLIAM, MILDRED JOHNSON
HALL HAZEL FRANKLIN HACKETT, KATHERINE WOOD HALE, LEROY LEON
HATCHER, MADELEINE HAYNES, JOYCE WALKER HILL, DR. OLIVIA J.

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2 HOOKER, SAMUEL L. HOOKER, JR., WILHELMINA GUESS HOWELL, MILDRED
3 WALLACE HUDSPETH, VERA INGRAM, GENEVIEVE ELIZABETH TILLMAN
4 JACKSON, DR. HOBART JARRETT, WILMA MITCHELL JOHNSON, HAZEL
5 DELORES SMITH JONES, THELMA KNIGHT, CAROL SMITHERMAN MARTIN,
6 MARY TACOMA MAUPIN, RUTH DEAN NASH, SIMEON L. NEAL, ALMADGE J.
7 NEWKIRK, JUANITA MAXINE SCOTT PARRY, IDA BURNS PATTERSON, DELOIS
8 VADEN RAMSEY, JEWEL SMITHERMAN ROGERS, GERLINE HELEN WRIGHT
9 SAYLES, JULIUS WARREN SCOTT, VENEICE DUNN SIMS, HARRIET ADAMS
10 SMITH, BEULAH LOREE KEENAN SMITH, GOLDEN WILLIAMS SMITH, LOLA
11 SNEED SNOWDEN, JAMES L. STEWARD, DOROTHY WILSON STRICKLAND, LOIS
12 WHITE TAYLOR, WILLIE MAE SHELBURN THOMPSON, EFFIE LEE SPEARS
13 TODD, MELVIN C. TODD, QUEEN ESTHER LOVE WALKER, SAMUEL WALKER,
14 TROY SIDNEY WALKER, SYLVIA WARE, and MARY LEON BROWN WATSON.

15 551. Defendants burned, looted, and otherwise
16 destroyed or misappropriated these Plaintiffs' property of
17 without a hearing and without due process of law in violation of
18 their property rights and the privileges and immunities of their
19 citizenship as guaranteed under the Fourteenth Amendment of the
20 United States Constitution.¹⁰⁴

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23 ¹⁰⁴ See, e.g., Clarence Thomas, The Higher Law Background of
24 the Privileges or Immunities Clause, 12 Harv. J.L. & Pub. Pol.
25 63, 68 (1989); Philip B. Kirkland, The Privileges or Immunities

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2 552. Defendants have never returned such
3 misappropriated property or paid compensation for its loss.

4 553. Plaintiffs J.B. BATES, ESSIE LEE JOHNSON BECK,
5 J.D. BELL, PHINES BELL, EUGENE BOLTON, JAMES BOLTON JUANITA
6 SMITH BOOKER, KINNEY BOOKER, DOROTHY BOOKER BOULDING, JEANETTE
7 McNEAL BRADSHAW, TERESA EARLEE BRIDGES DYSART, PATRICIA DUKES
8 BROME, JOHNNIE L. GRAYSON BROWN, ROSA L. GREEN BYNUM, MURIEL
9 MIGNON LILLY CABELL, MILDRED MITCHELL CHRISTOPHER, MILDRED LUCAS
10 CLARK, OTIS GRANVILLE CLARK, BLANCHE CHATMAN COLE, CARRIE
11 HUMPHREY CUDJOE, ROBERT CHARLES DUKES, WILLIE DUKES, HATTIE
12 LILLY DUNN, JAMES DURANT, LUCILLE BUCHANAN FIGURES, ARCHIE
13 JACKSON FRANKLIN, JIMMIE LILLY FRANKLIN, ERNESTINE GIBBS, HAROLD
14 GIBBS, MARGARET TILLEY GIBBS, THERESSA CORNELLA McNEAL GILLIAM,
15 KATHERINE WOOD HALE, MILDRED JOHNSON HALL, HAZEL FRANKLIN
16 HACKETT, LEROY LEON HATCHER, MADELEINE HAYNES, JOYCE WALKER
17 HILL, DR. OLIVIA J. HOOKER, SAMUEL L. HOOKER, JR., WILHELMINA
18 GUESS HOWELL, MILDRED WALLACE HUDSPETH, VERA INGRAM, GENEVIEVE
19 ELIZABETH TILLMAN JACKSON, DR. HOBART JARRETT, WILMA MITCHELL
20 JOHNSON, HAZEL DELORES SMITH JONES, JULIA BONTON JONES, THELMA
21 KNIGHT, CAROL SMITHERMAN MARTIN, MARY TACOMA MAUPIN, RUTH DEAN

22
23
24 Clause: Its Hour Come 'Round at Last, Its Hour Come 'Round at
25 Last? 1972 Washington Univ. L.Q. 405 at 418-420.

1
2 NASH, SIMEON L. NEAL, ALMADGE J. NEWKIRK, JUANITA MAXINE SCOTT
3 PARRY, IDA BURNS PATTERSON, DELOIS VADEN RAMSEY, JEWEL
4 SMITHERMAN ROGERS, GERLINE HELEN WRIGHT SAYLES, JULIUS WARREN
5 SCOTT, VENEICE DUNN SIMS, HARRIET ADAMS SMITH, BEULAH LOREE
6 KEENAN SMITH, GOLDEN WILLIAMS SMITH, LOLA SNEED SNOWDEN, JAMES
7 L. STEWARD, DOROTHY WILSON STRICKLAND, LOIS WHITE TAYLOR, WILLIE
8 MAE SHELBURN THOMPSON, EFFIE LEE SPEARS TODD, MELVIN C. TODD,
9 QUEEN ESTHER LOVE WALKER, SAMUEL WALKER, TROY SIDNEY WALKER,
10 SYLVIA WARE, and MARY LEON BROWN WATSON have suffered property
11 damage in an amount to be specified at trial.

12
13 THIRD CAUSE OF ACTION
14 FOR VIOLATION OF THE EQUAL PROTECTION
15 CLAUSE AND THE PRIVILEGES AND IMMUNITIES
16 CLAUSE OF THE FOURTEENTH AMENDMENT
17 TO THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION

18
19 (Against THE CITY OF TULSA, THE CHIEF OF POLICE, and
20 THE TULSA POLICE DEPARTMENT)

21
22 554. Plaintiffs repeat and re-allege the above
23 allegations as if fully set forth herein.

24
25 555. Defendants deprived all of the Plaintiffs of
26 their right to equal protection of the laws and the privileges
and immunities of their citizenship as guaranteed under the
Fourteenth Amendment of the United States Constitution.

1
2 556. The Defendants engaged in a longstanding and
3 official policy, practice, custom, habit and usage to deny
4 African Americans their equal rights under the law. This was
5 done in numerous ways, described below.

6 557. Defendants permitted Plaintiffs to be physically
7 attacked, even participating in some of the attacks, resulting
8 in bodily injury, death and destruction and theft of property.
9 Defendants, with deliberate indifference and on the basis of
10 race, failed to protect Plaintiffs from repeated criminal acts,
11 failed to equally enforce the laws and branded Plaintiffs with
12 the racial badges of inferiority and slavery in the form of
13 racial epithets. Defendants' failure to prevent or aid in
14 preventing the commission of racial crimes exacerbated the Riot
15 and led to further wrongs against Plaintiffs. Defendants failed
16 to adequately train and supervise those persons it deputized and
17 those persons to whom it issued ammunition during the Riot.
18 Defendants failed to meaningfully investigate and act upon
19 complaints filed by Plaintiffs on the basis of race. Defendants
20 routinely under-investigated, under-responded, undercharged,
21 mishandled and failed to protect Plaintiffs from a series of
22 criminal acts or prosecute those responsible for such acts.
23 Defendants abdicated their responsibility to investigate,
24 develop and charge white citizens with crimes against
25

1
2 Plaintiffs, thereby affirming and jointly participating in
3 racially motivated acts to deprive Plaintiffs of their
4 constitutional and statutory rights. Defendants failed to make
5 whole Plaintiffs by providing restitution and reparations it
6 promised and committed to them.

7 558. Defendants did not treat white citizens in the
8 same or similar manner to Plaintiffs.

9 559. As a consequence of the intentional racially
10 discriminatory acts of Defendants, all of the Plaintiffs were
11 denied the equal protection of the laws and the privileges and
12 immunities of their United States citizenship in violation of
13 the Fourteenth Amendment,¹⁰⁵ and are entitled to damages in an
14 amount to be determined at trial.

15
16 FOURTH CAUSE OF ACTION
FOR VIOLATION OF 42 U.S.C. §1981

17 (Against all Defendants)
18
19

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21 ¹⁰⁵ See, e.g., Clarence Thomas, The Higher Law Background of
22 the Privileges or Immunities Clause, 12 Harv. J.L. & Pub. Pol.
23 63, 68 (1989); Philip B. Kirkland, The Privileges or Immunities
24 Clause: Its Hour Come 'Round at Last, Its Hour Come 'Round at
25 Last? 1972 Washington Univ. L.Q. 405 at 418-420.

1
2 560. Plaintiffs repeat and re-allege the above
3 allegations as if fully set forth herein.

4 561. Defendants deprived all of the Plaintiffs of
5 their "full and equal benefit of all laws and proceedings for
6 the security of persons and property as is enjoyed by white
7 citizens" in violation of 42 U.S.C. §1981, including
8 specifically §1981(c).

9 562. Defendants also denied Plaintiffs the same right
10 to sue, be parties, and give evidence, as is enjoyed by white
11 citizens, in violation of 42 U.S.C. §1981, including
12 specifically §1981(c).

13 563. Defendants specifically targeted Plaintiffs on
14 the basis of their race. This intentional discrimination was
15 accomplished by a longstanding and official policy, practice,
16 custom, habit and usage to deny African Americans their equal
17 rights under the law. This was done in numerous ways, described
18 below.

19 564. Defendants permitted Plaintiffs to be physically
20 attacked, even participating in some of the attacks, resulting
21 in bodily injury, death and destruction and theft of property.
22 Defendants, with deliberate indifference and on the basis of
23 race, failed to protect Plaintiffs from repeated criminal acts,
24 failed to equally enforce the laws and branded Plaintiffs with
25

1
2 the racial badges of inferiority and slavery in the form of
3 racial epithets. Defendants' failure to prevent or aid in
4 preventing the commission of racial crimes exacerbated the Riot
5 and led to further wrongs against Plaintiffs. Defendants failed
6 to adequately train and supervise those persons it deputized and
7 those persons to whom it issued ammunition during the Riot.
8 Defendants failed to meaningfully investigate and act upon
9 complaints filed by Plaintiffs on the basis of race. Defendants
10 routinely under-investigated, under-responded, undercharged,
11 mishandled and failed to protect Plaintiffs from a series of
12 criminal acts or prosecute those responsible for such acts.
13 Defendants abdicated their responsibility to investigate,
14 develop and charge white citizens with crimes against
15 Plaintiffs, thereby affirming and jointly participating in
16 racially motivated acts to deprive Plaintiffs of their
17 constitutional and statutory rights. Defendants failed to make
18 whole Plaintiffs by providing restitution and reparations it
19 promised to them.

20 565. Defendants did not treat white citizens in the
21 same or similar manner to Plaintiffs.

22 566. Consequently, all of Plaintiffs have sustained
23 injuries in an amount to be determined at trial.
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preventing the commission of racial crimes exacerbated the Riot and led to further wrongs against Plaintiffs. Defendants failed to adequately train and supervise those persons it deputized and those persons to whom it issued ammunition during the Riot. Defendants failed to meaningfully investigate and act upon complaints filed by Plaintiffs on the basis of race. Defendants routinely under-investigated, under-responded, undercharged, mishandled and failed to protect Plaintiffs from a series of criminal acts or prosecute those responsible for such acts. Defendants abdicated their responsibility to investigate, develop and charge white citizens with crimes against Plaintiffs, thereby affirming and jointly participating in racially motivated acts to deprive Plaintiffs of their constitutional and statutory rights. Defendants failed to make whole Plaintiffs by providing restitution and reparations it promised to them.

570. Defendants did not treat white citizens in the same or similar manner to Plaintiffs.

571. Consequently, all of the Plaintiffs have sustained injuries and property damage in an amount to be specified at trial.

SIXTH CAUSE OF ACTION
FOR VIOLATION OF 42 U.S.C. §1985

(Against THE CITY OF TULSA, THE CHIEF OF POLICE, THE
TULSA POLICE DEPARTMENT and DOES 1 through 100)

572. Plaintiffs repeat and re-allege the above
allegations as if fully set forth herein.

573. The STATE OF OKLAHOMA and the CITY OF TULSA
conspired to deprive all of the Plaintiffs the equal protection
of the laws and equal privileges and immunities under the laws,
thereby injuring Plaintiffs.

574. In furtherance of this conspiracy, Defendants
adopted official policies, practices, or customs of racial
discrimination, as described in the allegations set forth above,
that injured Plaintiffs in their persons and properties as well
as deprived Plaintiffs of having and exercising the equal
protection of the laws and equal privileges and immunities of a
citizen of the United states, as described herein.

575. Defendants permitted Plaintiffs to be physically
attacked, even participating in some of the attacks, resulting
in bodily injury, death and destruction and theft of property.
Defendants, with deliberate indifference and on the basis of
race, failed to protect Plaintiffs from repeated criminal acts,

1
2 failed to equally enforce the laws and branded Plaintiffs with
3 the racial badges of inferiority and slavery in the form of
4 racial epithets. Defendants' failure to prevent or aid in
5 preventing the commission of racial crimes exacerbated the Riot
6 and led to further wrongs against Plaintiffs. Defendants failed
7 to adequately train and supervise those persons it deputized and
8 those persons to whom it issued ammunition during the Riot.
9 Defendants failed to meaningfully investigate and act upon
10 complaints filed by Plaintiffs on the basis of race. Defendants
11 routinely under-investigated, under-responded, undercharged,
12 mishandled and failed to protect Plaintiffs from a series of
13 criminal acts or prosecute those responsible for such acts.
14 Defendants abdicated their responsibility to investigate,
15 develop and charge white citizens with crimes against
16 Plaintiffs, thereby affirming and jointly participating in
17 racially motivated acts to deprive Plaintiffs of their
18 constitutional and statutory rights. Defendants failed to make
19 whole Plaintiffs by providing restitution and reparations it
20 promised to them.

21 576. As a result of the conspiracy between Defendants,
22 all of the Plaintiffs have sustained injuries and property
23 damage in an amount to be specified at trial.
24
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26

SEVENTH CAUSE OF ACTION
PROMISSORY ESTOPPEL

(Against THE STATE OF OKLAHOMA and THE CITY OF TULSA)

577. Plaintiffs repeat and re-allege the above allegations as if fully set forth herein.

578. Defendants clearly and unambiguously promised to provide restitution and/or reparations to the Plaintiffs for the damage Defendants inflicted during the course of the Riot; Defendants reasonably foresaw that Plaintiffs would rely upon those promises; Plaintiffs did rely upon those promises to their detriment; and the hardship and unfairness suffered by the Plaintiffs may only be avoided by THE STATE OF OKLAHOMA and the CITY OF TULSA restoring the benefits to which the Plaintiffs are due.

1. State of Oklahoma

579. Defendant THE STATE OF OKLAHOMA promised Plaintiffs in 1999 that restitution and/or reparations would be made for damages incurred during the Riot, upon which Plaintiffs reasonably relied to their detriment. Defendants knew that such assertions would result in Plaintiffs' reliance and Plaintiffs did in fact reasonably relied on Defendants' assurances by not filing suit for restitution prior.

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2 580. More specifically, in 1997, pursuant to House
3 Joint Resolution 1035 (1997), the State Legislature commissioned
4 a report from the Commission, funded the Commission, and charged
5 it with conducting an investigation to determine the causes of
6 the Riot, identify those parties responsible for the Riot and
7 the victims, and to make recommendations regarding reparations
8 and restitution.

9 581. House Joint Resolution 1035 (1997) conceded that:

10 "black persons of that era were practically denied
11 equal access to the civil or criminal justice system
12 in order to obtain damages or other relief for the
13 tortious and criminal conduct which had been
14 committed."

15 and that:

16 "the Greenwood community and the residents who lived
17 and worked there were irrevocably damaged by the
18 tortious and criminal conduct that occurred during the
19 Riot; . . . and . . . at the time of the 1921 riot in
20 the City of Tulsa, the Oklahoma Constitution contained
21 provisions, still effective as law, which provided
22 that: 'All persons have the inherent right to life,
23 liberty, the pursuit of happiness, and the enjoyment
24 of the gains of their own industry.' and further that:
25 'the courts of justice of the State shall be open to
26 every person, and speedy and certain remedy afforded
for every wrong and for every injury to person,
property and reputation; and right and justice shall
be administered without sale, denial, delay or
prejudice.'"

27 582. Furthermore, Governor Keating, acting in his
28 official capacity as Governor of the State of Oklahoma, stated

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2 that he "supported direct payments to the 120 survivors of the
3 bloody riots if the report contained persuasive evidence of
4 state culpability."¹⁰⁶ Governor Keating admitted that
5 "Compensation for direct loss occasioned by direct state or city
6 action is not inappropriate But it has to be shown that
7 there was real harm to existing, living individuals and that
8 direct action by the city and the state caused the harm"¹⁰⁷
9 Clearly, the Commission Report demonstrates such harm.

10 583. The Oklahoma State Legislature empowered the
11 Commission to redress these wrongs, and it was foreseeable that
12 Plaintiffs would rely upon the recommendations contained within
13 the Commission's Report.

14 584. Furthermore, the Oklahoma State Legislature, in
15 adopting and implementing the Commission's findings and
16 recommendations by creating The Tulsa Reconciliation Education
17 and Scholarship Program¹⁰⁸ and the Tulsa Riot Memorial of
18 Reconciliation,¹⁰⁹ induced reliance by the Plaintiffs, since these
19 measures provide the injunctive relief recommended by the
20

21
22 ¹⁰⁶. Lois Romano, No Vow to Make Amends for Tulsa; Legislators'
Sidestepping Disappoints Survivors of 1921 Race Riot, The
Washington Post, Thursday, March 1, 2001 Section A.

23 ¹⁰⁷. Lois Romano, Tulsa Airs a Race Riot's Legacy; State
Historical Panel's Call for Restitution Spurs a Debate, The
24 Washington Post, Wednesday, January 19, 2000, at Section A.

25 ¹⁰⁸. See 70 Okl. St. Ann. §2621 (West 2002).

¹⁰⁹. See id. at §8201.1.

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Commission, creating the expectation that monetary relief would be forthcoming.

585. Plaintiffs have indeed relied to their detriment upon Defendant's promises by foregoing other means of compensation in the justified expectation that the State would compensate them for the Riot.

586. Plaintiffs may only be avoiding the unfairness and hardship resulting from Defendant's behavior by receiving the compensation promised by the State Of Oklahoma in 1997 and 1999.

2. City of Tulsa

587. Defendant the CITY OF TULSA promised Plaintiffs both in 1921 and 1999 that restitution would be made for damages incurred during the Riot, upon which Plaintiffs reasonably relied to their detriment. Defendant knew that such assertions would result in Plaintiffs' reliance.

588. Specifically, the City stated that a claims commission would compensate the victims of the Riot, thereby inducing them not to file suit. In particular, the Tulsa Chamber of Commerce stated that as "quickly as possible rehabilitation will take place and reparation made

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2 Tulsa feels intensely humiliated."¹¹⁰ In the June 15, 1921 issue
3 of the Nation, the Chair of the Emergency Committee stated that
4 "Tulsa weeps at this unspeakable crime and will make good the
5 damage, so far as it can be done, to the last penny."

6 Additionally, the City discouraged fundraising efforts that had
7 begun across the country and interfered with efforts by the
8 Plaintiffs to rebuild their community.

9 589. Plaintiffs did in fact reasonably relied on
10 Defendants' assurances by not filing suit for restitution prior
11 to the commencement of this lawsuit. Plaintiffs and their
12 families did not file lawsuits in the belief that the CITY OF
13 TULSA would compensate them for damages suffered during the
14 Riot. In reliance on this promise, Plaintiffs lost their
15 opportunity to seek the damages incurred by the Riot.

16
17 EIGHTH CAUSE OF ACTION
NEGLIGENCE

18 (Against the STATE OF OKLAHOMA, CITY OF TULSA, THE
19 CHIEF OF POLICE, and THE TULSA POLICE DEPARTMENT)

20 590. Plaintiffs repeat and re-allege the above
21 allegations as if fully set forth herein.

22
23
24 ¹¹⁰ Alfred Brophy, Reconstructing the Dreamland : The Tulsa
25 Riot of 1921 107 (2002).

1
2 591. Defendants breached their duty to Plaintiffs by,
3 in the course of their employment, negligently deputizing and
4 issuing ammunition and guns to persons they knew or should have
5 known posed a danger to the African American community of
6 Greenwood.

7 592. Defendants failed to adequately train and
8 supervise those persons it deputized and those persons to whom
9 it issued guns and ammunition.

10 593. Defendants breached their duty to Plaintiffs by
11 failing to adequately train and supervise the National Guardsmen
12 and members of the police who were called to duty during the
13 Riot and who (a) deputized white citizens of Tulsa who were
14 clearly inebriated or who they knew or should have known posed a
15 danger to the African American community; (b) aided and abetted
16 the attacks on Plaintiffs; (c) encouraged and condoned the
17 attacks upon Plaintiffs and (d) participated in the attacks upon
18 Plaintiffs.

19 594. As a direct and proximate result of Defendants'
20 negligence, all of the Plaintiffs have sustained injuries and
21 property damages in an amount to be specified at trial.

1
2 PRAYER FOR RELIEF

3 WHEREFORE, Plaintiffs pray for relief from Defendants
4 as follows:

5 i. For general and specific damages according to
6 proof;

7 ii. For the amount of attorney's fees and related
8 legal expenses incurred by Plaintiffs in pursuit of the benefits
9 to which they are entitled;


10 iii. For exemplary and punitive damages in an amount
11 sufficient to punish Defendants the STATE OF OKLAHOMA, THE CITY
12 OF TULSA, the TULSA CHIEF OF POLICE, and the TULSA POLICE
13 DEPARTMENT for their reprehensible behavior;

14 iv. For pre-judgment interest;

15 v. For such other and further relief, including
16 injunctive and declaratory relief, that the Court
17 deems just and appropriate.

18
19 Plaintiffs request a jury trial.

20 DATED: APRIL 28, 2003

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24 James O. Goodwin, OBA #3458
25 Goodwin & Goodwin
26 P.O. Box 3257
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The Greenwood Plan: Reparations for the Greenwood Holocaust



By:

Damarion Solomon Simmons

Note:

I use a capital 'B' when referring to Black people. The word black is a descriptive word describing a color. It is also viewed as a political and cultural term describing my people's heritage and ethnicity.

In spelling Afrikan I use a 'k' rather than a 'c' because the 'k' represents an acknowledgment that 'Africa' is not the original or true name of the motherland. Thus, when I speak of Afrika, I'm bringing an Afrikan-centered view to my meaning.

Introduction

It is commonly known the history of African Americans is one of tremendous pain and unbelievable resilience; Afrikan-Americans toiled 310 years under chattel slavery, 1555-1865, the deadliest and inhumane period in the Common Era.¹ In addition, the subsequent 138 years since escaping the chains of slavery, the almost equally oppressive shackles of Black Codes, Sharecropping, Peonage Farming, Jim Crowism, Lynching, Poll taxes, Grandfather Clauses, Police Brutality, Red Lining and other oppressive schemes greatly impeded the development of the Afrikan-American community.² Thus, today the Black community still suffers from numerous ills, evidenced by the tragedy of more Black men in prison than in college³, the continued proliferation of police brutality and racial profiling⁴, fierce attacks on moderately successful affirmative actions programs, character assassinations of outspoken African-American leaders⁵, and the numerous governmental social-economic statistics chronicling the hardship of Black America.⁶

¹ See John Henrik Clark, *Christopher Columbus & the Afrikan Holocaust*, at 23-30 (2002).

² Stenson Kennedy, *After Appomattox: How The South Won The War*, (1995).

³ See Janet Poe, *Attracting BMOC --- black men on campus*, *The Atlanta Journal and Constitution*, Fri, Oct. 22, 2002

⁴ See Obie Patterson, *Before lifting moratorium, end disparity*, *The Baltimore Sun*, Dec. 12, 2002.

⁵ For example, the Center for Individual Rights ("CIR") in 1996 successfully argued for the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals to eliminate the use of racial preferences by state funded institutions of higher education. See *Hopwood v. Texas*, 95 F.3d 53 (1996). Moreover, In accordance with their systematic attempt to dismantle the moderate gains won by Blacks, in the fall of 1997, the Center for Individual Rights filed two cases ("CIR") *Grutter v. Bollinger* and *Gratz v. Bollinger* — challenging race-based admissions at the University of Michigan's Law School and College of Literature, Science, and the Arts respectively. CIR website highlighted Time Magazine's article "dubbed 'Affirmative Action's Alamo', The two cases reflect the national debate over racial preferences in university admissions. The oft-repeated prediction that the future of race-based admissions will rise or fall on the outcome of these cases has become reality now that the

However, it is undeniable that Afrikan-Americans have overcome many hurdles, shattered numerous barriers, and set countless precedents on the way to freedom, justice, and equality here in the United States. Yet, under current conditions will Afrikan-Americans ever be able to create modern, prosperous, successful communities---models that Afrikan people throughout the world look to with pride and admiration---with first-rate Black medical doctors and surgeons practicing in state-of-the art Black owned hospitals; wealthy Black attorneys working tirelessly to fight for Afrikan descendants' civil and human rights; great Black educators and other role-models providing our children first-class instruction; daily Black newspapers uncompromisingly providing news from a Black perspective; Black banks with asset levels comparable to their White counterparts; 5 star hotels rivaling the most popular hotels in the country; average families living comfortably in modern houses with all available amenities; the dollar circulating 30-65 times before leaving the community; and popular venues at which entertainers must perform before claiming stardom.

Only time will tell if such a "dreamland" can emerge out of the current crisis in Black America. Meanwhile most are completely unaware that not long ago, such a model did exist in Tulsa, Oklahoma. What would Black Tulsa Oklahoma be today if it had been allowed to flourish? Just imagine ads in today's newspapers about the extravagant Black owned Stradford hotel:

Supreme Court will decide *Gratz* and *Grutter* in the spring of 2003. See http://www.cir-usa.org/recent_cases/michigan.html (last visited Mar. 31, 2003).

⁶ According to Dr. Claud Anderson Afrikan-Americans occupy the lowest position in America in every political, social, and economical statistical category. Anderson explains himself further when he states "the masses of Black people are either under employed, unemployed, or underpaid." See Claud Anderson, *Black Labor, White Wealth*, at 189 (1994).

The Stradford Hotel, the largest Black owned hotel chain in the world, invites all former and current residents of Tulsa, Oklahoma to come celebrate 80 years of high class lodging at one of our 550 locations worldwide and receive a free night in one of our luxurious suites. Since our humble beginnings as the “finest” hotel in Tulsa, Oklahoma, we have delivered the best in hotel lodging, dining, and hospitality. Now we want to share our success with the residents of the city that made it all possible by supporting the very first Stradford which is still located at 1212 North Greenwood in the historic Greenwood business of Tulsa.

Unfortunately, before the plush Stradford Hotel could reach its full potential, it and hundreds of other bustling businesses in the Black Greenwood District of north Tulsa, were burned to the ground during the worst acts of domestic terrorism in United States history—the little known Greenwood Holocaust. This inhuman act of terror, wrongly termed a “race riot” unjustly robbed thousands of Afrikan-Americans of their rightful inheritance and the potential for a prosperous future by destroying the wealthiest and most organized African American community in the 20th century. This monstrous crime also thwarted the re-creation of another economically viable community. “Greenwood” or “Black Wall Street” flourished from the early 1900s until June 1, 1921.⁷ On that infamous day, eighty two years ago, the Black citizens of north Tulsa experienced an event comparable to the September 11, 2001 tragedies. Yet, unlike the tremendous worldwide outrage and commitment to help the victims of September 11, 2001, the innocent victims of the so-called “Tulsa Race Riot” have only recently received any acknowledgement of this crime against humanity, and have never received one penny to compensate them for their losses.⁸

⁷ See Scott Ellsworth, *Death in a Promise Land: The Tulsa Race Riot of 1921* at 14-16 (1992).

⁸ Instead the state government has only awarded each survivor a gold-plated medal bearing the state seal. Yet, imagine the outrage if the current

Imagine walking out of your front door and seeing 1,500 homes and businesses burning; your neighbors' bodies littering the streets; airplanes flying above shooting at you; and to add insult to injury, angry white gangs cloaked in police and army uniforms committing these acts of violence against you. This is what the residents of Black Wall Street, (the name fittingly given to the most affluent all-Black community in the history of the United States), encountered on June 1, 1921.⁹ On that terrible day, mobs of angry, envious, Whites under the protection of city and state law pillaged and destroyed the all-Black community.¹⁰ Furthermore, after committing these awful acts, the city and state officials, who condoned this violence, instituted a shameful cover-up so successful that the horrors of the Greenwood Holocaust were effectively blotted out of history.¹¹ Yet, thanks to a few dedicated historians, politicians, and community activists, the long overdue story of how Black Wall Street was unjustly destroyed has recently received the attention it is due.¹² However, although the story was

administration only offered the victims and survivors of September 11 medals of valor. This type of patronage begs the question "what is Black life, property, and suffering worth in this country?" See Thomas J. Sugrue, *Terror in the Streets*, Wash. Post, Mar. 10, 2002, at T05.

⁹ See Ellsworth, *supra* note 7.

¹⁰ See Alfred L. Brophy, *Reconstructing the Dreamland: The Tulsa Riot of 1921 at 55-60* (2002).

¹¹ See John Hope Franklin & Scott Ellsworth, *Final Report of the Oklahoma Commission to Study the Tulsa Race Riot of 1921, History Knows No Fences: An Overview*, at <http://www.tulsareparations.org/Historynofences.htm> (last visited Feb. 14, 2003).

¹² Special tribute to but certainly not limited to: 1) North Tulsa/Greenwood State Rep. Don Ross for continuously pushing to have the Greenwood Holocaust examined by the state, 2) Educator/Author/Community Activist, and Greenwood native Dorothy Moses Dewitty for her book *Tulsa: Tale of Two Cities*, 3) Law Professor/Author Al Brophy for writing *Reconstructing the Dreamland: The Tulsa Riot of 1921*, 4) Historian/Author Scott Ellsworth for his book *Death in a Promise Land: The Tulsa Race Riot of 1921*, 5) 'America's Historian' and Greenwood native Dr. John Hope Franklin, 6) Historian and Greenwood native Eddie Faye

unearthed there are still vast amounts of important information about the Greenwood community and the events that destroyed it that must be told.

This paper will accomplish the following: 1) prove that describing the Greenwood massacre, as a “race riot” is erroneous; because the White citizens of Tulsa plotted to destroy the Black community of Greenwood, and through unprecedented urban warfare, White Tulsans, accomplished their mission. As a result, it is more accurate to refer to this incident, not as the “Tulsa Race Riot” but as the “Greenwood Holocaust”, because thousands of guilty Whites intentionally executed an unprecedented war on the Black citizens of Greenwood that led to the total destruction of the community; 2) to present a comprehensive reparations plan to compensate the victims and their descendents for the destruction to Greenwood and its Black citizens; and 3) to present a strategy for adopting this reparations plan for the victims of this horrible crime.

To support these three main points this article will: 1) briefly re-create the history of Black Oklahoma and describe why the unique circumstances of Black Oklahoma produced a Black paradise; 2) briefly describe the demographics of Greenwood at its heyday and the community’s potential had its future not been thwarted; 3) present a compelling case for real and substantive reparations for the horrendous and lasting harm done to the innocent victims of north Tulsa/Greenwood; 4) demonstrate the call for reparations does not and cannot

Gates and her book Tulsa Riot, 7) Attorney/Author Hannibal B. Johnson and his book Black Wallstreet, 8) Author/Filmmaker and Greenwood native Ron Wallace and his book and Educator R. Halliburton, Jr. and his book The Tulsa Race War of 1921. Of course there are many, many others who valiantly kept the memory of the Greenwood Holocaust alive. Without question, those unsung heroes also deserve great appreciation and thanks.

equate an impartial dollar amount for the loss of life and property, but that it should encourage social responsibility for the injustice that occurred; and 5) show that there are strong precedents for reparations for criminal acts similar to those committed against the citizens of Greenwood.

I. Historical Background

A. *The African's Fight for True Freedom in America*

It is undeniable that for the greater part of this country's history the view that "the Black Man has no rights that a white man has to respect" was not only an opinion held by most whites, it was the basis for a United States Supreme Court decision.¹³ Thus, since their illegal kidnapping and forced "immigration" to this country, Afrikan-Americans have had to struggle mightily just for basic human rights and the necessities of life.¹⁴ Thus, it is imperative that a brief description is provided of the historical conditions that created the atmosphere and circumstances under which the affluent Greenwood district was created and, sadly, eventually destroyed.

After President Lincoln, portrayed as a great humanitarian and emancipator, signed the Emancipation Proclamation¹⁵, the chains of physical

¹³ Supreme Court Chief Justice Roger Taney declared that under the Declaration of Independence and the United States Constitution a **black man "has no rights which the white man was bound to respect."** See *Dred Scott v. Sandford*, 60 U.S. 393, 407, (1857).

¹⁴ See Kenneth M. Stamp, *The Peculiar Institution: Slavery in the Ante-Bellum South*, (1956).

¹⁵ Many believe that Lincoln receives far too much recognition as a humanitarian because he readily conveyed indifference about Africans. For example, Lincoln is quoted as saying "I am not, nor ever have been in favor of bringing about the social and political equality of white and black races...that I am not nor ever have been in favor of making voters or jurors of Negroes." So, although it is irrefutable that through Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation Afrikan people received "freedom", it is inaccurate to portray a man not in "favor of bringing about social and political equality of white and black races" as a humanitarian. See James Loewen, *Lies My Teacher Told Me: Everything Your American History Textbook Got Wrong* at 155 and 181 (1996).

slavery were outlawed in the United States. With the full force of the Emancipation Proclamation and later enactments of the 13, 14, & 15 amendments (the three so-called “Black Amendments”) Afrikan-Americans struggled to obtain some form of physical freedom.¹⁶ However, after the 1876 presidential compromise, the moderately successful Freedman’s Bureau and the “Reconstruction” era prematurely ended.¹⁷ A new system of oppression was institutionalized shortly thereafter, through Black codes¹⁸, lynchings¹⁹, sharecropping²⁰, and other oppressive laws that continually impeded the progress of Afrikan people in America. Afrikans quickly understood that “paper freedom” would not deliver true freedom—political autonomy, real economic development, unfettered cultural expression, and germane spiritual expression—that they longed for while toiling under the brutal yoke of the Anglo-American

¹⁶ Although the physical chains were removed, there was still bondage with the advent of sharecropping, peonage farming, and other restrictive and oppressive tactics employed by those in opposition to Afrikan freedom. The restrictions and frustrations that accompanied chattel slavery basically just changed forms, and remained a sad reality for the masses of Afrikan-Americans. See John Hope Franklin & Alfred A. Moss, *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of African Americans*, (1994 7th edition).

¹⁷ See Dr. W.E.B. Dubois, *Black Reconstruction An Essay Toward a History of the Part Which Black Folk Played in the Attempt to Reconstruct Democracy in America, 1860-1880*, at 602-612 (1935).

¹⁸Black Codes were laws that categorically denied the rights of Afrikan-Americans during the early years after the formal ending of chattel slavery. See Kwame Anthony Appiah & Henry Louis, Jr. Gates, *Africana: The Encyclopedia of the African and African American Experience*, at 249 (1999).

¹⁹ Lynchings were illegal and often gruesome mob executions, usually by hanging. Often the Black victim was tortured and mutilated before death See *Id* at 1211.

²⁰ Sharecropping was when Black “workers” lived and worked on the land of a White landowner, often their former master, using the tools and other necessities provided on credit by the landowner. In return the worker was required to pay the landowner a portion of the crop produced “at year’s end, however, records would be produced purporting to show that the cropper had little or nothing coming to him.” See Kennedy, *supra* note 2, at 41.

White man.²¹ For example, in 1865 when quizzed by the famous General William Sherman about the prospects of Afrikan progress in the midst of blistering White Supremacy²² and oppression, without hesitation, a prominent group of Black leaders unanimously expressed their unwavering belief that only in separate enclaves could Afrikans achieve their proper educational, political, social, economical, mental, spiritual, and emotional potential as free Afrikans with a very distinct and unique culture.²³ Moreover, General Carl Schurz, special investigator for President Andrew Johnson, provided the reasoning for the Black leader's feelings when Schurz reported in 1868:

Some planters held back their former slaves on their plantations by brute force. Armed bands of white men patrolled the country roads to drive back Negroes wandering the highways and by-ways. Gruesome reports came from the hospitals—reports of colored men and women whose arms had been cut off, whose skulls had been broken by blows, whose bodies had been slashed by knives or lacerated with scourges. A number of such cases I had occasioned to examine myself. A reign of terror prevailed in many parts of the South.²⁴

The thirst for “true freedom” drove Afrikans to frantically search for a safe environment; an environment conducive to producing whole, sane, healthy, and prosperous people with unabridged opportunities to grow and develop into productive human beings. To be truly liberated, Afrikans in America realized they needed their own land. They became painfully aware that “the German and English and French Serf, the Italian and Russian Serf, were, at emancipation, given definite rights to the land. Yet the American Negro Slave was emancipated

²¹ See *Plessey v Ferguson*, 163 U.S. 537 (1896). In this case the majority upheld state-imposed racial segregation.

²² A doctrine based on a belief in the inherent superiority of the White race over the Black race and the correlative necessity for the subordination of blacks to whites in all relationships. See <http://www.webster.com/cgi-bin/dictionary> (last visited Feb 15, 2003).

²³ See Hannibal Johnson, *Acres of Aspirations*, at 14 (2002).

²⁴ See *Id.* at 16.

without the same rights and in the end this spelled for him the continuation of slavery.”²⁵ This noble quest, for a land to live free in name and in fact, spanned the entire nation...indeed the entire world.²⁶

B. The Dream of a Black State. Was Oklahoma the “Promise Land”?

The new “Americans” suffered the brunt of so much hostility that it is not surprising that, “Black folk were always on the move, throwing off oppression like stifling clothes and inhabiting new lands with old hopes of freedom.”²⁷ Therefore, Afrikans in America vehemently searched and even lobbied the United States government for a place to live their lives away from the hell of oppression.²⁸ These efforts went on for many years.²⁹ The search took Afrikans to Kansas, Canada, Mexico, and even back home to Afrika.³⁰ However, many freedom thirsty Afrikans viewed Oklahoma, then known as Indian Territory, as the perfect and most sensible place for Afrikan people to start their new lives.³¹ To this end, many Afrikans touting Oklahoma as the “promise land,” and individual and organizational movements sprang up all over the country.³² For instance, the

²⁵ See Dubois, *supra* note 17, at 602, 611.

²⁶ See Martin Delaney, *Emigration of the Colored People of the United States*, <http://www.libraries.wvu.edu/delany/emigrate.htm> (last visited Feb. 15, 2003).

²⁷ See Michael Eric Dyson, *Introduction to Acres of Aspirations*, Hannibal Johnson, at vi (2002).

²⁸ See Johnson, *supra* note 23, at 28.

²⁹ Indeed this effort is still ongoing. Many Blacks feel this country will never treat its former slaves equally and without restraint. There is a substantial movement for repatriation to Afrika or the creation of a homeland. Those advocates point to Israel as precedent. See Republic of New Afrika Philosophy, <http://www.asetbooks.com/Us/Nationhood/RNA/Philosophy.html> (last visited Feb. 15, 2003).

³⁰ See Franklin & Moss, *supra* note 16, at 235, 278-79, 384-385, 340-41, 105-111.

³¹ See Johnson, *supra* note 23, at 38.

³² See *Id.* at 29.

Freedman's Oklahoma Immigration Association was formed on March 15, 1881 with for the sole purpose of re-settling Afrikans in Oklahoma.³³ One proponent, the Honorable Edward P. McCabe, widely considered the father of America's all-Black town movement, even traveled to Washington D.C. to meet with President Benjamin Harrison to lobby for Oklahoma to be admitted as a "Black State."³⁴ In addition, those ambitious Afrikans calling for a "Black state" even inspired New Hampshire Senator Henry W. Blair to introduce a bill favoring Oklahoma's admission to the Union as a Black State.³⁵

Clearly the Black State aspirants were soundly defeated.³⁶ Yet, Oklahoma became and still is home to the most all-Black towns in this nation's history.³⁷ This comes as no surprise when one understands the thinking of the Afrikans

³³ See *Id.* at 38.

³⁴ Perhaps the strongest supporter of Oklahoma as a Black State, McCabe also founded the all-Black town of Langston, Oklahoma and all-Black Langston University. Langston University is the only all-Black college in Oklahoma and only Black College west of the Mississippi. See *Id.* at 29.

³⁵ See *Id.* at 29.

³⁶ The United States promised Native Americans "the lands [Oklahoma] set aside for them would in no future time without their consent, be included within the territorial limits or jurisdiction of any State or Territory." See Treaty with the Cherokee, Dec. 29, 1835, U.S.-Cherokee, art. 5, 7 Stat. 478, 481.

³⁷ Between 1865 and 1915, approximately 60 Black Towns were settled in the United States, with more than one-third settling in Oklahoma which by far led all other states. See <http://www.tulsalibrary.com/collections/aarc/towns.htm> (last visited Feb. 22, 2003). "In these towns African Americans lived free from the prejudices and brutality found in other racially mixed communities of the Midwest and the South. African Americans in Oklahoma and Indian Territories would create their own communities for many reasons. Escape from discrimination and abuse would be an important driving factor. All-Black settlements offered the advantage of being able to depend on neighbors for financial assistance and access markets for crops. Arthur Tolson, a pioneering historian of Blacks in Oklahoma, asserts that many African Americans turned to 'ideologies of economic advancement, self-help, and racial solidarity'." See also, <http://www.ok-history.mus.ok.us/enc/allblack.htm> (Last visited February 23, 2003).

who came to Oklahoma. William H. Twine, writing in 1905 as the editor of the *Muskogee Cimeter*, best sums up the attitudes of those courageous Afrikans:

Some of us have made our last move and we propose to stand our ground where we have our homes and our investments until hell freezes over and then fight the devils on ice...the Indian Territory is the last stand the Negro of America can make as pioneer and we propose to let it go down in history that the stand was made here.³⁸

Thus, the success of the record number of all-Black towns that sprang up all over Oklahoma and their continuing existence is a testament to the freedom chasing spirit of those mighty Afrikans like Twine.³⁹ This freedom loving spirit and willingness to fight to achieve it produced a number of Black pioneers from Oklahoma such as: 1) Ada Lois Sipuel Fisher who in 1948 successfully sued the University of Oklahoma to admit her into their law school;⁴⁰ 2) Ralph Ellison who so profoundly detailed the agony of being a Black man in America in his novel, "Invisible Man;" that purportedly "no...American writer has received as much critical acclaim and as many honors for such a small body of work"⁴¹; 3) Cow Tom a former Creek slave who became the first full-blooded Afrikan to become chief of a Native American nation (Creek),⁴² and while serving as chief negotiated

³⁸ See Jonathan Greenberg, *Staking a Claim: Jake Simmons, Jr and the Making of An African-American Oil Empire*, at 61 (1990).

³⁹ An example of the resilience of these special people is the all-Black town of Boley. Although far from its heyday of 1914 when the all-Black citizens of Boley possessed a \$150,000 high school, cement sidewalks, beautiful residences, an electric power plant and waterworks, a bank, telephone system, three cotton gins, and eighty other business ventures. Boley is still a source of pride to Afrikans in Oklahoma. For instance, the world famous Boley Rodeo started in 1904, draws thousands to descend on the town and rehash memories from generations past. See Appiah & Gates, *supra* note 10, at 550.

⁴⁰ See *Sipuel v. Board of Regents*, 332 U.S. 631 (1947).

⁴¹ Donald B. Gibson, Ralph Waldo Ellison, *Encyclopedia of American Biography*, 331, 332 (John A. Garraty ed., 1974).

⁴² John K. Mahon, *History of the Second Seminole War*, at 91 (1967).

the Creek Treaty of 1866 which ended slavery for Afrikans held as Creek laves;⁴³ 4) Jake Simmons, Jr. (Cow Tom's great-grandson) the most important Black man in the history of the Oil Industry;⁴⁴ 5) Honorable Roscoe Dunjee who in 1958 contrary to popular belief "conducted the nation's first sit-in [boycott]" in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.⁴⁵; and 6) Langston University, geographically the western-most historically Black College or University (HBCU), which has educated thousands of Black students.⁴⁶ Indeed the small of state of Oklahoma has produced some heavyweight contributors to the Afrikan American community.

C. Oklahoma...A Dream Deferred

Sadly and cruelly the State's first legislative convention sought to quickly and decisively dispel any thought of Oklahoma offering special opportunities or

⁴³ The legislation ending Creek slavery read as follows "As there are among the Creeks many persons of African descent, who have no interest in the soil, it is stipulated that hereafter these persons...and their descendants...shall have and enjoy all the rights and privileges of native citizens, including an equal interest in soil and national funds." See http://digital.library.okstate.edu/kappler/Vol2/treaties/cre0931.htm#slavery_nor (last visited Feb. 15, 2003).

⁴⁴ Simmons "believed in capitalism and the opportunities of the American system, and was determined to make those opportunities exist for himself and those of his race." Credited with single-handedly helping newly freed Afrikan nations exploit their own resources for the good of their people, Simmons "was a frenetic intermediary, setting up huge deals between huge multinationals like Phillips Petroleum, Texaco, and Signal, and top government official from Nigeria, Ghana, Liberia, and the Ivory Coast. He worked for big oil and he worked for big government, but he let everyone know that in the end he worked for Jake Simmons." See Greenberg, *supra* note 38, at 9-10.

⁴⁵ Through his newspaper, The Black Dispatch, Dunjee was also integral in the passing the Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill that passed the U.S. House of Representatives, and set up the first NAACP chapter west of Mississippi in Oklahoma City. See Currie Ballard, *Moral Giants Among Midgets*, The Daily Oklahoman, Aug. 31, 2001.

⁴⁶ See Zelia J. Black Patterson, *Langston University: A History*, (1979).

freedoms for Afrikans. For example, the chairman of Oklahoma's Constitution Convention, William H. Murrah argued, "we must provide the means for the advancement of the Negro race, and accept him as God gave him to us...he must be taught in line of his own sphere, as porters, boot-blacks, and barbers...it is an entirely false notion that the Negro can rise to the equal of a white man in professions or become an equal citizen to grapple with public questions."⁴⁷ Therefore, the convention overwhelmingly voted to copy and implement many racist and oppressive "Jim Crow" Laws. Moreover, upon achieving statehood in 1907, the very first order of business for Oklahoma's newly elected senate was to make segregation the law of the state.⁴⁸

Unfortunately, Oklahoma not only failed to come into the union as a Black State, but it also succumbed to the disease of racism and White supremacy that ravaged the rest of the country. Nonetheless, the foundation for Afrikan success, empowerment, and self-determination already well-laid and entrenched due to the thousands of freedom-seeking Afrikans who settled in Oklahoma for the sole purpose of escaping the prohibitions of white racism in order to build a better life. Accordingly, it should not have come to anyone's surprise that the "Mecca" of Black success, wealth, and excellence would be born in Oklahoma—Greenwood, Oklahoma

⁴⁷ See Johnson, *supra* note 23, at 63.

⁴⁸ See *Id.* at 18.

II. Black Wall Street

A. *The Magnificence of Greenwood*

Contemporary social commentary provided by Dr. W.E.B. Dubois described the community known as Black Wall Street thusly “I have never seen a colored community so highly organized as that of Tulsa. The colored people of Tulsa have accumulated property, have established stores and business organizations and have made money in oil.”⁴⁹ Although Greenwood was not officially a sovereign state or even its own municipality, for all practical purposes it functioned just like an independent community. The racist laws in the state of Oklahoma prevented Greenwood residents from participating in the Tulsa city government. So, the residents of Greenwood basically ran their part of town as a separate entity, and when asked, many identified their hometown as Greenwood, not Tulsa. Because all of life’s necessities for Greenwood residents were within the geographic boundaries of their community, it is reported that most “Greenwood residents did not have any reason to leave the community for anything but shoes.”⁵⁰

So what was Greenwood like? Long time Greenwood historian Scott Ellsworth describing what Greenwood’s business district and neighborhoods was like before the massacre wrote:

The Black population had grown to almost 11,000 and the community counted two Black schools, Dunbar and Booker T. Washington⁵¹, one Black Hospital⁵²,

⁴⁹ See The Daily Oklahoman, June 2, 1921,

⁵⁰ See Interview with Keith Jemison, Librarian, Freddie Martin Rudisil Regional Library, in North Tulsa, OK. (Dec. 22, 2002).

⁵¹ My beloved alma mater had a curriculum in 1921 that would stand out even by today’s standards for best high schools in the nation. Freshman Class—Latin, English, Algebra, Drawing, Domestic Science and Art, Manual Training, Ancient History, Vocal Music. Sophomore Class—Latin, English, Geometry Solid,

and two Black newspapers, *The Tulsa Star* and the *Oklahoma Sun*. Black Tulsa[Greenwood] at the time had some thirteen churches and three fraternal lodges—Masonic, Knights of Pythias, and I.O.O.F.—plus two Black [movie] theaters⁵³ and a Black public library...two and three-story brick buildings lined the avenue, housing a variety of commercial establishments, including a dry goods store, groceries, confectionaries, restaurants, and billiard halls...offices of Tulsa's unusually large number of Black lawyers, doctors, and other professionals...along Detroit Avenue and certain other streets were the neat, sturdy homes of some of those Black Tulsans who owned businesses lining Greenwood avenue, augmented by the houses of the city's Black professional class. Within this elite group, some were rumored to have assets in excess of \$100,000.⁵⁴

Greenwood was so economically self-sufficient; purportedly the dollar circulated around fifty times sometimes taking a year for currency to leave the community.⁵⁵ So, it is not hard to see why “the Greenwood district, drew an array of nationally prominent African-Americans to Tulsa...entertainers, dignitaries, and notables throughout the country visited frequently...such as Mary McCloud Bethune-Cookman⁵⁶, Dr. George Washington Carver⁵⁷, Marion

Drawing, Medieval and Modern History, Economics, Music, Domestic Science, and Manual Training. Junior Class—English, Algebra, Commercial Arithmetic, Drawing, Manual Training, Business Spelling, Chemistry, English History, Civics, Domestic Art, Domestic Science, Vocal Music. Senior Class—English, Physics, Geometry Solid, Typewriting, Vocal Music, Domestic Science, Manual Training, American History, Psychology, Trigonometry Plain, Book Keeping, Drawing, Domestic Art, and Shorthand. In addition, all classes had to participate in some form of athletics. See Johnson, *supra* note 21, at 63.

⁵² Currently there are no hospitals to serve the majority Black residents of North Tulsa/Greenwood; while there are 6 conveniently located hospitals to serve the majority White residents of South Tulsa. See <http://www.tulsa.com/localinfo/aroundtown/hospitals.asp> (last visited Feb. 15, 2003).

⁵³ Currently, there are no theaters in North Tulsa/Greenwood while there are 15 conveniently located theaters to serve the predominately White residents of South Tulsa. See <http://www.tulsa.com/localinfo/aroundtown/theaters.asp> (last visited Feb 15, 2003).

⁵⁴ See Ellsworth, *supra* note 8, at 14-16.

⁵⁵ See Ron Wallace, *Black Wallstreet*, <http://www.daveyd.com/blackwallpolitic.html>. (last visited Feb. 15, 2003).

⁵⁶ Mary Jane McLeod Bethune became the first Black woman in the United States to establish a school that became Bethune-Cookman, a four-year accredited college. See Appiah & Gates, *supra* note 10, at 229.

Anderson⁵⁸, and Dr. W.E.B. Dubois.⁵⁹ Truly, for these and other famous and successful African Americans, a sojourn to this “promise land” was like a Muslim pilgrimage to Mecca...a must!⁶⁰



Greenwood District prior to the riot

⁵⁷ Dr. George Washington Carver (1864–1943), was a world-renowned scientist who saved the southern economy by developing hundreds of products that were made from peanuts, sweet potatoes, and soybeans. See Appiah & Gates, *supra* note 10, at 389.

⁵⁸ Anderson is considered by many as the greatest African- American (if not just the greatest) opera singer of all-time. See Appiah & Gates, *supra* note 18 at 101.

⁵⁹ W.E.B. Dubois was a famous political and human rights activist who was the first African-American to receive a Ph.D. from Harvard in 1895, and considered by many as the leading intellectual of his time. See Appiah & Gates, *supra* note 18, at 635.

⁶⁰ See Hannibal Johnson, *Black Wall Street: From Riot to Renaissance in Tulsa's Historic Greenwood District*, at 18 (1998).

III. Riot...What Riot?

A. *The Power of Phraseology.*

The use of specialty words and phrases to define reality has become both an art form and big business in America. This art form, called Phraseology “is the choice of words and the way in which they are used.”; it has become both an art form and big business in world⁶¹ For example, if nation A is violently fighting for a “liberation” from Nation B, and they take their case to the United Nations for a decision to settle their dispute. Nation A will invariably phrase the nature of their actions as that of “freedom fighters” who are engaged in a military or paramilitary liberation war which is just for the (re)-establishment of traditional moral, cultural and religious values.”⁶² Nation B will invariably label Groups A as “...terrorists who kill and main innocent men, woman, and children.”⁶³ The United Nations and world opinion will sway towards the nation best able to persuade the observer that their phraseology is the correct way to interpret the disputed actions. The nation that wins the phraseology war will receive the blessing of the world which just might be the weapon needed to crush the other side.

B. *What does this have to do with Greenwood?*

That is why it is of the utmost importance that we are mindful of how May 31/June 1, 1921 is recorded in history; the characterization of the historical events of those infamous hours ultimately determines the level of recognition and understanding the so-called Tulsa Race Riot receives. For without the proper

⁶¹ See *Roget's II: The New Thesaurus, 1190 (3^d ed. 1995).*

⁶² See Patrick Marshall, *The Extradition Treaties Built Danger*, Chicago Tribune, July 24th 1986.

⁶³ See *Id.*

phraseology, the full extent of what happened in Tulsa could be forever minimized. In addition, (and most important to this discussion) the proper characterization of the catastrophic events of June 1st, 1921 will have a direct impact on the outcome of the reparations movement as it relates to the Greenwood holocaust.

The general public and those controlling the “purse strings” must clearly understand the severity of what happened that dreadful day in 1921, now neatly termed “The Tulsa Race Riot.” A race riot is “caused by racial dissensions or hatreds.”⁶⁴ Without a doubt, throughout the history of the United States, anti-Black attitudes have caused numerous incidents that led to the total destruction of entire Black towns or sections of cities. In fact, in 1919, so-called “race riots” and the shedding of Black blood were so rampant that history dubbed that summer the “Red Summer of 1919.”⁶⁵ Unquestionably, the extreme hatred and envy of white Tulsans towards the successful inhabitants of Greenwood led to the costly destruction of Black Wallstreet. Thus, calling the events of June 1st, 1921, “The Tulsa Race Riot,” seems to be appropriate. However, what if the same events occurred in today’s post-September 11, 2001 world? Would the “riot” actually be seen as an act of terrorism? What about an act of genocide? At any rate, terming the events of June 1, 1921 a “riot” wrongfully conjures up images of two opposing groups spontaneously attacking each other for an intensive, but short time. However, this is not what happened in Tulsa. In Tulsa,

⁶⁴ See Merriam-Webster, <http://www.webster.com/cgi-bin/dictionary>, (last visited February 16th, 2003).

⁶⁵ See Robert J. Booker, *The Heat of a Red Summer: Race Mixing, Race Riot in 1919*, (2001).

one group of people (Whites) conspired to destroy another group (Blacks), and then used a flimsy excuse to carry out their evil plan.⁶⁶

Consequently, “race riot” does not adequately convey what really happened to Greenwood. For example, then Tulsa Mayor, T.D. Evans expressed my exact sentiments while discussing the “riot” two weeks later when he said, “all regret the wrongs that fell upon the innocent Negroes and they should receive help as we can give them if within our power. It, however, is true of any *warfare* (emphasis mine) that the fortunes of war fall upon the innocent...this is true of any conflict, *invasion*, or uprising. Think what would have happened had the Allies marched to Berlin.”⁶⁷ Therefore, dropping the riot designation and rightly describing the horrendous events of 1921 as a war or invasion against the citizens of Greenwood draws us closer to what really happened. Yet, even the war definition does not completely portray the whole story. The White citizens of Tulsa planned and executed a military style invasion of Greenwood. As a consequence of losing the unparalleled, unprovoked war, the victims of Greenwood suffered a holocaust.

⁶⁶ Many survivors such as Juanita Delores Burnett Arnold recollect: “trouble had been brewing in Tulsa before the riot broke out the night of May 31, 1921. We children noticed grownups, frowns on their faces, talking in whispers about bad race relations in the city and about rumors of a showdown coming. In fact, the day before the riot there was an incident right in front of our house. A group of angry white men were roaming up and down our street. They were so full of anger, jealousy, and rage. They were using the “N” word in every sentence they spoke. It as “Nigger this,” and “Nigger that!” See Eddie Faye Gates, *Oral History Accounts of the Tulsa Race Riot of 1921 by Black Survivors*, <http://www.tulsareparations.org/JArnold.htm> (last visited Feb. 15, 2003).

⁶⁷See 6-14-21 *Riot Commission Report*.

A holocaust is defined as “great or total destruction by fire.”⁶⁸ Surely what happened to Greenwood and its citizens fits this definition as thirty-five city blocks were burnt to the ground by lawless thugs.⁶⁹ Moreover, just like Jewish victims of Nazi Germany, the citizens of Greenwood suffered their holocaust because of their ethnicity/race and their prosperity.⁷⁰ Just like the Jews the residents of Greenwood unjustly had their property pillaged, stolen, and destroyed.⁷¹ Just like the Jews, the Black residents of Greenwood had their families separated from one another.⁷² Just like the Jews, the Black residents of Greenwood were forced into concentration camps.⁷³ Just like the Jews, the Black residents of Greenwood were made to suffer the indignity of pass cards.⁷⁴

So, notwithstanding the tremendous disparity of actual human and property damage between the Jewish Holocaust and the Greenwood massacre, essentially there are no tangible differences between what happened to the citizens of Greenwood and the victims of the Nazis reign of terror. Surely there is not much difference to the individuals and communities affected. As a result, the Greenwood Holocaust victims should receive the same type of recognition, understanding, and reparations, as the victims of Nazi Germany.

⁶⁸ See *The American Heritage Dictionary* (3rd ed. 1994).

⁶⁹ See Scott Ellsworth, *The Tulsa Riot*, available at <http://www.tulsareparations.org/TulsaRiot.html>. (last visited at Feb. 15, 2003).

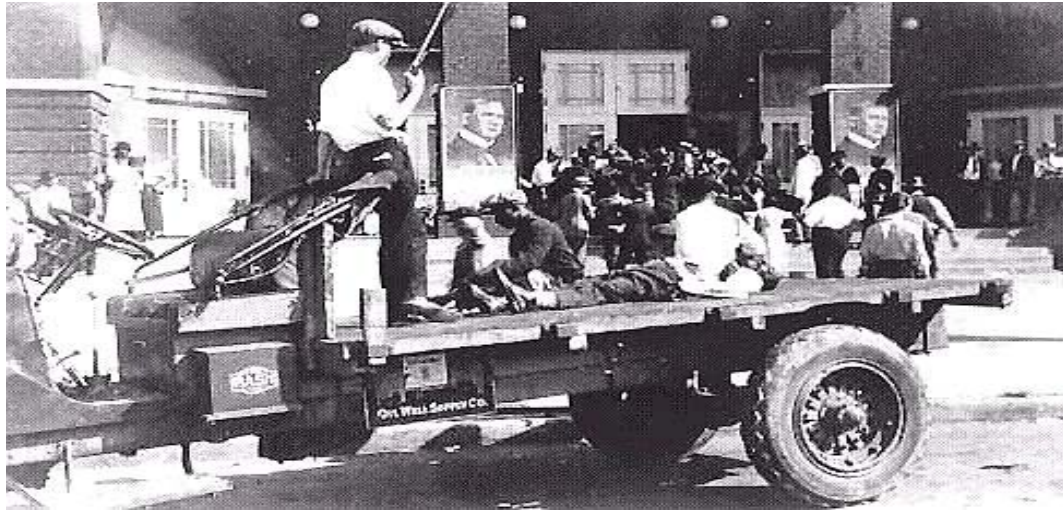
⁷⁰ See *Id.*

⁷¹ See *Id.*

⁷² See *Id.*

⁷³ See *Id.*

⁷⁴ See *Id.*



Greenwood Holocaust victim

VI. The Deadliest Act of Domestic Terrorism in United States History

A. What Sparked the Greenwood Holocaust?

In late May 1921 19-year-old Dick Rowland, a Black man while, entering an elevator slipped; and as he tried to break his fall, he accidentally touched a young White woman who operated the elevator.⁷⁵ The White woman claimed that Rowland assaulted her and he was promptly arrested and put in the Tulsa jail. By that evening, the racist Tulsa Tribune reported that a savage Black man had attacked a White woman and that the perpetrator was going to be lynched.⁷⁶ Thus, as was common during that bloody era of United States history, a large crowd of nearly 2,000 bloodthirsty Whites gathered outside of the courthouse calling for the brutal murder of a Black man.⁷⁷

⁷⁵ See Ralph Ginzburg, *100 Years of Lynching*, (1997).

⁷⁶ See Ellsworth, *supra* note 69.

⁷⁷ See *Id.*

However, unlike many other parts of the country at that time, the courageous Black men of Greenwood were not going to allow one of their brothers to be viciously lynched.⁷⁸ Approximately 60-armed Black men went to the courthouse to help protect Rowland.⁷⁹ Surely, startled by the sight of armed Blackmen with guns who believed that “when the government failed to protect, Greenwood had the right—sometimes they even spoke about it as a duty—to take action,”⁸⁰ the White residents of Tulsa were bewildered. The atmosphere quickly became electric, tempers ran high, and shots were fired after the Whites tried to disarm the valiant Black men.⁸¹ Greatly outnumbered, the Greenwood residents retreated to what they thought was the safety of their community.⁸² However, it was too late; the city of Tulsa seized this opportunity to teach the “uppity Negroes” a lesson.⁸³ Tulsa deputized hundreds of whites, supplied them with guns, and unleashed the deadliest domestic terrorist attack ever on United States citizens.⁸⁴

⁷⁸ See *Id.*

⁷⁹ See *Id.*

⁸⁰ See Brophy, *supra* note 10, at 93.

⁸¹ Many of the men were WWI veterans who strongly believed in the America right to life, liberty, & the pursuit of happiness and the right to bear arms to protect oneself, property, and community. See *Id.* See also, <http://www.tulsareparations.org/TulsaRiot1Of3.htm>

⁸² See Appiah & Gates, *supra* note 1893, at 155.

⁸³ See Gates, *supra* note 65.

⁸⁴ I know for many in the wake of 9-11 this is hard to believe. However, the Greenwood Holocaust is easily distinguishable from the September 11 terrorist attacks because the September 11 attackers were foreigners attacking Americans. Yet, In the Greenwood Holocaust you had Americans attacking Americans!

B. "Little Africa" on Fire...America's Holocaust



White rioters setting homes on fire

The ruthless mercenaries instituted a scorched earth policy, and virtually burnt every home and business in the Greenwood community.⁸⁵ Moreover, the savagery of the thugs equaled some of the most heinous acts of barbarism known to man. For example, many surrendering Greenwood residents were shot and thrown into burning structures.⁸⁶ As one contemporary account chronicled, "in times of war, when an allied soldier dropped his weapons and raised his hands as a sign of surrender, the 'barbarous' Germans spared his life. In Tulsa, Oklahoma, however, defenseless men, women and children were murdered without a chance for their lives."⁸⁷ Another account argues "civilization broke down in Tulsa...things happened that were on footing with what the Germans did in Belgium, what the Turks did in Armenia, [and] what the Bolsheviks did in Russia."⁸⁸ Maybe the most outstanding personal account comes from long-time NAACP official ironically named Walter White, who while on assignment investigated an earlier lynching in Oklahoma, passed for White and was sworn in as one of the emergency deputies. White writes:

⁸⁵ See Appiah & Gates, *supra* note 18, at 1893.

⁸⁶ See *Id.*

⁸⁷ See *Chicago Defender* 8, June 18, 1921.

It was even easier to do this than I had expected. That evening in the City Hall I had to answer only three questions—name, age, and address. I might have been a thug, a murderer, an escaped convict, a member of the mob itself which had laid waste a larger area of the city—none of these mattered; my skin was apparently white, and that was enough. After we—some fifty or sixty of us—had been sworn in...a villainous-looking man next to me turned and remarked causally, even with a note of happiness in his voice: “Now you can go out and shoot any nigger you see and the law’ll be behind you.”⁸⁹

After the initial mayhem had abated, the Oklahoma National Guard unconstitutionally rounded up roughly half of the Black population of Greenwood and placed them in Nazi styled concentration camps.⁹⁰ Lastly, the city of Tulsa issued demeaning passes that only allowed Blacks to leave the detention camps if a White person signed them out and agreed to be personally responsible for them.⁹¹

Only the efforts of many dedicated and determined activists and scholars have kept alive the story of the Greenwood Holocaust. These efforts secured the 1921 Tulsa Race Riot Commission, established in 1997 with House Joint Resolution 1035.⁹² After four years of meticulous research, in February 2001, the Tulsa Race Riot Commission issued its report and called for reparations to survivors.⁹³ On June 1, 2001, Oklahoma Gov. Frank Keating signed the 1921 Tulsa Race Riot Reconciliation Act. However, many saw the bill as “largely symbolic: It did recognize the terrible costs in lives and property and race relations that resulted from the holocaust, but avoided the issue of reparations altogether. The state government instead awarded each survivor a gold-plated

⁸⁸ See Brophy, *supra* note 10, at 69.

⁸⁹ See V.F. Calverton, *Anthology of American Negro Literature*, at 401 (1929).

⁹⁰ See Appiah & Gates, *supra* note 18, at 1893.

⁹¹ See *Id.*

⁹² See Danney Global, *Final Report of the Oklahoma Commission to Study The Tulsa Race Riot*, <http://www.tulsareparations.org/FinalReport.htm> (last visited Feb. 15, 2003).

medal bearing the state seal.”⁹⁴ Yet, the Commission’s final and official report has been invaluable in documenting the Greenwood Holocaust even though some accusations by eyewitnesses dispute certain aspects of the report. At any rate, it is of the utmost importance to include the following excerpts from the final report:

- a. on May 31st, the Tulsa Tribune ran a story covering the arrest of a young Black man jailed for assaulting a White elevator operator based on accusations that were later recanted
- b. the Tribune edition also contained an inflammatory editorial that not only suggested but incited that there would be a lynching. Following release of the paper, frenzy spread across the White Tulsa community in anticipation of a lynching and across the Black Tulsa community in defense of one
- c. in the presence of approximately 2,000 White Tulsans, 75 African Americans, some of them World War I veterans, met the Sheriff at the Courthouse, offering to assist in protecting the prisoner
- d. a struggle ensued between a White Tulsan seeking to disarm one of these veterans and rioting began as a result of the gun being fired.
- e. the City of Tulsa Police Department deputized 500 White Tulsans, many of which were largely responsible for the damage suffered by the African American Greenwood business and residential community
- f. the State of Oklahoma mobilized a unit of the Oklahoma National Guard that subsequently received a machine gun from the City police that was mounted on a flatbed truck and used against the men, women and children of Greenwood.
- g. through the night, fires were set and fighting continued as Greenwood's war veterans and citizens defended their community from the White attackers, inclusive of men dressed in State National Guard uniforms, City of Tulsa Police uniforms and under the specially deputized authority of the Tulsa Police Department.
- h. at daybreak, Greenwood faced an overwhelming assault and massacre by 5,000-10,000 White Tulsans covered by a second machine gun, airborne gunfire and/or the dropping of incendiary devices, whom prominent and youth members of the Ku Klux Klan probably helped to mobilize.
- i. the organized Whites emptied homes, detained residents, murdered those resisting or found to be armed, looted homes and businesses and set them ablaze; and
- j. around three hundred deaths, according to the Red Cross official report, accounts of credible witnesses, eyewitness accounts of "bodies of blacks stacked like cordwood on Tulsa streets, black bodies piled on trucks, and on trains" and with circumstantial

⁹³ See *Id.*

⁹⁴ See Thomas J. Sugrue, *Terror in the Streets*, The Washington Post, Sun. Mar. 10, 2002.

evidence from renowned physical anthropologist, Dr. Clyde Snow, a member of the Commission to Study the Tulsa Race Riot that points to the existence of mass graves

- k. 40 square blocks of 1,265 homes looted and then burned to the ground, including hospitals, schools, and churches owned primarily by African Americans
- l. 150 businesses leveled also by fire and, in some instances, incendiary devices thrown from the air in the Greenwood district now popularly referred to as the "Black Wall Street" of America
- m. 6,000 Black Tulsans involuntarily arrested, detained and released only upon being vouched for by a White employer and/or citizen
- n. 9,000 homeless and living in tents well into the Winter of 1921
- o. An entire generation's inheritance robbed of a people who dared to "lift themselves up by their bootstraps" and live the American dream, only to have it rendered an eternal nightmare.

In addition, The 1921 Tulsa Race Riot Commission accomplished the following:

- a. identified, contacted, and registered 126 surviving Greenwood community residents from that time period; real and substantial action redressing the Holocaust is a matter of utmost humanitarian and moral urgency because the then 126 survivors of the 1921 Riot are elderly and dying;
- b. the Greenwood community survivors of the events of May 31/June 1st 1921, experienced tremendous personal and property loss as the result of the events of those days and those losses have never been properly compensated or recognized;
- c. the North Tulsa, Greenwood business and residential district never fully recovered from the riotous assault upon their persons and property on May 31 - June 1, 1921;
- d. reparations for violations of human rights is fully supported under the International Declaration of Human Rights of the United Nations and the Oklahoma State Commission to Study the Tulsa Race Riot of 1921 made their beliefs clear: "There is no way but by government to represent the collective, and there is no way but by reparations to make real the responsibility . . . Reparations are the right thing to do" and
- e. there is clear culpability for the environment and sustenance of the Tulsa race riot, war and massacre of 1921 from both the State of Oklahoma and, in particular, the City of Tulsa
- f. the African American citizens in the City of Tulsa and the State of Oklahoma were deprived of their right to due process under the law as well as life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness as outlined in the Constitution of the United States of America

C. The Damage

By sun-up June 1, 1921, the once prosperous 35-Block business district in north Tulsa lay utterly destroyed. Scores of successful businesses were lost.

Among these were 21 churches, 21 restaurants, 30 grocery stores and two movie theaters, a hospital, a bank, a post office, libraries, schools, law offices, a half dozen private airplanes and even a bus system. The total value of property damage is not known. However, most estimate the property value at the time at around \$3,000,000, which is \$16 million today. Yet, no Black resident ever received one dime for their losses.⁹⁵ Eyewitnesses and survivors put the death total around 3,000 after the night's carnage.⁹⁶ Yet, sadly, it may never be known the exact number of lives lost as many survivors discussed the unaccounted members of their community in the following fashion, "I don't know if they died. Maybe they left, but some in my class didn't finish school with us. Never saw them after the riot. Maybe they left. Maybe they dead. Just gone."⁹⁷

Unfortunately because of the *blitzkrieg* nature of the attack and the massive cover-up by the responsible state and local governments the exact number of dead and injured may forever be disputed. However, thanks to the American Red Cross, a more precise list of casualties does exist and the numbers are staggering. Overnight 2,480 families or 10,000 innocent victims were homeless and in need as over 1,000 homes and businesses were completely destroyed.⁹⁸ Describing the war the next day, the Tulsa World wrote:

Personal belongings and household goods had been removed from many homes and piled in the streets. On the steps of the few houses that remained sat feeble and gray Negro men and women and occasionally a small child. The look in their eyes was one of dejection and supplication. Judging from their attitude, it was not of material consequence to them whether they lived or died. Harmless themselves, they apparently could not conceive the brutality and fiendishness of

⁹⁵ See Larry O'Dell, Riot Property Loss, <http://www.tulsareparations.org/Property.htm> (last Visited Feb. 20, 2003).

⁹⁶ See Clyde Snow, *Confirmed Deaths A Preliminary Report*, <http://www.tulsareparations.org/Death.htm> (last visited Feb. 15, 2003).

⁹⁷ See Gates, *supra* note 65.

⁹⁸ See Ellsworth, *supra* note 1, at 69.

men who would deliberately set fire to the homes of their friends and neighbors and just as deliberately shoot them down in their tracks.⁹⁹

So, in little less than 12 hours, Greenwood, a peaceful, hardworking, model community, along with its incredible African-American economy was destroyed.

D. The Aftermath

If the city of Tulsa's shameful role in allowing and encouraging the destruction of Greenwood were not egregious enough, shortly after the massacre on June 7th, 1921, the city zoning board enacted an ordinance that "made rebuilding residences in the area prohibitively expensive" because the city had plans to "convert Greenwood into an industrial district."¹⁰⁰ In addition, the culpable Tulsa Tribune openly affirmed, "niggertown must never be allowed in Tulsa again."¹⁰¹ Indeed there were some White city leaders who recognized the error of their brethren and expressed a willingness and responsibility to rebuild the district. In fact the Tulsa government citing their moral obligation to rebuild Greenwood even discouraged outside assistance in the rebuilding effort.¹⁰² However, the city reneged and their delay forced over 1000 Greenwood residents to spend the winter in hastily made tents.¹⁰³

⁹⁹ See *Tulsa Daily World*, June 2, 1921.

¹⁰⁰ See Brophy, *supra*, note 10, at 93.

¹⁰¹ See Eddie Faye Gates, *They Came Searching: How Blacks Sought the Promised Land in Tulsa*, at 138 (1997).

¹⁰² See Appiah & Gates, *supra* note 18, at 1893.

¹⁰³ See *Id.*



Greenwood Holocaust victims being arrested

V. Answering Questions about Reparations

A. Overview of Reparations

What are reparations? Reparations are a well-established, long-standing principle of international law.¹⁰⁴ It is payment for a debt owed, or for a wrong committed. Reparations essentially constitute four elements: 1) the formal acknowledgement of wrongs; 2) the recognition of continuing injury; 3) the commitment to redress said injuries; and 4) actual compensation or restitution for the injuries.¹⁰⁵ Dinah Shelton argues “reparations must wipe out all the consequences of the illegal act...*the compensation must be adequate and*

¹⁰⁴ See Dinah L. Shelton & Thordis Ingadottir *The International Criminal Court Reparations to Victims of Crimes (Article 75 of the Rome Statute) and the Trust Fund (Article 79) Recommendations for the Court Rules of Procedure and Evidence*, <http://www.nyu.edu/pages/cic/pubs/ReparVictimsNewPrint.html> (last visited Feb. 15, 2003).

¹⁰⁵ See National Coalition of Black for Reparations in America (N'COBRA) available at www.ncobra.org (last visited Feb. 18, 2003).

balance as near as may be the injury suffered (emphasis mine).¹⁰⁶ Shelton goes on to further state “the primary goal of reparations should be rectification or restitution rather than compensation. [Because] when rights are violated the ability of the victim to pursue self-determination is impaired.”¹⁰⁷

Throughout history there have been many instances where stronger entities sacrificed to improve the plight of weaker citizens of a particular community. The stronger entity sacrifices with the hope of helping the weaker entity and ultimately strengthening the whole. The most famous and successful example of this is The Marshall Plan (which we will address later in this discussion) instituted to re-build war-torn Europe. Moreover, this same policy permeates the entire United States society in many different forms.¹⁰⁸

B. Who may claim Reparations

The argument constantly plaguing the much larger Black struggle for reparations, for the inhumane and horrendous atrocities of slavery and its vestiges, is that there is no living slave or a direct descendant of a slave.

¹⁰⁶ See Shelton & Ingadottir, *supra* note 104.

¹⁰⁷ See *Id.*

¹⁰⁸ One such form, that is evident each year nations” scheme to redress the weaknesses of the lesser teams from the previous year. The scheme involves giving the weaker teams, regardless of why they failed to perform, higher draft picks in the sports draft. Conversely, this automatically penalizes successful teams by dropping their draft status. This intentionally reduces the chances of the top teams obtaining the “best resources”...the most skilled players. However, the sports leagues understand that this “reparations” scheme is necessary to ensure that “top teams” do not continually dominate the lesser teams. Thus, guarantying the competitiveness of the league, and securing an interesting and marketable product for the league to promote. As a result, there is more money for every team involved. Indeed, in the National Football League (“NFL”) compensation for weaknesses is so important that not only do weaker teams receive the top draft picks; the weaker teams also receive easier schedules during the upcoming years. This same line of thinking is exactly what underlies the call for a

However, although remaining Greenwood Holocaust survivors are dying of old age there are, at least, dozens of survivors. Moreover, courts have upheld reparations for “victims as including not only the direct victim or victims of the alleged violation, but also any person who would indirectly suffer prejudice as a result of such violation or who would have a valid personal interest in securing the cessation of such violation.”¹⁰⁹ Thus, not only do the living survivors have a valid claim for reparations, the entire Greenwood community is eligible for restitution for the holocaust suffered. The Greenwood Holocaust severely retarded, and in many ways, destroyed the growth and development of the entire community, evidenced by the lack of recovery by “the north Tulsa, Greenwood business and residential district [which] never fully recovered from the riotous assault upon their persons and property on May 31 - June 1, 1921.”¹¹⁰ This negatively affected everyone within the community and denied thousands of their rightful birthright to success.

C. Are Governments Liable to Pay Reparations?

Reparations law holds violations by state actors are more egregious because “human rights violations committed by state officials are qualitatively different from private injury because of the motives and nature of the conduct as well as the identity of the wrongdoer. Individuals [like the residents of Greenwood] expect protection from the State; [because] one of its fundamental purposes is to secure the safety and well-being of those within its power.”¹¹¹

comprehensive reparations program—to equal out and improve the “playing field” for those handicapped by for past deficiencies.

¹⁰⁹ See Shelton & Ingadottir, *supra*, note 104.

¹¹⁰ See Global, *supra*, note 92.

¹¹¹ See Shelton & Ingadottir, *supra*, note 104.

However, the law abiding taxpayers of Greenwood witnessed their families, friends, and most prized possessions decimated by those whose very salaries they paid—officials of the city, county, and state governments!

D. Who is Culpable for the Greenwood Holocaust?

The facts clearly show “the African American citizens in the City of Tulsa and the State of Oklahoma were deprived of their right to due process under the law as well as life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness as outlined in the Constitution of the United States of America.”¹¹² Therefore, “there is clear culpability for the environment and sustenance of the Tulsa race riot, war and massacre of 1921 from both the State of Oklahoma and, in particular, the City of Tulsa.”¹¹³ In addition, the false and inflammatory story, printed by the owners of the Tulsa World newspaper (parent Company of the Tulsa Tribune) that started the Greenwood Holocaust, and called for the city to never allow “nigger town to rebuild”, also bears great responsibility for what happened.¹¹⁴

¹¹²See Tulsa Reparations Coalition, *Statement of Endorsement*, <http://www.tulsareparations.org/endorseTRC.htm> (last visited Feb. 15, 2003).

¹¹³ See *Id.*

¹¹⁴ See Gates, *supra* note 101, at 138.



Black Wall Street utterly destroyed!

VI. Notable U.S. Reparations Precedents in the Last 50 years

A. Rosewood, Florida

In 1994, for the first time in the history of the United States, an American government acknowledged its responsibility for an act of racial violence committed against African-Americans when the Florida state legislature acknowledged an "equitable obligation" to compensate for the total destruction of the town of Rosewood Florida in 1923.¹¹⁵ This small but highly successful all-Black town of Rosewood, Florida was attacked and destroyed when the area's white citizens believed that a black escaped prisoner had sexually assaulted a white woman (more on Rosewood later in this paper).¹¹⁶ Passed May 4, 1994, the Rosewood Compensation Act officially: 1) acknowledged the state's

¹¹⁵ See C. Jeanne Bassett, *Comments: House Bill 591: Florida Compensates Rosewood Victims and Their Families for a Seventy-One-Year-Old Injury* 22 Fla. St. U.L. Rev. 503-521.

responsibility for failing to prevent the village's destruction; 2) monetarily compensated victims and families for their property loss; 3) established scholarships for minority students, with preference given to Rosewood family members; and 4) instituted a criminal investigation and continuing academic research into the senseless act.¹¹⁷

B. Japanese Internees

In 1942, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt issued Executive Order 9,066, which sanctioned the Secretary of War to establish camps and remove all persons of Japanese descent from the western United States.¹¹⁸ Japanese-American citizens were held in camps for the next few years.¹¹⁹ This “unconstitutional”¹²⁰ act altered, and in many cases completely destroyed, the lives of United States “citizens” of Japanese descent.

The Japanese-Americans reparations movement gained widespread public support during the 1980s, through greater awareness of what had happened and increased recognition of Japanese-American soldiers' contributions during World War II.¹²¹ Public hearings held by the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians, created in 1980, and a Smithsonian exhibit in 1987 was particularly crucial in educating the public.¹²²

¹¹⁶ See *Id.* at 506.

¹¹⁷ See *Id.* at 521.

¹¹⁸ See Eric K. Yamamoto, et al, *Race, Rights and Reparations: Law and the Japanese American Internment*, at 39 (2001).

¹¹⁹ *Id.*

¹²⁰ The Supreme Court ruled that the interment was in fact constitutional even though many Japanese interment victims were born in the United States and even served in WWI for the U.S. See *Korematau v. United States*, 323 U.S. 214 (1944).

¹²¹ See Yamamoto, et al, *supra* note 118, at 403.

¹²² See *Id.*

The Commission's support of reparations was a tremendous help to the movement.¹²³ Finally, in September of 1988 the House passed a reparations bill and the Senate passed its version in April 1988.¹²⁴ On August 10, 1988, President Ronald Reagan signed the Civil Liberties Act of 1988.¹²⁵ Within two years surviving internees received \$20,000 and their descendants secured \$10,000.¹²⁶

Some argue the Japanese-American claims succeeded because they fit neatly within the individual rights paradigm of the law: 1) the claims were brought by people who had been personally and directly harmed; 2) the link between the harm and the internment was clear; and 3) reparations settled the matter.¹²⁷ If it is true that this line of reasoning promoted the granting of reparations, then there is no reason why the living survivors of the Greenwood Holocaust should not be compensated for their tremendous suffering because: 1) they too were personally and directly harmed; 2) the link between the harm and holocaust is clear; and 3)

¹²³ Likewise, the Tulsa Race Riot Commission's support for reparations should be a tremendous asset to Greenwood reparations advocates

¹²⁴ See Yamamoto, et al, *supra* note 118, at 406

¹²⁵ See *Id.*

¹²⁶ See *Id.*

¹²⁷ See Mitchell T. Maki et al., *Achieving the Impossible Dream: How Japanese-Americans Obtained Redress* (1999).

adequate and comprehensive reparations would settle the matter.¹²⁸



Hell on Earth...Greenwood burns

VII. Adjudicating Reparations Legal Claims

A. Can You Get Into Court after 80 years...and Win?

Framing a winning legal argument for a court to favorably rule for Greenwood victims and mandating a reparations judgment will be an extremely difficult task. Indeed, to be forced to litigate the wrongs committed against you in the very legal system controlled the perpetrators is inherently flawed. Moreover, it is argued that "...only through the political struggle to win reparations-[including] in the courtroom, in the media; [and] at the grassroots level will the

¹²⁸ Monetary compensation for those living survivors and their descendents would be short-sighted as the entire Greenwood community must be restored to make up for all that was lost.

specific reforms and measures for implementation take shape.”¹²⁹ To totally exhaust every conceivable avenue available demands the filing of lawsuits; reparation advocates must be prepared to file the lawsuits despite tremendous obstacles, because the desired outcome must be vehemently pursued with the high hope that justice can prevail, despite the passage of more than 80 years after the commission of the crimes.¹³⁰ Reparations advocates must be prepared to challenge the courts to do the “right thing” and grant total and complete redress in order to rectify the heinous acts committed from May 31 to June 1, 1921, when the city of Tulsa, Tulsa County, and the State of Oklahoma completely violated the constitution.

As stated at the outset of this document, this article will: 1) prove that describing the Greenwood incident as a “Race Riot” is erroneous because it was

¹²⁹ See Manning Marble, *In Defense of Reparations*, <http://www.zmag.org/sustainers/content/2002-10/30marable.cfm> (last visited Feb. 15, 2003).

¹³⁰ Moreover, it must be noted that survivors and victims have tried many different avenues and theories that all proved unsuccessful. “Greenwood residents and property owners (both black and white), filed more than one-hundred suits against their insurance companies, the city of Tulsa, and even Sinclair Oil Company, that allegedly provided airplanes that were used in attacking Greenwood. Not one of those suits was successful. One, filed by William Redfearn, a white man who owned a hotel and a movie theater in Greenwood, went to trial and then on appeal to the Oklahoma Supreme Court. Redfearn's insurance company denied liability, citing a riot exclusion clause. The clause exempted the insurance company from liability for loss due to riot. The Oklahoma Supreme Court interpreted the damage as due to riot-an understandable conclusion, and thereby immunized insurance companies from liability. Following the failure of Mr. Redfearn's suit, no others went to trial. That is not surprising. It is difficult to see how anyone could have prevailed in the wake of the *Redfearn* opinion. They lay fallow for years and then were dismissed in 1937. See <http://www.tulsareparations.org/Culpability.htm> Thus, any of the preceding theories viewed as the legal impetus for securing reparations will likely encounter similar hardships to recover. Nevertheless, a wide variety of legal arguments need to be fully examined, explored, and presented for the potential

in fact an unprovoked war that led to a holocaust; 2) present a comprehensive reparations plan to compensate for the destruction committed against the city of Greenwood and its Black citizens; and 3) outline what it will take for a reparations plan to be adopted. Thus, the examination of legal theories pertinent to the adjudication of the Greenwood Holocaust victims' claims for reparations will be very brief.

B. International Law

It is reasonable to assume the U.S. legal system will serve as a major impediment to an equitable outcome for the victims and descendants of the Greenwood Holocaust. Many of the original lawsuits filed in response to the holocaust were dismissed for various reasons. With this in mind, Greenwood reparations advocates must develop strategies to move the reparations demand beyond the confines of local, state and national laws and into international law, if they are to realize their quest for reparations.¹³¹ A major source of international law is Customary International Law.¹³² In the case of Customary International Law, "it is well settled that the law of nations [customary international law] is part of Federal Common Law, and many argue that federal common law is superior to

victory in winning not just the legal battle, but also the public battle which as been going on for over 80 years. See also Brophy, *supra* note 10, at 66.

¹³¹ The great assassinated Black Nationalist Leader Malcolm X repeatedly taught that "our claims are bigger than some civil right, our claims are for Human Rights and we need to look to the world for help." See Malcolm X, *By Any Means Necessary*, 55 (1965).

¹³² Customary International Law is formed general and consistent practices of states accepted it as law in the world community. It consists of two elements: 1) state practice, which provides evidence of custom; and 2) the attitudinal requirement of *opinio juris*, which is the general acceptance of a norm as a legal obligation by the world community. See J. Patrick Kelly, *The Twilight of Customary International Law* 40 Va. J. Int'l L. 449, 483 (2000).

state law due to the supremacy clause.”¹³³ Assuming that federal common law is considered superior to any State law and Customary International Law is theoretically, automatically incorporated into the U.S. legal system; we must ask what customary international law says about the “redressability” for crimes committed by a collective group of individuals on behalf of the city of Tulsa, and state of Oklahoma.

For this analysis, reparations advocates should seriously consider the following two important developments in international law: 1) the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights which many agree evolved into customary international law¹³⁴; and 2) the ground-breaking judgments of the Nuremberg and Tokyo trials following WWII.

First, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted in 1948, was initially completely non-binding on the states of the world; however, over the past 50 years some argue the Universal Declaration of Human Rights has become binding through the theory of customary international law. Second, during the Nuremberg & Tokyo Trials the world defined: 1) crimes against humanity¹³⁵, 2)

¹³³ See *In Re Estate of Ferdinand E. Marcos Human Rights Litigation*, 25 F3d 1467, 1475 (1994).

¹³⁴ See The Honorable Edward D. Re, *General Issue: The Universal Declaration of Human Rights and Domestic Courts*, 14 St. Thomas L. Rev. 665 (2002).

¹³⁵ War Crimes are “violations of the laws or customs of war which include, but are not limited to, murder, ill-treatment or deportation to slave-labor or for any other purpose of civilian population of or in occupied territory, murder or ill-treatment of prisoners of war, of persons on the seas, killing of hostages, plunder of public or private property, wanton destruction of cities, towns, or villages, or devastation not justified by military necessity.” See *Principles of the Nuremberg Tribunal, Report of the International Law Commission Covering its Second Session, 5 June-29 July 1950*, Document A/1316, at 11-14. available at <http://www.deoxy.org/wc/wc-nurem.htm> (last visited Feb. 16th, 2003).

crimes against peace¹³⁶; and 3) war crimes¹³⁷, and proclaimed those acts are redressable even *ex post facto*.¹³⁸ Without a doubt, one can demonstrate the crimes against the residents of Greenwood meet all three criteria. Next, the tribunals at Nuremberg & Tokyo held “that international law imposes duties and liabilities upon individuals as well as States.”¹³⁹ In the Greenwood Holocaust, the individual(s) or “person(s)” liable for the acts were acting on behalf of the city of Tulsa. Accordingly, the Oklahoma statute prohibiting state and/or city liability, theoretically should not apply because other heinous crimes similar to those perpetrated against the innocent citizens of Greenwood, have been redressed despite the amount of time elapsed, the place, or jurisdiction. Although this argument seems promising we must remember that the United States’ domestic policy and legal system is not totally accepting of international law.¹⁴⁰ As experienced grassroots reparations activist Wautella Graham writes “Some may

¹³⁶ Crimes against Humanity are “murder, extermination, enslavement, deportation and other inhuman acts done against any civilian population, or persecutions on political, racial or religious grounds, when such acts are done or such persecutions are carried on in execution of or in connection with any crime against peace or any war crime.” See *Id.*

¹³⁷ Crimes against peace are “planning, preparation, initiation or waging of a war of aggression or a war in violation of international treaties, agreements or assurances; Participation in a common plan or conspiracy for the accomplishment of any of the acts mentioned under.” See *Id.*

¹³⁸ See *Id.*

¹³⁹ See *Id.*

¹⁴⁰ This is evidenced by the United States current unilateral war against Iraq that many argue is “violating the UN charter with their determination to invade Iraq... the feelings of many at the UN that past resolutions on Iraq were specifically focused on disarming Iraq, not on removing its President, and that the goalposts had been moved, by Washington in particular. Not one of these decisions authorizes the right to use force against Iraq outside the UN charter...not one authorizes the violent overthrow of the leadership of a sovereign state.” See David Osborne, *The Iraq Conflict; UN Opposition; Warmongers Must Bear the Cost of an Illegal Conflict, Council Member Warn*, Thurs., Mar 20, 2003.

think...‘Let’s take our case to the United Nations or the World Court; a third party will give us justice,’ they say. [However] There is no ‘third party,’...what power (real power—not paper power) does the United Nations or the World Court have to force the U.S.[Oklahoma] to comply with a favorable ruling in our favor?”¹⁴¹

B. Moral Legal Claims

Although a moral claim is not considered sufficient legal justification to recover in a court of law, there are precedents in the U. S. legal system that allow a “wrong” to be “righted” even when no traditional legal theory supports it. For instance, in 1946, following the recommendation of the Merriam Report,¹⁴² Congress passed a broad system to resolve ancient Native American grievances called the Indian Claims Commission Act (“ICCA”)¹⁴³ Until 1946, Native Nations were prohibited from pursuing claims against the United States without special permission granted by Congress.¹⁴⁴ However, the ICCA granted Native Nations access to the Court of Claims, including property claims.¹⁴⁵ The Act also created a commission to investigate and settle any and all claims brought forward by tribes, for crimes committed before 1946 “based upon fair and honorable dealings that are not recognized by any existing rule of law or equity.”¹⁴⁶ Although many argue that the ICCA has “failed to meet the expectations of nearly everyone involved in its creation,” it did create an avenue for “moral wrongs to be

¹⁴¹ See Wautella Graham, *Black Reparations: American Slavery & It’s Vestiges A Crime Against Humanity* at 240 (December 1, 2002) (unpublished manuscript, on file with National Coalition of Blacks for Reparations in America).

¹⁴² See Indian Claims Commission Act of 1946, 25 U.S.C.A. 70k . The Court of Claims is now the Court of Federal Claims, and it continues to hold this jurisdiction. 28 U.S.C.A. 1505 (West 1996).

¹⁴³ See *Id.*

¹⁴⁴ See *Id.*

¹⁴⁵ See *Id.*

heard” regardless of whether some underlying legal principle does or does not exist or has been estopped for a variety of reasons.¹⁴⁷

In fact, during the passage of the act, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs argued that the claims court was needed because “a considerable number of claims and grievances do not grow out of legal facts but essentially out of moral parts of the record. [Without a doubt] there are a great many valid claims, valid humanely and morally, but such as have no basis in law.”¹⁴⁸ Certainly the Greenwood Holocaust created “a considerable number of claims and grievances”, and if they have no such basis in law, the governments of Tulsa and the State of Oklahoma should follow the lead of the U.S. government, and allow the claims to proceed, thus paving the way for finality and justice to prevail.

C. 51 O.S. 155 Governmental Torts Claims Act

Oklahoma could easily submit to the claims of the Greenwood Holocaust victims by invoking 51 O.S. 155, and following the lead of another state responsible for a holocaust against a Black community. As noted earlier, in 1923, (under strikingly similar circumstances to the 1921 Greenwood Holocaust), the all-Black and highly successful town of Rosewood, Florida, was completely burnt to the ground by an unruly mob of whites.¹⁴⁹ As in Greenwood, the total destruction of Rosewood was supposedly in defense of a white woman, and governmental officials participated in the melee.¹⁵⁰ Also, like the Greenwood

¹⁴⁶ See *Id.*

¹⁴⁷ See Nell Jessup Newton, *Compensation, Reparations, & Restitution: Indian Property Claims in the United States*, Ga. L. Rev. 453, 469 (1994).

¹⁴⁸ See *Otoe and Missoura Tribes of Indians v. United States*, 131 Ct. Cl. 593, 612 (1955).

¹⁴⁹ See Bassett, *supra* note, 115 at 505.

¹⁵⁰ See *Id.* at 506.

Holocaust, the entire incident was effectively erased from history, due to a massive cover-up orchestrated by the guilty parties.¹⁵¹ In 1994, the Florida Legislature under the authority of Fla. Stat. sec. 768.28 passed House Bill 591, which sought to compensate the families of Rosewood, Florida for property and other damages.¹⁵² Florida allowed the seventy year-old claim to overcome the challenges that have hindered the claims for the Greenwood Holocaust and enable compensation of the victims and their descendants.¹⁵³

So, the Rosewood Holocaust and the Greenwood Holocaust parallel each other in terms of the underlying causes, scope of destruction, subsequent cover-up, and the undue lapse of time before the tragedy was redressed. The Oklahoma Legislature, acting under the state of Oklahoma's version of claims bill 51 O. S. sec. 155¹⁵⁴ should, therefore, mirror its Florida counter-part and introduce a claims bill that would allow for an equitable remedy for the Greenwood Holocaust victims.

¹⁵¹ See *Id.*

¹⁵² See *Id.* at 511.

¹⁵³ See *Id.* at 412.

¹⁵⁴ See *51 O. S. sec. 155.*



Ruins of a Rosewood house shortly after the Rosewood Massacre



Ruins of a Greenwood neighborhood shortly after the Greenwood Holocaust

VIII. Others Theories Under Which to Recover

B. Tulsa's Promise to Pay for the Destruction

Oklahoma should definitely allow moral claims since many white citizens of Tulsa, shortly after the Greenwood Holocaust, believed morality required them

“to formulate a plan of reparations in order to rebuild homes and rehabilitate families.”¹⁵⁵ Without a doubt that sentiment also existed among many contemporary Blacks who felt:

The white citizens of Tulsa are in debt to the Negroes [Afrikan-Americans] whose property they burned and the lives they wantonly destroyed, and we believe that there are those who will make some effort to repair the losses that they have caused. They cannot forget it, they admit that it was wrong and feel deep down in their hearts that they should repay. *It will always be a debt until paid*¹⁵⁶

Hopefully the current leadership of Oklahoma believes “great Nations, like great men ought to keep their word”¹⁵⁷ and keep the promise made by Tulsa citizens to the victims of Greenwood.

C. Spiritual Claims

Irrespective of the Establishment Clause of the United States Constitution, the United States of America has always been closely aligned to Judeo-Christian traditions and values.¹⁵⁸ The laws of this nation closely parallel the laws of the King James Version of the Bible.¹⁵⁹ Accordingly, devout churchgoers should easily understand the justice in compensating Greenwood Holocaust victims for the harm committed because the “sins of the father will be revisited upon the

¹⁵⁵ See John Sibley Butler, *Entrepreneurship and Self-Help Among Black Americans—A Reconsideration of Race and Economics*, 217 (1995).

¹⁵⁶ See *The Black Dispatch*, Mar. 15, 1923.

¹⁵⁷ See *FPC v. Tuscarora Indian Nation*, 362 U.S. 99, 142 (1960). The often cited words of Justice Black as he consistently tried to convince the Supreme Court to mandate that the United States adhere to its treaties with Native Americans. Unfortunately oftentimes Justice Black’s efforts went UN-rewarded, as one after another treaties with Native American were abrogated at will. See also *United States v. Kagama*, 118 U.S. 375 (1886).

¹⁵⁸ “Although it is no longer uncommon to hear lawyers cite the Bible as legal authority in court, except perhaps when playing to the jury, the influence of biblical law continues in American jurisprudence well into the twentieth century.” See John W. Welch, *Biblical Law in America*.” See John W. Welch, *Biblical Law in America: Historical Perspective and Potentials for Reform*, B.Y.U.L. Rev. 611, 635 (2002).

son.”¹⁶⁰ Furthermore, regardless of one’s religious affiliations, many religions include the concept of atonement, which usually involves trying to right a wrong committed by making a genuine effort to do so.

¹⁵⁹ See *Id.*

¹⁶⁰ See *Exodus 51:15.*

IX. Detailing Greenwood's Comprehensive Reparations Plan

A. Answering the Call for Reparations

After four years of official, meticulous, and painstaking research, the Tulsa Race Riot Commission recommended “that restitution to the historic Greenwood Community, in real and tangible form, would be good public policy and do much to repair the emotional and physical scars of this most terrible incident in our shared past.”¹⁶¹ To heal the substantial and festering wounds the Commission recommended:

- 1) Direct payment of reparations to survivors of the Tulsa Race Riot.
- 2) Direct payment of reparations to descendants of the survivors of the Tulsa Race Riot.
- 3) A scholarship fund available to students affected by the Tulsa Race Riot.
- 4) Establishment of an economic development enterprise zone in the historic area of the Greenwood District.
- 5) A memorial for the reburial of any human remains found in the search for unmarked graves of riot victims.

The reparations struggle to compensate for the disastrous events of June 1, 1921 has been an eighty-year-old fight. Unquestionably the struggle was immensely aided by the strong endorsement by the state sponsored Riot Commission.¹⁶² However, many commentators of the growing reparations movement, such as USA Today's columnist DeWayne Wickham, contend that reparations activists refuse to address the "Achilles' heel" of the movement, “how

¹⁶¹ See Global, *supra* note, 91.

¹⁶² As Frederick Douglass said “power concedes nothing without a demand, it never did and it never will,” and although the Riot Commission’s recommendation can not be termed a demand, the recommendation should greatly aid the fight for redress much like the boost given to the Japanese-American struggle by the commission to study the internment. See Frederick Douglass, Speech Before the West Indian Emancipation Society (Aug. 4, 1857), *The Life and Writings of Frederick Douglass* (Philip S. Foner ed., 1950) 437.

the payout should be paid.”¹⁶³ In many respects, just raising the question is a tremendous victory for the reparations movement, considering the fact that many do not even wonder about “how the payout should be made”, because they do not plan to pay anything! Yet, observations like Wickham’s must be taken seriously and convincingly addressed. Therefore, any reparations advocate must be prepared to articulate exactly what they want and how it will adequately and effectively fulfill all the cited goals of reparations.¹⁶⁴

B. What should Reparations Accomplish for Greenwood?

Reparations must be provided to compensate the victims and the descendants for the destruction of Greenwood. The remedy must successfully eradicate the negative impact of racism, which prompted the deadly holocaust in the first place. Otherwise, the reparations plan will be an empty victory, because a one-time payment without the elimination of the far-reaching effects of the Greenwood Holocaust will not materially eradicate the current grave standard of living for today’s north Tulsa/Greenwood community. Furthermore, it must be clearly understood that the racism that fueled the Greenwood Holocaust and continues to keep Blacks oppressed, in Tulsa, is “structural in character, and is largely grounded in institutional processes rather than by individuals’ behavior. Racial prejudice [in Tulsa] is reproduced by institutions-economic, educational, social, and political-of our society.”¹⁶⁵ Thus, many reparations advocates argue

¹⁶³ See Dewayne Wickham, *Reparations Payment Undermines Support*, http://www.usatoday.com/news/opinion/columnist/wickham/2002-08-19-opcom_x.htm.

¹⁶⁴ See Shelton & Ingadottir, *supra* note 104.

¹⁶⁵ See Manning, *supra* note 129.

that “any kind of financial reparations has to go to some publicly chartered institution that set up to eradicate the two most persistent problems black folks face: education and economic development.”¹⁶⁶ However, an essential element of the Greenwood reparations plan must also be money for the survivors and their descendants in order to ease the excruciating pain of losing their sacred family heirlooms, family pictures, personal and real property, security of family and friends, aspirations, and inheritances.¹⁶⁷

B. *The Marshall Plan*

Any reparations plan for the Greenwood Holocaust must include: 1) cash payments to survivors; 2) land that the community could control to spur economic development; 3) monies for capital improvement and infrastructure repair; and 4) educational programs to heal the psychological damage done, much like the Marshall Plan. Instituted in 1948, the Marshall Plan’s primary focus was the total revival of war torn Europe, which had been depleted of almost everything including its most precious resource—people.¹⁶⁸ The Marshall Plan eventually spent over \$13 billion dollars (\$88 billion dollars in present day dollars) and

¹⁶⁶ See Wickham, *supra* note 163.

¹⁶⁷ This pain has been greatly exacerbated because survivors mostly have had to suffer in silence even with the knowledge of the “person” responsible—the city of Tulsa

¹⁶⁸ There were many practical reasons why the United States interest to re-build Europe converged with the interests of Europeans desire to be rebuilt, specifically the fact that the U.S. and capitalism were already in sharp competition with the U.S.S.R. and communism, and “the U.S. economy also benefited from the Marshall Plan as the U.S. preserved and improved its trading relationship with Europe. By stimulating European productivity and accepting a greater volume of imports, the U.S. saw its own exports increase several-fold in the decades that followed.” See, *Fact Sheet Prepared by the Office of Policy and*

effectively funded capital improvement projects for infrastructure repairs such as burnt-out buildings, roads, bridges, hospitals, and communication facilities.¹⁶⁹ In addition, the Marshall Plan provided food subsidies, military training and protection, educational programs, and a host of other much needed programs.¹⁷⁰ Moreover, using the Marshall Plan as the guide for future comprehensive rebuilding schemes is not just my idea, it is also an approach the U.S. State Department strongly endorses because:

The Marshall Plan has more than symbolic value. It also offers some practical guides to the current and future generations; after all, much of what the Marshall Plan accomplished came at little cost to the American taxpayer. The technical assistance program, which absorbed only a fraction of American aid, nonetheless put American technical, engineering, manufacturing, and marketing know-how behind the revitalization of the European economies. Similar programs could bring comparable benefits to the developing world today, and their prospects for success would only increase if they embodied the same spirit of cooperation that infused so much of the Marshall Plan. Virtually every part of the Marshall Plan stressed the principle of European self-help and involved Europeans and Americans as partners in the job of reconstruction. Nor was cooperation limited to political leaders and government officials. It was part of the genius of the Marshall Plan that cooperation at the government level went hand-in-hand with a private, trans-European and transatlantic pattern of collaboration that involved leaders from business, labor, agriculture, and the academy. This kind of cooperation not only undergirded the recovery program in Europe, but also accounted for its success in the United States, where the same combination of private groups helped to educate the American people to the need for European stabilization and won support for the Marshall Plan on Capitol Hill.¹⁷¹

Likewise, a reparations plan for the Greenwood Holocaust must honestly seek to provide all the necessary tools and support needed for Greenwood/North Tulsa to recover and once again become self-determining. Accordingly, the Greenwood Plan must be comprehensive and far-reaching like the Marshall Plan

Public Affairs, Bureau for European and Canadian Affairs, May 12, 1997
<http://www.state.gov/www/regions/eur/marshall.html> (last visited Feb. 16, 2003).

¹⁶⁹ See *Id.*

¹⁷⁰ See *Id.*

¹⁷¹ See Michael J. Hogan, *Blue Print for Recovery*,
<http://www.usembassy.de/usa/etexts/marshall/pam-blu.htm> (last visited Feb 16, 2003).

if it is to emulate the tremendous success of the Marshall Plan with respect to the rebuilding of Europe.

X. The Greenwood Plan

A. Payment of Cash amount to Survivors & their Descendants

In 1990, the U.S. government allocated \$1.25 Billion dollars to pay Japanese-Americans unjustly detained in concentration camps during WWII.¹⁷² Therefore, a cash payment to the survivors must be an uncompromising component of the entire Greenwood Plan. For, just as innocent Japanese Americans suffered because of their ethnicity, the same holds true for the survivors of the Greenwood Holocaust.¹⁷³ The U.S. government, very quickly provided monetary relief for those victims and families affected by the tragic terrorist actions of September 11, 2001.¹⁷⁴ Yet, the Black citizens of Greenwood have never received any monetary compensation or relief for their tremendous

¹⁷² See *Civil Liberties Act of 1988 Aleutian and Pribilof Islands Restitution Act*, <http://thomas.loc.gov/cgi-bin/bdquery> (last visited Feb. 16th, 2003).

¹⁷³ At the time the government provided many rationales for the unconstitutional detainment of U.S. citizens, however the Japanese-Americans were put in camps because "real" U.S. citizens could not or did not trust their loyalty.

¹⁷⁴ Shortly after the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks, President George W. Bush signed the September 11th Victim Compensation Fund of 2001 into law as Title IV of Public Law 107-42 ("Air Transportation Safety and System Stabilization Act"), the Act authorizes compensation to any individual (or the personal representative of a deceased individual) that was physically injured or killed as a result of the terrorist-related aircraft crashes on that day. See *September 11th Victim Compensation Fund of 2001* <http://www.usdoj.gov/victimcompensation/> (last visited February 16th, 2003). In addition, legislation has been introduced to compensate the victims of the terrible Oklahoma City bombing that took the lives of 163 innocent victims based on the same reasoning used to support compensation to victims of the terrorist-related aircraft crashes on September 11, 2001. See *Oklahoma City Victims Compensation Act H. R. 3633* <http://thomas.loc.gov/cgi-bin/bdquery> (last visited Feb. 16th, 2003).

losses. There is a tremendous disparity between this society's ability to acknowledge and address the problems of other peoples compared to its historic treatment of Black Americans. Are the causes for this disparity blatant racism and disrespect for Black life and property?

Any survivor or descendant of the holocaust, who can prove that they or their ancestors suffered at the hands of unruly mobs employed by the city of Tulsa, should receive cash payments.¹⁷⁵ Once the eligible recipients are identified, the next concern should be the method for calculating the payments? The Greenwood Plan should follow the same or a similar formula used in calculating the monies paid to the victims of the September 11 tragedies.¹⁷⁶ Each living survivor or his/her descendant should be exempt from state income taxes for the next 25 years. This may seem like a long-time to allow the abatement of taxes; however, in light of the amount of time that has elapsed while the victims and their descendants await justice, this abatement from taxes is clearly constitutional, as § 5 of Article 10 of the Oklahoma State Constitution allows the state legislature to pass laws permitting abatement of taxes if:

1. Collection of the tax with interest and penalties would cause the taxpayer to declare bankruptcy;
2. The tax is not collectible because, for reasons beyond his control, the taxpayer is insolvent;
3. Other similar factors beyond the taxpayer's control caused the tax not to be collectible;
4. The tax resulted from actions of a person other than the taxpayer. Moreover, it must be unfair to hold the taxpayer responsible;
- or 5. The tax is a trust fund tax that the taxpayer did not collect from

¹⁷⁵ This should not be too difficult to prove. The ancestor or the descendant must prove 1) that they once lived in Tulsa, owned property in Tulsa, or were in Tulsa on May 31/June 1st, 1921; and) 2) that the person or persons were Black. If these criteria are met we know that the person is eligible because every Black in Tulsa was under attack during the Greenwood Holocaust.

¹⁷⁶ See *September 11th Victim Compensation Fund of 2001*, *supra* note 174.

this customer. Additionally, the taxpayer must have believed in good faith that he did not have to collect the tax.¹⁷⁷

Clearly, the Greenwood Holocaust and aftermath were “factors beyond the taxpayer’s [Greenwood victims] control.” Therefore, it is appropriate to suspend the payment of taxes for the Greenwood victims. Why should the victims be obligated to pay taxes to the same entity that viciously and unremorsefully burnt everything they owned to the ground, and killed and terrorized their friends and family should have been suspended. Moreover, if U.S. legislation can be enacted for the victims and/or the descendants of the Jewish holocaust, which did not even take place on these shores, then surely the same can be done for actual citizens of this country.¹⁷⁸ “Not exempting this income from taxation is tantamount to the Federal government ‘profiting’ from restitution payments intended to compensate Holocaust survivors and their families for their pain and suffering.”¹⁷⁹ In addition, the victims of September 11, 2001 and the Oklahoma City bombing received protected favor from the federal government when “President Bush signed the Victims of Terrorism Tax Relief Act—bipartisan legislation that provides significant income and estate tax relief to the families of victims of terrorism. This legislation will help the victims of September 11, the Oklahoma City bombing, and the recent anthrax attacks.”¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁷ See *Okla. Const. Art. X, § 5* Oklahoma Constitution.

¹⁷⁸ See *Hayworth Wants Permanent Adoption Tax Credit, No Income Tax on Holocaust Victims’ Restitution*, <http://www.gop.gov/item-news.asp?N=20020606111017> (last visited Feb. 16, 2003).

¹⁷⁹ See *Id.*

¹⁸⁰ See *Fact Sheet: Victims of Terrorism Tax Relief Act*, <http://usinfo.state.gov/topical/pol/terror/02012310.htm> (Last visited Feb. 16th, 2003).

A. *De-Annexation of the North side of Tulsa and naming it Greenwood*

While no one can say with certainty what “Black Wallstreet” would look like today, it is reasonable to assume the town would have continued to prosper in light of the wealth that had been amassed prior to June 1, 1921. We do know for sure that Tulsa, Oklahoma is almost as segregated today as it was 82 years ago.¹⁸¹ The only difference today is that the Black population of the north side of Tulsa (Greenwood) now relies exclusively on the mostly white businesses on the south side of Tulsa.¹⁸² Black Tulsans obtain the vast majority of their goods, services, and even their most basic needs from White businesses, as the former Greenwood community is now void of vibrant businesses, riddled with old abandoned buildings, hampered by under funded schools, overflowing with drugs, and grossly neglected by the city and county government of Tulsa in every way.¹⁸³

Therefore, the north side of Tulsa should be allowed to de-annex. The “de-annexed” section of Tulsa should be renamed Greenwood, and declared a historical site. At first glance, allowing such a depressed and deprived area as north Tulsa to become its own municipality hardly seems prudent. However, de-annexing from Tulsa would allow Greenwood to accomplish the following: 1)

¹⁸¹ The Afrikan-American population of Tulsa composes only about 14.1 percent of the city’s population. Yet, about 58 percent of all Afrikan-Americans live in North Tulsa/Greenwood. See Hammer, Siler, George Associates, *North Tulsa Urban Economic Development Plan*, at 18 (Jan. 15, 1998) (unpublished manuscript, on file with the Tulsa Metropolitan Chamber of Commerce).

¹⁸² “North Tulsa is experiencing a form of suppressed demand, a demand which goes unmet because of the disappearance of ‘supply’ within the neighborhood. A market for higher quality goods and services remains, but local residents is forced to go south Tulsa in order to obtain quality goods and services.” See *Id.*

¹⁸³ See *Id.*

provide the community's citizens with a land base to control and call their own, which is extremely important, not just because the land was lost during the Greenwood Holocaust, but because control of land is a basic ingredient for social and economic development;¹⁸⁴ 2) pave the way for substantial renovation and re-creation of a portion of the famous areas of the old Greenwood Business District. This initiative could create a very viable tourist attraction. This re-creation of "Black Wallstreet" will bring much needed revenue and jobs to the new community;¹⁸⁵ 3) create a central governing committee to oversee implementation of the Greenwood Plan. This central committee would be the

¹⁸⁴ Native Americans are an excellence example of how control of a land base allows a depressed area and people to pull themselves out of the doldrums. Native American nations have made their most significant economic advances over the past half-century because of a land base that enjoys "certain unique advantages...for example, they are not entities subject to federal income taxes." Moreover, unlike the numerous "significant barriers confronting Indian county development which include: remoteness of many reservations from major urban and regional market centers and transportation networks; a lack of public and private infrastructure and capital investment; and an oftentimes under trained and underutilized work force." See Robert J. Miller, *Economic Development in Indian Country: Will Capitalism or Socialism Succeed?* 80 Or. L. Rev. 757,757-760. If implemented correctly, the Greenwood Plan would overcome those obstacles because: 1) Greenwood is not in a remote location, but in the heart of Tulsa. The citizens of Greenwood would have easy access to an airport, highways, and waterways; 2) money for capital investment and infrastructure would be provided by the culpable governments, corporations moving into the economic empowerment zone, and other citizens moving back into the community; 3) the scholarship and leadership program would produce a highly skilled workforce, and the businesses taking advantage of the tax credits would also help train a skillful workforce. As a result, if the city of Greenwood were allowed to de-annex and receive similar tax treatment that Native American counties receive from the federal and state government, Greenwood would once again become home to healthy, prosperous, and productive African-American citizens.

¹⁸⁵ This means a portion of the new municipality would be completely refurbished into its original condition much like the tourist towns in the Northeastern United States set-up in colonial style for the preservations and commemoration of the early history of the United States. See <http://www.history.org/noflash.cfm> (last visited Apr. 25, 2003).

municipality of Greenwood itself; 4) allow the community through its own governing body to create and attract business to an economic empowerment zone for the benefit of the community. Greenwood would be free to decide where, when and how different businesses would be allowed to come into the community, thus providing an opportunity for its citizens to play a major role in the revitalization effort; and 5) allow the community to reach the ultimate goal of the Greenwood Plan, which is to become a self-sufficient, thriving community.

B. Education Program

For many years, the Afrikan-American mantra has been “education is the key to advancement and success”.¹⁸⁶ Without a doubt, this is true, providing the educational model is geared toward improvement of the community. The educational component of the Greenwood Plan is practical, simple and is designed solely for the benefit and improvement of the Greenwood community, and not just the individual in the plan.

1. Scholarship Program

Any survivor or descendant of a survivor of the Greenwood Holocaust should be able to go to any one of Oklahoma’s publicly supported universities free of charge.¹⁸⁷ For the next 20 years any student from north Tulsa/Greenwood should also be eligible for a full tuition scholarship at state supported schools.

¹⁸⁶ The curriculum must be designed to truly enlighten and inspire the recipients receiving it to work to create and implement solutions in the Black community. See Dr. Carter G. Woodson, *Mis-Education of the Negro*, (1933).

¹⁸⁷ The scholarship program could be funded by a combination of the Oklahoma state lottery funds, private business grants, and institutional scholarships.

The scholarship would be renewed annually for as long as the student remains in good standing at the university. The scholarship would pay tuition all the way through graduate, law, or medical school. In addition, the program would have an extensive internship program, where young adult students would be required to return to Greenwood each summer to work in their field with an existing community organization, business, or governmental entity. During these summer months, students would receive additional leadership training.¹⁸⁸ These provisions guarantee that each year, students with fresh ideas would energize Greenwood's businesses, organizations, and governmental agencies. Greenwood would be kept abreast of the latest ideas, technology, and other innovations, thereby increasing Greenwood's productivity and enhancing the quality of the lives of its citizens. Once a student finishes the program, he/she should be automatically eligible for low-interest loans and/or business grants to be used as seed money to establish businesses in the economic empowerment zone of Greenwood.¹⁸⁹ Lastly, because this scholarship is to compensate for the terrorist acts committed against Greenwood and to help in the re-building of the community, a safeguard must be inserted to insure that matriculating individuals benefiting from these scholarships must commit to remaining in Greenwood for a minimum of three years after receiving their degree(s).¹⁹⁰ This program will produce tremendous tangible benefits within five years, as an army of young,

¹⁸⁸ See part two of Greenwood Education Program

¹⁸⁹ The businesses of survivors and descendents will also be totally exempt from state and county taxes.

¹⁹⁰ This is very similar to a highly indebted law student taking a job at a governmental entity for X amount of years in exchange of having governmental loans forgiven. In addition, if a student does not want to complete their obligation

skilled, and educated individuals would be leading Greenwood back to prosperity. This aspect of the Greenwood Plan has to be implemented with precision to maximize the benefits to students and the community.

2. Leadership Program

Each summer, scholarship participants should go through additional leadership training at a newly-created institute of leadership that I suggest be called the J.B. Stradford Institute of Afrikan-American Leadership¹⁹¹. The leadership program should be housed at Langston University's Tulsa branch.¹⁹²

The goals of J.B. Stradford Institute of African-American Leadership would be:

- 1) To create, through interactive teaching, activities, and readings, a pool of skilled young Afrikan-American men and women capable of assuming leadership roles within their families, the Greenwood community, the State of Oklahoma, the nation, and the world.
- 2) To create young people who are Afrikan centered and well grounded in a worldview that embraces Afrikan culture as a way-of-life.
- 3) To create young people who are dedicated to achieving the total political, social, economic, and spiritual empowerment of *Greenwood* and its residents.
- 4) To create young people who are sensitive to the complexities of Black culture, racism, oppression, and possess the skills to identify and implement creative solutions to the myriad of problems ravaging Black communities the world-over.

The leadership program, in session during the summer months of June and July, would include a heavy reading requirement,¹⁹³ supplemented with

to the community, the student can opt out at anytime, if he/she pays all the money back, including the tuition for the college and the leadership program.

¹⁹¹ Stradford, the son of freed Kentucky slaves, came to Greenwood to make a better life. The World War I veteran did achieve his goal by becoming one of Greenwood's most successful businessman and advocates of racial pride and equal justice. Truly it was men like Stradford that spurred Greenwood to achieve a level never duplicated en mass by Afrikans in America.

¹⁹² Langston University is the only all-Black University in the state of Oklahoma, and this branch sits at 700 North Greenwood Tulsa, Ok, 74106, which is right in the heart of old Greenwood. Thus, it is only fitting that it plays an integral rule in the revitalization of new Greenwood. See *Langston University*, <http://www.lunet.edu/> (last visited Feb. 16th, 2003).

¹⁹³ The reading list would include but not be limited to these works of the following in their entirety or parts: Dr. Carter G. Woodson-Mis-Education of the

workshops to address crucial life skills needed to become a well-rounded leader. Topics addressed in the leadership program would include but not be limited to: Parental Skills; Marriage Skills; Self Knowledge (African History, Black History), Entrepreneur Skills; Sexual Responsibility and protection; Standard First Aid; Financial Planning & Investment; Personal/Family Health; Politics; and How to discern and overcome Racism/Sexism. Professionals from the various disciplines should teach the workshops.¹⁹⁴ Lastly, the leadership program should include a travel component that encourages the future leaders to observe different state, national, and international cultures and systems, and nurture well-rounded and experienced young people capable of completing the huge task of rebuilding Greenwood.

C. Economic Empowerment

The cornerstone of pre-holocaust Greenwood was its outstanding economy. Thus, if Greenwood and its residents are to grow, develop, and

Negro; Dr. W.E.B. Dubois-Souls of Black Folk; Dr. Moliel Asante-Afrocentricity; Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr, Malcolm X-The Autobiography of Malcolm X; Dr. Chancellor Williams Destruction of Black Civilization; Dr. Claud Anderson-Black Labor, White Wealth; Dr. Haki Madhubuti-Black Men Single, Obsolete, Dangerous? The Afrikan-American Family in Transition; Dr. Na'im Akbar-Visions for Black Men and Chains and Images of Psychological Slavery; Dr. Derek Hopson & Dr. Darlene Hopson-Friends, Lovers, & Soul Mates; Dr. James Reed, Dr. Niel Shuluman, & Charles Shucker-The Black Man's Guide to Good Health; Kevin Boston- Smart Money Moves for African American; Dr. Oba T' Shakes-Return to the African Mother Principle of Male & Female Equality, The Art of Leadership 1&2; Dr. George G.M. James-Stolen Legacy; Dr. Jawanza Kunjufufu- Black College Student Survival Guide; Dr. Booby E. Wright-The Psychopathic Racial Personality and Other Essays; Dr. Maluna Karenga-Selection From the Husia: Sacred Wisdom of Ancient Egypt; Rev. Albert Cleage-Black Christian Nationalism; Rev. James Cone-Black Theology and Black Power; Dr. ben-Jochannan Yosef A.A.- African, Mother of Western Civilization; Walter Rodney-How Europe Undeveloped Africa; Elijah Muhammad-How to Eat to Live

prosper in the future, the community must have a strong economic base. This can be accomplished through the following:

1) *Business Grants*

Drawing heavily from the programs employed in the wake of the September 11 attacks, citizens of Greenwood who desire to own a business should be eligible for business grants or low interest loans.¹⁹⁵ Truly the words and reasoning of Massachusetts Senator John Kerry on why the senate passed the American Small Business Emergency Relief and Recovery Act following the September 11 terrorist attacks should provide the impetus for similar legislation for Greenwood to be passed:

We are one step closer to delivering real economic relief to businesses devastated by the economic fall-out of the September 11th terrorist attacks. Small businesses are starving for the loans and credit to keep them on their feet during these tough times, and we need to deliver for them so the engine of the American economy does not become the latest collateral damage of the attacks on our nation¹⁹⁶

Money should be available to all survivors and their descendants under the following conditions: 1) they must be or be willing to become a citizen of

¹⁹⁴ This would greatly reinforce the lessons taught in the readings because the young people would have the opportunity to see exactly how the information relates and applies to real world situations.

¹⁹⁵ The purpose of this Act is to strengthen the loan and investment programs of the Small Business Administration, to allow loan recipients: 1) to meet their existing obligations, 2) finance their businesses, and 3) maintain and create jobs, and thereby provide stability to the National economy. Without a doubt, because of the Greenwood Holocaust and subsequent denial of help the prosperous businesses on Black Wallstreet were not able to accomplish any of the four enumerated goals of the H.R. 3073. As a result, the Greenwood economy is next to non-existent and definitely unstable. See *H.R. 3073 The American Small Business Emergency Relief and Recovery Act*, available at <http://thomas.loc.gov/cgi-bin/bdquery> (last visited Feb. 16th, 2003).

¹⁹⁶ See, *Kerry Emergency Relief for Small Businesses Passes Senate; Victory for Small Businesses Devastated by Sept. 11 Attacks, Recession*

Greenwood; and 2) they must be a participant in the scholarship program; or 3) they must complete a business/entrepreneurial program specially created and tailored to those who meet the other criteria for eligibility.¹⁹⁷ In addition, the Black business owner should be eligible for the property tax exemption and state income tax credit. This will help businesses get off the ground, while eventually increasing the amount of revenue to the state once the exemption period is up.

2) *Economic Empowerment Zone(s)*



New York burning after the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks

Policy and lawmakers wanting to re-vitalize the area destroyed in the September, 11, 2001 attacks clearly understood that special provisions would have to be put in place to again attract businesses to that once bustling area. Therefore, congress passed The Job Creation and Worker Assistance Act of 2002.¹⁹⁸ “The act contains various tax incentives designed to stimulate the economy and aid recovery from the impact of the September 11, 2001 terrorist

<http://www.usnewswire.com/topnews/first/0322-124.html> (last visited Feb. 16th, 2003).

¹⁹⁷ This ensures that those assuming the risks of business have as much knowledge and experience needed to open, foster, and grow a viable business.

¹⁹⁸ See HR 3090 available at <http://www.whitehouse.gov/omb/legislative/sap/107-1/HR3090-h.html> (last visited Feb. 20 2003).

attacks, including these provisions for the area of lower Manhattan designated as the New York Liberty Zone.” The New York Liberty Tax Zone incentives include:

1) Expansion of the Work Opportunity Tax Credit (WOTC)

A new targeted group has been added to the original eight targeted groups eligible for the WOTC. This new targeted group includes individuals who perform substantially all their services in the New York Liberty Zone (NYLZ), as well as individuals who perform substantially all their services in New York City for a business that relocated from the NYLZ to elsewhere within New York City due to the physical destruction or damage of their workplaces within the NYLZ by the September 11, 2001, terrorist attack. Unlike other targeted categories, members of the NYLZ group do not need to be certified. Small businesses may claim this credit for wages paid or incurred for both new hires and existing employees for work performed after December 31, 2001, and before January 1, 2004.

2) Special Depreciation Allowance for Certain Property

The law allows an additional first-year depreciation deduction equal to 30 percent of the adjusted basis of qualified NYLZ property. This additional deduction is allowed for both regular tax and alternative minimum tax purposes. In general, this provision applies to real property not eligible for additional first-year depreciation under the "general" additional first year depreciation rules.

3) Increase in Expensing Treatment for Business Property Used in the NYLZ

The law increased the amount a taxpayer may deduct under Section 179 (Election to Expense Certain Depreciable Business Assets) for qualifying property used in the NYLZ. Qualifying property in the NYLZ is property that is used to conduct a trade or business, and its original use began after September 11, 2001. The maximum dollar amount that may be deducted under Section 179 is increased by the lesser of (1) \$35,000 or (2) the cost of qualifying property placed in service after September 10, 2001, and before January 1, 2007.

4) Treatment of Qualified Leasehold Improvement Property

For purposes of the depreciation rules under Section 168, 5-year property includes qualified NYLZ leasehold improvement property placed in service after September 10, 2001, and before January 1, 2007. To qualify, property must not have been subject to a binding contract as of September 10, 2001.

5) Extension of Replacement Period

This Act extends the Section 1033 two-year period for a tax-free replacement of involuntarily converted property to five years for NYLZ property converted as a result of the September 11 terrorist attack.

6) Tax-Exempt Private Activity Bonds for Rebuilding in the NYLZ

During calendar years 2002, 2003 and 2004, up to \$8 billion of tax-exempt private activity bonds may be issued to finance the construction and rehabilitation of nonresidential and residential real property in the NYLZ. These bonds are limited to projects approved by the Mayor of New York City or the Governor of New York State, each of whom may designate up to \$4 billion of the bonds authorized under the Act.

7) Additional Advance Refunding for Certain Previously Refunded Bonds

Certain bonds for facilities in New York City may be advance refunded one additional time. This applies only to bonds for which all present-law advances refunding authority was exhausted prior to September 12, 2001, and with respect to which the advance refunding bonds were outstanding on September 11, 2001. Eligible advance bonds must be designated as such by the Mayor of New York City or the Governor of New York State, each of whom may designate up to \$4.5 billion of bonds. To be eligible for the additional advance refunding, at least 90% of the refunded bonds must have been used to finance facilities located in New York City.¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁹ See *The New York Liberty Tax Incentives*, <http://www.irs.gov/newsroom/article/0,,id=101475,00.html> (last visited Mar. 30, 2003).



Figure 1 Greenwood burning after the May 31/June 1st terrorist attacks

Greenwood must receive the same type of “New York Liberty Zone” incentives to attract and encourage large and small businesses, to train and hire Greenwood residents. Because of the “gangrene” like effect from eighty-two years of wanton neglect by those responsible for redressing the Greenwood Holocaust, there must be additional incentives to accomplish the goal of putting the community back to where it was before being destroyed; such as:

a). The Oklahoma Legislature could pass a law allowing businesses to move into the *Greenwood Economic Empowerment Zone* without a Tulsa county property tax requirement for up to a negotiated number of years.²⁰⁰ This same legislation should grant the city of *Greenwood* the authority to negotiate its own terms for business property assessments and receive the negotiated tax instead of the county. Businesses should be paying less than what they normally would under the county property tax scheme. Next, the U.S. government should allow special credits for businesses in the Greenwood Economic Empowerment Zone that: (1) develop decent affordable housing; 2) hire and train Greenwood residents; and 3) provide other critical infrastructure improvements for the city of

Greenwood.²⁰¹ Lastly, the Oklahoma State Legislature should pass a law to suspend the state income tax requirement for the economic zone for a limited number of years. Much like the property tax scheme, the Oklahoma Legislature should grant Greenwood authority to assess its own income tax rate within the empowerment zone.

Thus, a modified “New York Liberty Zone” incentive package should be implemented to settle in Greenwood. The Greenwood version of the New York Liberty Zone should include the abatement of county property taxes, access to other federal tax credits, and temporary suspension of Oklahoma State income tax, should entice companies to settle in Greenwood. With its new authority to negotiate favorable agreements with companies, the entire city of Greenwood and its residents would benefit from a healthy economy.

²⁰⁰ The Oklahoma State Constitution allows some businesses to have an exemption from property taxes for up to five years. See *Okla. Const. Art. X, § 5*.

²⁰¹ The U.S. government currently allows a number of non-refundable tax credits to encourage businesses to provide critical good and services to the nation. See *Internal Revenue Code Section 38: Volume 1 (2002)*.

C. Erect a Real Memorial at least Comparable to the Oklahoma Bombing Memorial



Figure 2 \$28 million dollar Oklahoma City Bombing Memorial

In 1998, five years after the horrendous terrorist bombing of the Alfred P. Murrah building in Downtown OKC, which took the lives of 168 innocent victims, the state of Oklahoma rightfully erected the Oklahoma City National Memorial and Memorial Center Museum, a twenty-eight million dollar memorial, to commemorate the victims of that terrible event.²⁰² No one should ever minimize the loss of lives or the pain and suffering of friends and families of the victims. However, the fact remains that the dreadful Oklahoma City bombing pales in comparison to the horrors of the Greenwood Holocaust in terms of the sheer numbers of lives and property destroyed. Yet, while the Oklahoma City Memorial almost takes up a city block, the current Greenwood Memorial is an appallingly small block of granite. The disparity between the two memorials gives one the impression that the African American lives ruined in the Greenwood Holocaust

are of significantly less importance than the mostly White Americans ruined in the Oklahoma City bombing. To rectify this disparity, a new memorial needs to be built, and it must be at least comparable in scope and grandeur to the Oklahoma City Bombing memorial. Moreover, the Greenwood Holocaust Memorial should be located within the newly restored “old Greenwood” section of town, and be a centerpiece for attracting and educating visitors and tourists.

E. State holiday with appropriate ceremonies each year

The state should declare June 1st a state holiday, and set aside the day for remembrance each year. This holiday’s primary goals would be: 1) to ensure that the state always recognizes and remembers what happened on that dreadful day in 1921; 2) to honor those who endured the horrors of the Greenwood Holocaust; 3) to encourage proper reflection by all of Oklahoma; 4) to properly honor and respect those whose lives were so drastically altered; and 5) to encourage ongoing assessment of the state of race relations in Oklahoma.

F. Oklahoma Black History Part of School Curriculum

Everyone would agree that the September 11, 2001 attacks would never be withheld from this nation’s history books. Yet, the Tulsa Public school system does not include formal instructions about the Greenwood Holocaust in its curriculum. The educational system’s omission of the Greenwood Holocaust from textbooks and school’s curriculum is a travesty of epic proportion. Therefore, the Greenwood Plan should mandate Oklahoma school districts devote a minimum of two entire class periods per year to the Holocaust. In fact, ideally, the time spent studying the Greenwood Holocaust should be comparable to the time

²⁰² See *Oklahoma City National Memorial and Memorial Center Museum*,

spent studying the Jewish Holocaust, especially since the later incident took place in Oklahoma and not thousands of miles away. The focus and goals of studying the Greenwood Holocaust would be to provide the program the recognition it deserves, and ensure that Oklahoma citizens (the students and their parents) understand why Greenwood/north Tulsa residents are entitled to the various “special” provisions granted by the state of Oklahoma.

XI. What will make the White Power Structure Grant Reparations?

A. Must Combine the Interests of all Parties Involved

Most white Americans readily acknowledge that the quality of life for Blacks severely lags behind Whites.²⁰³ Yet, most of these same Whites are unwilling to support any effective remedies, especially reparations, aimed at improving the lives of African-Americans.²⁰⁴ The chance that the White dominated Oklahoma power structure will voluntarily “do the right thing” is highly unlikely, especially in light of the severe opposition continually leveled against the most articulate and persuasive legal arguments offered on behalf of the Greenwood victims. As a result, It is quite possible that an undeniable moral claim will still not be enough to convince the state of Oklahoma to own up to its responsibility and redress the terrible acts committed.

So what would force the White power structure to “do the right thing” and grant reparations? The answer has been offered by Professor Derrick Bell, who

<http://www.oklahomacitynationalmemorial.org/> (last Feb. 16th, 2003).

²⁰³ See Paul Sniderman & Michael Gray Hagen, *Race and Inequality: A study in American Values*, 555 (1985).

contends, “whites [en mass] will support and tolerate gains for blacks only when these [gains] also benefit them.” Unfortunately, and historically, this appears to be the most accurate response to this poignant question.²⁰⁵ Bell adds “even if there is a fool-proof legal theory for Black reparations litigation, few judges or legislators would be moved in the absence of some dramatic event, major crisis, or tragic circumstance that conveyed the necessity or at least the clear advantage of adopting a reparations scheme to grant reparations.”²⁰⁶ As stated earlier, many have argued that one of the key factors contributing to Japanese Americans’ successfully securing reparations for the unconstitutional acts that the U.S. government perpetrated against them was because an unwillingness to do so may have created insurmountable barriers to maintaining economic relations between Japan and the United States.²⁰⁷ For many in government, prior to the Japanese securing reparations, thought that trade with Japan was suffering because there was “lingering animosity over the ill-treatment of Japanese-Americans during World War II.”²⁰⁸ Consequently, extending a formal apology, and reparations, was an attempt to improve relations with the economically powerful nation of Japan and to prevent an economic backlash tantamount to a major crisis, or tragic circumstance. That possibility of economic

²⁰⁴ See, *Bush Vows to Fight Quotas Michigan Admissions Policy Is Flawed, Says President*, Chicago Tribune, Jan. 17, 2003.

²⁰⁵ See Derrick Bell, *Comment, Brown v. Board of Education and the Interest-Convergence Dilemma*, 93 HARV. L. REV. 518, 518-19 (1980).

²⁰⁶ See Derrick A. Bell, Jr., *Dissection of a Dream*, 9 Harv. C.R.-C.I.L. Rev. 156, 158 (1974).

²⁰⁷ See Rhonda V. Magee *The Master’s Tools, From the Bottom Up: Responses to African-American Reparations Theory in Mainstream and Outsider Remedies Discourse* 79 Va. L. Rev 863,909.

²⁰⁸ See Magee, *supra* note 207, at 909.

backlash conveyed the necessity, or at least the clear advantage, of adopting a reparations scheme.²⁰⁹

A. Historical Examples of White and Black Interest Converging to Produce Gains for Blacks

It is erroneously believed that President Abraham Lincoln engaged in the Civil War to free Africans held in bondage by the South. Many believe Lincoln was morally more enlightened than any other U.S. president and took a personal interest in setting them free. However, slave holding President Thomas Jefferson wrote “I wish most sincerely there was not a slave in the province; it always appeared a most iniquitous scheme to me to fight ourselves for what we are daily robbing and plundering from those who have as good a right to freedom as we have.”²¹⁰ Thus, it is clear from this country’s inception that its leaders understood the evil and morally bankrupt nature of slavery. So, Lincoln was no more enlightened than the many presidents who came before him. However, because freeing enslaved Africans “helped to save the union,” Lincoln’s desire (White interest) to save the union converged with African’s desire (Black interest) to escape bondage as articulated by Lincoln himself on August 22, 1862: “If I could save the union without freeing any slave, I would do it...what I do about slavery and the colored race I do because I believe it helps to save the union.”²¹¹ The result was the Emancipation Proclamation, which greatly helped the Union win the war.

²⁰⁹ See *Id.*

²¹⁰ For although Jefferson insisted he was strongly anti-slavery, his “hatred” toward the institution never motivated him freeing his slaves or use his enormous prestige to oppose slavery unequivocally. See A. Leon Higginbotham, *In the*

One should study the Civil Rights movement of the 1950's and 1960's for a more modern example of the interests of Black people "converging" with the practical needs of the White power structure. Unquestionably, the tremendous sacrifice of money, time, blood, sweat, and tears made by valiant civil rights soldiers once again secured legislation to "guarantee" the "inalienable rights" of Blacks.²¹² Surely the bloody, inhuman, brutal scenes of violence being leveled against peaceful protesters, coming live into the living rooms of millions of people across the world, made it harder for the U.S. to present itself as the great humanitarian world police. This imagery put tremendous pressure on the power structure to grant some of the demands of the Civil Rights Movement. However, there is no denying that the Civil Rights Movement's efforts were greatly aided by the unrest of young whites over the war in Vietnam, the red hot "Cold War" that threatened to erupt into nuclear war with Cuba, and the assassination of President Kennedy. As a consequence, the power structure, much to the chagrin of many, had to make real concessions and "give" Black citizens civil rights. These concessions were necessary to prevent the United States from losing creditability around the world, but more importantly it kept the Federal Government from losing control within its own borders.

Matter of Color: Race and the American Legal Process: The Colonial Period, at 380 (1978).

²¹¹ See Loewen, *supra* note 15, at 181.

²¹² This highly charged era in United States history produced countless legal protests, boycotts, marches, sit-ins, and freedom rides. In addition, it is ironic that the rights that Afrikan people achieved during the 60's civil rights movement were about the same as those achieved after the passage of the Civil Rights Acts of the 1860's. See Juan Williams, *Eyes on the Prize: The American Civil Rights Movements, 1955-1960* (1988).

So, what will provide that “major crisis” to spur the granting of reparations for the Greenwood Holocaust victims? Certainly the very viable legal or moral theories discussed and others not mentioned in this piece could possibly be used to frame a winning argument and induce the power structure to “do the right thing.” However, seldom has the legal system worked in the favor of Africans in America, unless persuaded by tremendous political pressure. Maybe the moral responsibility espoused by a few Tulsa civic leaders shortly after the holocaust could be the impetus needed to “right the wrong.” However, the Greenwood community has been waiting patiently for over 80 years, for Tulsa to keep its promise to rebuild it. Maybe the power structure’s religious commitment will lead to the just act of granting reparations to the Greenwood victims. However, it is doubtful that religious convictions alone will convince the city of Tulsa, or the state of Oklahoma to redress the destructive acts of the Greenwood holocaust.

Anyone seeking reparations for the Greenwood Holocaust victims must convince the white dominated power structure that it is in their best interest to grant a comprehensive reparations plan. This process may be accomplished by: 1) highlighting the positives that reparations for the Greenwood Holocaust will produce and how the White power structure will benefit; 2) creating an atmosphere that absolutely makes it impossible for the power structure to ignore the demands of reparations advocates; or 3) some combination of the first two strategies.

C. How Granting Reparations Will Benefit the White Power Structure

Unfortunately since many areas in Tulsa and the entire State of Oklahoma are still suffering from the effects of what I call the “deadly trinity” of hatred, envy,

and White Supremacy, the Oklahoma power structure must be convinced that implementing the Greenwood Plan would: 1) allow the state to shed its image as a haven for racists and become a shining example to the world of how to atone for past mistakes. This would enhance the state's and the city's attractiveness for conventions, conferences, and other national and regional meetings, thus, generating much needed revenues for the state of Oklahoma and the city of Tulsa; 2) create a national historical tourist attraction by refurbishing the Greenwood District. This will ultimately stimulate the entire economy for the city of Tulsa and the State of Oklahoma by putting more money in the pockets of Oklahoma restaurants, hotels, malls, and toll-booths; 3) provide a point of reference for all Americans as well as foreign travelers about the tremendous history of Afrikan-Americans and Oklahoma and 4) repair the African-American community and provide a moral backdrop that the city of Tulsa or State of Oklahoma can use to foster true reconciliation between the races; 5) create a healthy, educated, safe, and self-sufficient community that can adequately address the needs of its citizens, and eventually reduce North Tulsa dependence on city and state funds and programs; 6) re-create an economically successful community that will allow more Oklahomans to find gainful employment, increase earnings and disposable income, increase city and state tax revenues, and charitable giving; 7) increase educational and economical opportunities that will, in turn, reduce poverty and crime in Greenwood and reduce monies spent for law enforcement and maintenance of prisons; 8) increase educational and economical opportunities that will address "the age-old issue of brain drain"²¹³

²¹³ See Jay Copper, *Lottery: Not A Savior*, Tulsa World, Nov. 24, 2002.

and encourage younger, educated, and skilled people to remain in the state, as acknowledged by Governor Brad Henry who said “that's what we need to do in Oklahoma.”²¹⁴ Indeed a better educated workforce will make Oklahoma more attractive to corporations seeking to relocate their operations to the area, and create more jobs and revenues for the entire state.

D. If Showing All the Positives of the Greenwood Plan Does Not Work, What Must Reparations Advocates do to Convince the Power Structure That Its in Their Best Interest To Grant Reparations?

Sadly, it is a strong possibility that demonstrating the benefits of the Greenwood Plan may not be enough to convince the white power structure that the gains for Tulsa’s Black community will also benefit Whites enough to justify granting the appropriate remedies. So, Greenwood reparations supporters must not only be ready for a long, grueling, and expensive legal fight, but must also be prepared to return to “in your face” civil rights style activism to create the “crisis” that will facilitate changing the political will of those in charge. This means reparation advocates must be prepared to implement such strategies and tactics as:

- 1) Launching an intensive media campaign aimed at embarrassing Tulsa and the State of Oklahoma before the entire world. The advocates must show the hypocrisy of America to call for reforms around the world while not implementing proper reforms at home.
- 2) Initiating strategic boycotts against specific industries, to force the Oklahoma business community to compel the political players to come to the table and work out a reparations plan.
- 3) Disrupting major events such as football and basketball games, concerts, plays, conventions and other events in Oklahoma by peacefully, lawfully protesting and demonstrating during these events. This would be done to raise

²¹⁴ See *Id.*

the awareness that an injustice has been woefully ignored for over eighty years and that it is time that it is righted.

4) Advocating for organizations that support reparations for the Greenwood Holocaust to refrain from convening any regional or national meetings, conferences, convention, or any other events in Tulsa and/or Oklahoma period.

5) Staging massive radio campaigns, distributing flyers on a weekly basis; organizing monthly street rallies, etc. until the issue is adequately addressed.



Conclusion

If adhered to the Greenwood Plan would: 1) compensate the victims for the terrible acts of May 31/June 1st, 1921; and 2) rebuild Greenwood, restoring it back to a proud, prosperous, and successful community. Just as the controversial Marshall Plan overcame tremendous obstacles once those in key positions obtained the political will to rebuild the lives and communities shattered by WWII and the Nazis Holocaust, if the White power structure of Tulsa can obtain the political will to implement the Greenwood Plan the lives and community shattered by the Tulsa Race War and the Greenwood Holocaust will be rebuilt.

Lastly, regardless of the eventual academic treatment of this document, if the average person with no prior reparations or Greenwood knowledge, understands: 1) why describing the Greenwood massacre, as a “race riot” is erroneous and misleading; 2) why a comprehensive reparations plan to compensate the victims and their descendants for the annihilation of Greenwood and its Black citizens is needed and long over due; 3) why support of some strategy ensuring the adoption of the Greenwood Plan is necessary; 4) why the Greenwood Plan would be the best reparations model to compensate and rebuild the Greenwood community back to a self-determined, prosperous, and successful community; and 5) why reparations advocates commit themselves to acting decisively to see that all of the above is accomplished, then the victims of the Greenwood Holocaust might finally receive justice and retribution for their suffering, and this endeavor is a success!

◆ Black Reparations Times ◆

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REPARATIONS: A HISTORY OF N'COBRA'S LEGISLATIVE FRONT

By Nkechi Taifa, Esq.
Co-Chair Legislative
Commission N'COBRA

Undisputably, the 21st century brings renewed vigor to the forward thrust for reparations for African Americans on many fronts – litigative, legislative, and grassroots. This brief history will focus on activities surrounding the legislative thrust for reparations, of which, to date, the National Coalition of Blacks for Reparations in America has been in the forefront of shaping and molding.

The struggle for reparations for African descendants in the United States has proliferated since Rep. John Conyers' initial introduction on November 20, 1989 of House Resolution 3374, the "Commission to Study Reparation Proposals for African Americans Act." N'COBRA, founded earlier, was instrumental in the drafting of

this legislation, working very closely with then Conyers' staffer Gregory Moore in fashioning the bill. It was strategically decided that the bill would closely follow the model of the Japanese American Redress Act in calling for the creation of a federally chartered commission to study the impact of slavery and post-slavery discrimination and make recommendations to Congress on its findings and, if appropriate, redress. Despite some differences of opinion as to the efficacy of this more conservative methodology of calling first for a study commission, N'COBRA rallied its human resources in support of HR 40, as opposed to a demand for actual reparations.



Dorothy Lewis, Quincy Jones, Kibibi Tyehimba, and Min. Abdul Khadir Muhammad - May 21, 2003 following AYBP Lobbying for HR-40 on Capitol Hill

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In the first Congress of the legislation's introduction, the co-signers in order of signing, were: Rep. Dellums; Rep. Fauntroy; Rep. Mfume; Rep. Wheat; Rep. Savage; Rep. Matsui; Rep. Torres;

(Continued on page 18)

Black Reparations Times®

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MISSION

The Commission will serve as the official organizational link for the dissemination and exchange of information on N'COBRA policies, Reparations issues, strategies and actions important to winning Reparations for African descendants in the U.S. and the Diaspora; assist in educating N'COBRA members and the general public about our just demands; and assist in the development of mass based support for Reparations.

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We encourage public discussions, led by the injured, to determine an equitable remedy for the African Holocaust of Enslavement. All African descendants have a right and responsibility to work towards defining and achieving Reparations. *The opinions and actions reported in Black Reparations Times are those of the person(s) representing them and in no way should be viewed as N'COBRA's unless clearly stated.* © 2003 all rights reserved

WE WANT MORE THAN JOBS!

On August 23, 2003, at Lincoln Memorial in Washington, DC, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Martin Luther King III, and a coalition which included the NAACP, the Urban League, the National Council of Negro Women, NOW, the Arab-American Institute, the AFL-CIO, and United for Peace and Justice, hosted the 40th anniversary celebration of the "March on Washington (MOW) for Jobs and Freedom." The theme was "Return, Repair and Renew." NCOBRA member, Brother Mark Thompson (Matsimela Mapfumo) played a significant role in the planning of the event. Ms. Dorothy Benton-Lewis spoke on behalf of N'COBRA and the Reparations Movement. Ms. Lewis shared the podium with Congressman John Lewis of Georgia, presidential candidate Rev. Al Sharpton, Rev. Jesse Jackson of Rainbow/Push Coalition, Ms. Coretta King, Mr. Martin L. King III of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), former Congressman Walter Fauntroy, and national spokesperson for the Nation of Islam, Sister Minister Ava Muhammad.

"Greetings from the National Coalition of Blacks for Reparations in America (N'COBRA) We are a diverse coalition of organizations and individuals organized for the sole purpose of obtaining reparations for descendants of enslaved Africans.

Brothers and Sisters If we are serious about returning, repairing and renewing the Dream, we must admit that there is a serious debt, a serious injustice looming overhead that happened long before 1963.

We must acknowledge the 200 Million Africans lost in the Holocaust of Enslavement from Africa, Europe, the Americas and the Caribbean...for whom there has been no day of mourning, no apology, no atonement or reparations for their survivors.

We must acknowledge the uncounted hundreds of millions of Africans who endured a life of suffering, torture, humiliation, and daily terror in hopes that future generations could have a life free of terror, oppression, and any form of enslavement. Without them, life would not be as we know it today.

We must acknowledge the Dr. Kings, Malcolm Xs, John Browns, Ida B. Wells, and Queen Mother Moores

of the world for giving their lives to continue the vision of our ancestors for a future worthy of their and our suffering.

N'COBRA also has a vision for a new and better world.

We know that every issue that we speak of today can and must be part of our demand for reparations. Housing, Health Care, Land, Education, Child Welfare, Family Stability, Economic Development and equal treatment under our justice system. You name it, comes under the banner of reparations. Because Reparations is more than a check, more than a job; 265 years of slavery was a job. And if the jobs today continue to pay Black people 60 cents on a dollar while Whites earn the whole dollar, we will remain wage-earning slaves.

We must face it, while we have been marching for jobs, jobs have been marching out of this country in search of new slaves in foreign countries. Jobs are marching into prisons where they can legally work 2 million racially profiled Black men and women to death again without pay.



Ms. Dorothy Benton-Lewis,
N'COBRA National Co-Chair

Photo by Wautella

In honor of Dr. King, we are the generation to demand that America make good on the check that has always been marked insufficient funds when it comes to Black/African people. We want more than jobs. We

(Continued on page 23)

Reparations Town Hall Rally

By Hannibal Afrik,
National Co-Chair, N'COBRA

A major Reparations Town Hall Rally was held October 4, 2003 at Tougaloo College Health & Wellness Center. Co-sponsored by the Mississippi Reparations Committee; Jackson, MS, N'COBRA chapter and the Tougaloo College Pre-Law Society, this event attracted veteran Reparations activists from across the country.

Earlier that day, the NDABA: The Great Sit-Down II met at Jackson State University Liberal Arts Building to analyze critical issues in eight work sessions, namely: Youth Organizing, Legislative Initiatives, Black Church, Legal Strategies, Research & Scholarship, Strategies for Organizational Collaboration, Internal Healing and Education as each relates to the Reparations Movement.

On July 26, 2003, Dr. Conrad Worrill, Chair, NBUF and Minister Louis Farrakhan, Nation of Islam convened the first NDABA meeting in Chicago, IL. Based on the volume of noteworthy work currently in progress, the conveners announced a follow-up meeting in Jackson, MS, which has a painful history of racial hostility and economic injustice against Black people. The Call for a Reparations Town Hall Rally attracted over 1,000 people, who eagerly responded to the electrified keynote address by Minister Louis Farrakhan.

The purpose of the NDABA work sessions is to create strategies for a mass-based mobilization campaign. This will become a National Reparations United Front that can educate and motivate all descendants of enslaved Africans in this country. Ultimately, every family, organization and individual person has a voice in determining the outcome of the inevitable Reparations settlement from the U.S. government.

During the afternoon, a Youth Leadership Forum was conducted at JSU Liberal Arts Building sponsored by the Pierian Literary Society. College students from the JSU Student Government Association and Tougaloo College were joined with collegians from Georgia State University, Clark-Atlanta and Savannah State College, GA. They dialogued with several national veteran Reparations scholars and activists. Planning has begun to organize campus Reparations study groups and N'COBRA student chapters.

In many cities and states, resolutions have been passed in support of HR-40, a bill introduced in Congress by Representative John Conyers (D-MI) every year since 1989. Patterned after the Japanese-American Reparations Act, Conyers' bill calls for a congressional study commission to conduct hearings across the country to ensure maximum community interaction. Councilman Kenneth Stokes was successful in sponsoring a Jackson City Council Resolution endorsing Reparations at the municipal level. Also, in 2003, Councilman Stokes sponsored a resolution declaring February as Reparations Awareness Month. Lobbying efforts have been initiated to now support a Mississippi state resolution for Reparations. All elected officials and candidates are

being challenged to declare their position on Reparations for descendants of enslaved African people in Mississippi.

Furthermore, the Jackson, MS N'COBRA chapter is scheduling a series of community events to provide update information on current Reparations lawsuits against national corporations. Additionally, there will



Photo by Ma'at

Baba Hannibal Afrik
Pouring libation for the Ancestors

be forums to address voter education, college student and youth leadership projects, the criminal justice system and economic development. Future events include the February 2004 state-wide Reparations Forum and organizing a chartered busload to the March 2004 NDABA III in Houston, TX.

There is a definite active role for Mississippians to play in promoting the Reparations Movement until it becomes a household word. Then, with our righteous demand for economic and social justice, the federal government must acknowledge this "crime against humanity" and make restitution a reality 'with all deliberate speed.'

For additional information, Contact Baba Hannibal Afrik, 601.535.7551, or Brother Lukata Chikuyu, 601.957.2969. Reparations, Now!!!

N'COBRA Representatives in Attendance

1. Baba Hannibal Afrik, N'COBRA National Co-chair
2. Ajamu Sankofa: National Secretary and Northeast Region Representative
3. Johnita Scott-Obadele, Co-chair, Membership & Organizational Development
4. Dr. Imari Obadele, Advisor, Economic Development Commission
5. Alvin Brown, Co-chair, Economic Development Commission; Co-chair of Midwest Region; Co-chair, St. Louis chapter
6. Sheereta Lacy, Co-chair, Youth Commission and Co-chair, Indianapolis Chapter
7. Nuri Medina, Co-chair, Youth Commission
8. Njere Alghanee, Co-chair, Human Resource Commission and Southeast Region Representative
9. Wautella Ibn Yusuf, Co-chair, Information & Media Commission and Co-chair, Washington, DC chapter
10. General Kuratibsha X Ali Rashid, Elder Advisory Board
11. Lukata Chikuyu, Co-chair, Jackson, MS Area Chapter
12. Vallena Greer; Co-chair, Jackson, MS Area Chapter
13. Atty. Imhotep Alkebulan; Secretary, Jackson, MS Area Chapter
14. Anana Nyaumu-wi; Treasurer,
along with several chapter members

Black Reparations Times

In response to the growing momentum of the Reparations movement, the Information and Media Commission is committed to disseminating timely information on issues related to our struggle for Reparations. Our new publication, "BLACK REPARATIONS TIMES" © 2003 will report news and information not only about N'COBRA's work, but also the efforts of other Reparations advocates, nationally and internationally. Your comments and suggestions are always welcome.

You can also help by:

- 1) providing items for possible publication such as articles, photos, etc;
- 2) volunteering professional skills (graphic arts, managing subscriptions & distribution, fundraising, etc.);
- 3) donating generously to this project, and
- 4) identifying potential sponsors.

Email: InformationMedia@aol.com

Phone: 202.466.1622

Black Reparations Times

Subscription

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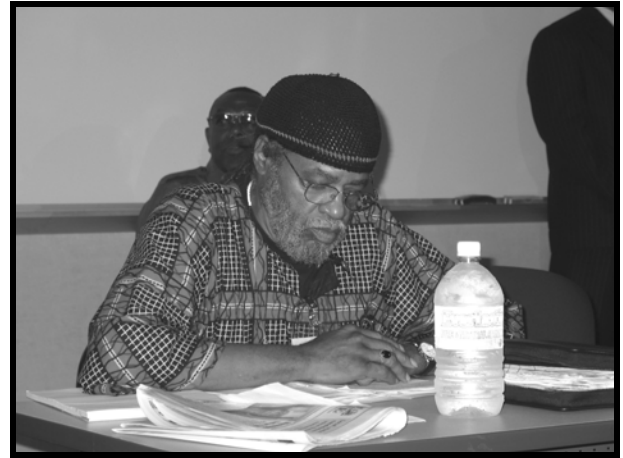
N D A B A II

Jackson, Mississippi



Minister Louis Farrakhan (standing - right)
&
Baba Hannibal Afrik (seated right)

Photo by Wautella



Dr. Conrad Worrill

Photo by Wautella



Chokwe Lumumba, Esq.

Photo by Ma'at

Vallena Greer, Co-chair,
Jackson, MS Area Chapter



Photo by Wautella

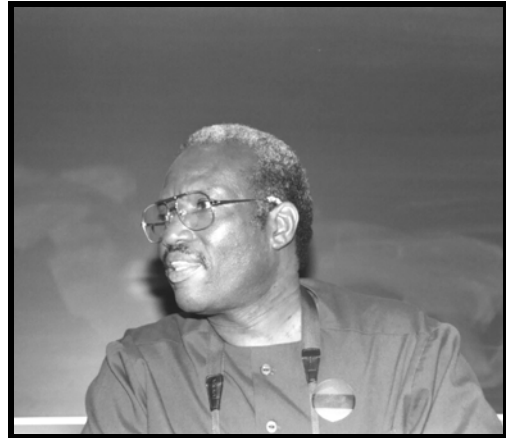
NDABA II

Jackson, Mississippi



**The Republic of New Afrika
Delegation**

Photo by Ma'at



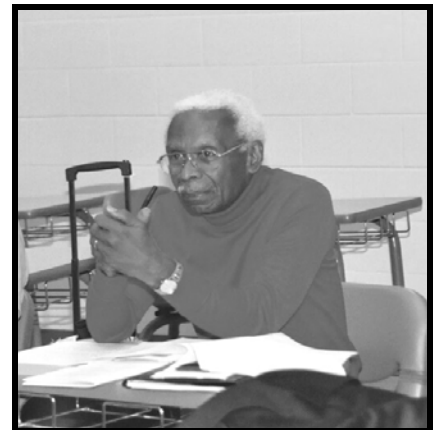
Ukali Mwendo,
President, Republic of New Afrika

Photo by Ma'at



**The New Black Panther Party
Delegation**

Photo by Ma'at



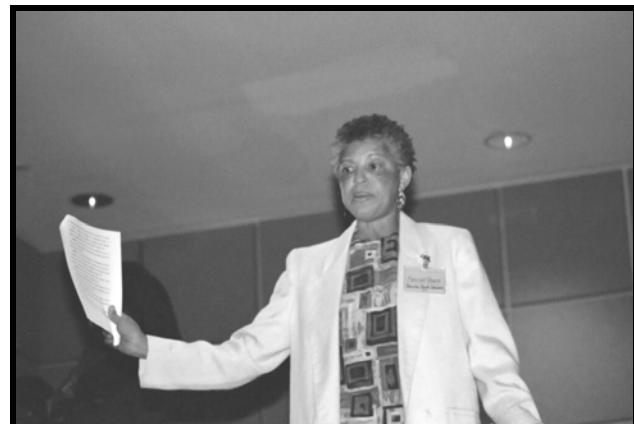
Dr. Imari Obadele

Photo by Ma'at



Dr. Raymond A. Winbush

Photo by Ma'at



Johnita Scott-Obadele
Pushes N'COBRA AYBP program from the floor

Photo by Ma'at

The Reparations United Front of Southern California

Brief History of A Reparations Activist Group

By David L. Horne, Los Angeles

The Reparations United Front in Los Angeles is an organization based on four discernible items: the success of N'COBRA and the National Black United Front across the country, a written agreement to jointly recognize a common definition and purpose for the reparations project that was signed by seven L.A. organizations in July, 2002 in connection with representation for the August 17, 2002 reparations rally in Washington, D. C.; the need for more focus and conceptual unity for reparations activities in Southern California; and the collected experience of a number of Black activists who had seen the success and failure of numerous organizations in the region.

In light of the above, in November, 2002, a group of organizational representatives, individual activists, and those looking for an effective outlet for their Black Nationalist interests, met at the Los Angeles Thomas Bradley Family and Youth Center to consider the formation of a new reparations activist organization that could push the movement forward in this region. For those who had paid attention to our recent history of quick start-quick death organizations in Southern California, it was clear that in order to spark and sustain the interest of the very substantial Black Nationalist community in Southern California, and to be effective in educating the public and increasing the momentum towards accomplishing the great goals of the national/international Reparations Movement, any new reparations organization would have to clearly demonstrate the lessons learned from previous attempts in Southern California, including the N'COBRA chapter in Los Angeles from 1997-1999. A new organization would also have to be able to transcend the currently debilitating and ego-driven schisms that were consistently producing the wildly disparate activities going on in Los Angeles in the name of reparations and that were creating a pattern of confusion and marginalization for reparations efforts in general. Black folk in L.A. were simply unused to winning the hearts and minds of the Black community regarding the reparations struggle. In fact in L.A. and Southern California, the fight for reparations had essentially become one of simply raising hell and making noise--a rally mentality--fed by the 'drum major' syndrome of grabbing the microphone and seeking out every available photo opportunity for personal glory, while a critical mass of Black folk were not getting the real messages of the reparations struggle in this area,

this country and this planet.

As such, when David L. Horne convened a group of fifty-odd activists in November, there were four foundational principles defined and discussed as the only basis upon which such a new reparations group could and should organize.

First, the group would have to be a coalition of organizations and individuals, which would not threaten or interfere with the existing autonomy and tactics of currently existing reparations groups.

Second, the group would have to be grounded on the principle and practice of mutual respect. No group member would be allowed to disrespect another or another's organization during meetings, and no one in the group would be allowed to publicly 'dis' another reparations group. This did not mean no criticism/self criticism. Clearly, without constructive criticism, little sustainable progress can be made in groups, while a barrage of negative criticism--a skill we had mastered--just as surely stopped any serious work and fractured most attempts at maintaining organizations. The principle here meant that all group members would practice discussion and debate--with all the usual passion and intensity we bring to such get-to-gathers-- without engaging in the personality destructiveness that had become characteristic of too many previous Black organizations in the area.

Third, the group would be held together by work--that is, there would be a list of commonly agreed upon reparations tasks that had to be accomplished. Once the tasks had been listed and approved, the group meetings would be about discussing strategy, tactics and resources necessary for getting each task done in the order listed, including when to call in large numbers from the community for support, and about reports on the progress of each work project once focused effort had begun on it.

The fourth principle was that each group member was there to get work accomplished--once it was assigned and accepted, there was a great group expectation that there would be follow-through and the work would get done. For those who only or mainly wanted to talk and debate, this would not be the organization for them. To

be a member of the Reparations United Front, one had to commit oneself to labor in honor and veneration of Black ancestors and the current Black community.

RUF TASKS ASSIGNED/TASKS ACCOMPLISHED 2002-2003

I. Based on the slavery business ordinance initiated by Chicago's Dorothy Tillman and passed by the Chicago City Council, the RUF sought out L.A. Councilman Nate Holden and convinced him to make a motion in the L.A. City Council for a similar slave business ordinance. Essentially, that ordinance would require businesses contracting with the city to sign an affidavit that they had searched their archives and those of their predecessor companies to determine whether they or those previous companies profited from the slave trade or American slavery.

PROGRESS: L.A. motion made in April, approved by L.A. City Council in June-July, signed by Mayor in August and became effective law October 16, 2003.

SUCCESSFUL STRATEGIES UTILIZED: Strategic mobilization of the Black community to attend city council hearings; intense negotiations over language for the ordinance (working with the councilman's staff), engaging the mass media (radio coverage, local Black newspapers, L.A. Times, etc.) and relentlessness.

FOLLOW-THROUGH ACTIVITIES: Establishment of an Oversight Committee within RUF to monitor compliance with the ordinance and to set up a research activity regarding those companies that sign the affidavit. Establishment of a Legislative/Political Action Committee within RUF to push the slavery business ordinance in two other Southern California cities, and to contact other state and national cities about the possibilities of such an ordinance in their area.

2. Working with the Political Action arm of the local NAACP branches to produce mass-based Town Hall meetings on reparations. The Black middle class and the old school portions of the community must be involved in order to move forward.

PROGRESS: In April, 2003, the Political Action Committee of the Los Angeles branch of the NAACP held the first Town Hall Meeting on reparations in its history, and the first for the NAACP west of the Mississippi River. Over 200 participants attended and the discussion was lively, including a political celebrity panel. A successful event was held at Ward A.M.E. Church.

In September, the Political Action Committee of the Hollywood/Beverly Hills branch of the NAACP held the second NAACP Reparations Town Hall in the Los Angeles Convention Center as part of the annual Black Business Expo. Board Chairman Julian Bond was the keynote speaker. Over 350 participants took part, and helped to spread the word of reparations to a much broader audience.

SUCCESSFUL STRATEGIES UTILIZED: Members of RUF became part of the NAACP organizing and planning committees for both of the Town Halls. Working cooperatively with, rather than dictating to, well established community and civil rights groups is easily the best way to get work effectively done. Included were policy decisions, work on the program itinerary, panel presentations, attracting the media to the events, etc.

FOLLOW-THROUGH ACTIVITIES: Encouraging the NAACP to continue its reparations efforts--RUF members attended the recent state NAACP convention in San Mateo (Northern California). There will be more NAACP reparations Town Halls in 2004. The NAACP Political Action Committee will help plan the National Reparations Congress for May, 2004.

3. Getting the Black Church seriously involved in the Reparations Movement. This is a very critical aspect of a winning strategy.

PROGRESS: In February, 2003, RUF members started meeting with Rev. Cecil Murray, pastor of First A.M.E. Church, the first Black Church in Los Angeles, and one of the largest and most politically active in Southern California. He allowed the formation of a joint RUF/FAME coordinating committee to put on the first major Black Church Symposium on Reparations (The Role of the Black Faith Community in the Reparations Movement) in L.A.'s history. Held on May 31, 2003 at First A.M.E., it brought together pastors from the Baptist church, the Nation of Islam, the C.M.E., the Church of God in Christ, and over 400 members of the Southern California public. It was an outstanding success.

SUCCESSFUL STRATEGIES UTILIZED: Again, working collaboratively with organizations rather than dictating to them is an effective method for getting quality work done. RUF members attended all meetings called by Rev. Murray, handled the program itinerary, helped to get the mass media involved (radio, newspapers, etc.), coordinated video coverage, maintained the

(Continued on page 25)

Reparations and Peace NAACP's First Annual Conference

By Araceli Jacobs & Kristena Witherspoon

On October 3, 2003, the SU (Syracuse University) chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) hosted its first annual conference entitled, "Reparations and Peace Movement." The program, co-sponsored by the Office of Multicultural Affairs, featured several workshops on the debates pertaining to national and international reparations for African peoples.

on Reparations," is a detailed account of the historical facts and figures which support the reparations movement for African peoples internationally. According to Dr. Winbush, there can be no reconciliation without compensation.

"America wants us to reconcile, but reconciliation implies there was once a loving relationship between Blacks and whites," professed Winbush. He presented four steps to true reconciliation: an apology, investigation and accounting, compensation for the victims of the crimes and prosecution of the wrongdoers."

Winbush also led the "Restitution for Slavery: Making Tainted Corporations Pay" workshop. In his presentation, Winbush elucidated the fact that the low economic status of Black communities is from lasting effects of slavery and racism. He drew upon the pending 2002 Slavery Reparations Class-Action Lawsuit brought by

lawyer and reparations activist, Deidra Farmer-Paellmann to make the case that many American corporations played a critical role in the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade.

Oppositions to reparations are frequent across racial lines. The oppositional arguments have concluded that monetary reparations should not be a compensation for the systemic disempowerment of the Black people. In the "No reparations" workshop, Professor Arthur Flowers, author of "De Mojo Blues," shares such beliefs. He deems reparations unnecessary for empowerment. As Black people, Flowers believes the most effective strategy should be focusing on our own community; not on what the white man can give us. He sees reparations as a way of making us "better beggars." He believes that we should be self-determining and not let others determine our destiny.

During the workshop entitled, "Reparations for the Masses: The New Black Student Movement," professor S.E. Anderson, author of "Black Holocaust



Dr. Raymond Winbush
Facing center

The topic of reparations is controversial and therefore an imperative issue to explore. Many students on campus were uncertain about the facets of the movement. "I didn't know much about reparations. Now I realize how reparations extends globally," said Thor Ritz, sophomore geology major.

The conference was held in Schine Student Center from 10:00am to 5:30pm. The conference featured seven workshops, each divided into time segments. Each workshop was facilitated by NAACP members and a key presenter. The presenters were Dr. Raymond Winbush, Professor S.E. Anderson, Dr. William Wiecek and Professor Arthur Flowers.

The first workshop, "Introduction to Reparations 101: Everything You Wanted to Know," was presented by Dr. Raymond Winbush, the director of Urban Affairs at Morgan State University. Winbush's latest work, "Should America Pay? Slavery and The Raging Debate

for Beginners," discussed the need for the reparation movement to be a political force, rooted in the community and driven by the spirit of young Black scholars. Anderson asserts that, among other things, the reparations movement is about repair, when stating that, "apart of the repair is to reconnect young people to the revolution. The reparations movement has to be rooted in the community."

Anderson spoke on the need for reparations to be executed in the correct matter. "There is no compromise in reparations," said Anderson. Reparations, according to Anderson, would be put towards the health crisis in Africa and Latin America, the building of Black communities in the United States and to approach other issues created by the racist actions of international policies. Anderson discussed the reparations movement in an international context. In a national context, Anderson discussed educational genocide, the oppressive nature of the United States economic system and the need for young people to enter the movement.

Professor William Wiecek, presented a workshop focusing on "The Legitimacy of the Slave-Trade in and to the United States, 1770-1830." This presentation discussed the legality of slavery based on written law. Wiecek concluded in the workshop that slavery was illegal and therefore the reparations should be produced for sufferers of the system.

The issues coming out of the reparations are extremely important in the struggle for restoring, re-

pairing and healing African peoples. This is something that cannot be repaired by writing out a check and putting it in the mail. Whatever is done has to have a long-term effect, such as a free college education or paying fewer taxes. The reparations movement works towards empowering, offering hope and forcing America to acknowledge that slavery was indeed a crime against humanity. The U.S. has officially said that it will never apologize for slavery. This makes absolutely no sense considering that the United States has given reparations to other groups. In 1990, Japanese-Americans who were interred during World War II were given \$1.2 billion and received an apology from Reagan. In 1985, the Lakota Indians of South Dakota were given \$105 million. In 1971, Alaskan Natives were given \$1 billion and four million acres of land. Thus, the issue of reparations is not the United States' reluctance to give up monetary funds, but rather the United States refusal to acknowledge its history.

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Professor Sam Anderson with two students

A Trail of Blood: The Church and Reparations

by Dr. Iva E. Carruthers

The 19th century leader and scholar, Rev. Francis J. Grimke's 1898 sermon proclaimed:

If justice sleeps in this land, let it not be because we have helped to lull it to sleep by our silence, our indifference; let it not be from lack of effort on our part to arouse it from its slumbers....Justice in this land may go on slumbering, but let us see to it that it is due to no fault of ours....God gave Balaam's ass and (us) the power to cry out, endowed (us) miraculously with speech in which to voice our protest.

The Trans Atlantic Slave Trade was clearly a crime co-sponsored by the Church and the State. Scripture was used and church doctrine was mandated to justify it. Laws were instituted and economies and arms were organized to effect it. Both the Church and the State benefited.

The Catholic Papacy condoned and sanctified the slave trade. It was the Pope's orders – the papal bulls - that substantially framed the origins, evolution and sanctions of the early Trans Atlantic Slave Trade. In 1442, Pope Eugenius IV approved the bull Illius Qui that granted Portugal and Prince Henry's expeditions exclusive rights over their African discoveries. Pope Calixtus III established the Order of Christ in 1456 as the knightly association over Portuguese interest and dominions. The association, led by Prince Henry the Navigator, had oversight for the slave trade. In 1488, Pope Innocent VIII accepted the gift of 100 slaves from Ferdinand of Spain and distributed the slaves to the cardinals and nobles throughout the Christian world. By the time Christopher Columbus set sail in 1492, the Catholic Church had over a century of Blood on their hands relative to the establishment of the

Trans Atlantic Slave Trade. In 1637, the Portuguese surrendered their African headquarters, Elmina Castle and Fort in Cape Coast, Ghana, West Africa to the Dutch. The top floor of the west wing was transformed into a Dutch Reformed Church. Engraved above the entrance to the cleric's door was Psalm 132.13

**For the Lord has chosen Zion,
He has desired it for his dwelling.**

Over 2500 ships have been documented to have made repeated trips across the Atlantic. In a

survey of 93 Portuguese and Brazilian ships, 81 had religious names; many named after saints or virgins. *Jesus, Grace of God and Bom Jesus* are just three of the names of slave ships that demonstrate how this evil system was carried out under the name of God.

The Christian churches and denominations managed and dominated the daily operations of the slave ports throughout the triangle including Anglican, Catholics, Huguenots, Calvinists and Quakers.



Dr. Iva E. Carruthers

Photo by Wautella

In the early 17th century Philip III, King of Spain, ordered that all slave ships carry a priest on board. A catechism and ritual performed by the priest for such a baptism was:

“Consider that you are now children of Christ. You are going to set off for Portuguese territory, where you will learn matters of the Faith. Never think any more of your place of origin. Do not eat dogs, nor rats, nor horses. Be content.”

Then the “saved” would be given a Christian name, salt sprinkled on the tongue and a blessing by holy water.

(Continued on page 13)

Southeast Region Leaves No Stone Uturned!

Reported by
Njere Alghanee,

Southeast Region Representative

Using the radio airways is one way that Southeast Regional Representative, Sister Njeri Alghanee gets the word out about Reparations, and in Atlanta WAOK-AM, Talk Back Atlanta with Chris Askew, is one resource that she has carefully cultivated. As a result, Chris Askew is a supporter of N'COBRA and the Reparations movement. But nothing can ever take the place of getting out in the trenches and taking the word about Reparations to where the people are. That is why the Southeast Region is actively taking the message of Reparations for the African Holocaust of American Enslavement off the beaten path. Through the region's efforts, unions representing the National Culinary Artists, Black hospitality workers, chauffeurs, maids, butlers, cooks and master chefs, throughout the U. S., are getting on board the train that is carrying us all to victory.



Njere Alghanee

Photo by Ma'at

N'COBRA's work is being taken to meetings with Rastas from the African Diaspora, including and not limited to the WI islands, and

there is strong acknowledgment of the interconnectedness of our struggles. Literature about Reparations is being taken to new and potentially fertile arenas such as the Southern International Working Women's Conference hosted by the Black Workers For Justice Union. Relationships with long time allies, such as the All African Revolutionary Peoples Party are also being strengthened as evidenced by the region's strong participation in the Party's recent tribute to Sekou Toure and Kwame Nkrumah. And when opportunities arise such as the Black African Holocaust Conference held at Clark Atlanta University, you can rest assured that Sister Njeri Algany will be there actively engaged in the discussion about Reparations. If you live in the Southeast region which includes North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Virginia and West Virginia and you want to get involved in this important effort contact Sister Njere Alghanee at 404.696.8139.

Church And Reparations

(Continued from page 12)

The Church's silence, old and new must be broken!

What Churches Can Do.....

Activities

1. Engage in a congregational wide exploration of how members' personal or family saga substantiate some link to the Maafa or this breach of God's way, either as an indirect beneficiary or victim. Gather some evidences of the ways in which the breach is revealed in family histories, artifacts; still carried on by ideas, images or current events.

2. Initiate a church wide study of slavery or reparations by using a book review process, small group classes, outside lecturers etc.

3. Do research and create a Knowledge Board on life as a slave and on plantation

Congregational Actions

1. Host a community awareness event on HR. 40 and the current activities being undertaken on behalf of African American reparations.

2. E-Mail congressional representatives on behalf of HR 40 and encourage others to do the same.

Attorneys Discuss Reparations

at the 35th Annual Conference of the National Conference of Black Lawyers

By Ajamu Sankofa, esq.

The National Conference of Black Lawyers (NCBL) held its 35th annual conference in Washington, DC, October 10, 11, and 12, 2003. The theme was "Recommitting To Purpose."

During the annual meeting segment of the Conference, a broad formal discussion was held on the current litigation strategies that are helping to build the movement to win reparations. The presenters represented the cutting edge legal work that has been mounted by Black lawyers to advocate for reparations in the courts of the United States:

Imhotep Alkebulan, Esq., male co-chair of NCBL and plaintiffs' counsel in *Imari Obadele and Kurattibisha X Ali Rashid v. US*, popularly known as the equal protection case, gave an update on this case that had been on application for a writ of certiorari before the United States Supreme Court. Roger Wareham, Esq., of the December 12th Movement and of NCBL and plaintiffs' counsel in the well known corporation reparations lawsuit in which Deadria Farmer-Paellmann is among the named plaintiffs; gave an update on this important case.

Adjoa A. Aiyetoro, Esq., chair of N'COBRA's Legal Strategies (LS) Commission, former national director of NCBL, and N'COBRA's representative on the Reparations Coordinating Committee (RCC), is plaintiffs' counsel in *Alexander et al v. The Governor, State of Oklahoma et al*. She gave an update on this case in which N'COBRA and the RCC represent the survivors of the 1921 Tulsa, Oklahoma massacre. She also gave an update on N'COBRA's other litigation work that included the filing of an amicus curiae brief before the United States Supreme Court on behalf of the University of Michigan in the recently decided affirmative action case. She further explained N'COBRA's enormous step forward shown by the recent creation of the N'COBRA Legal, Education, Research and Defense Fund and the LS Commission's exploration of single plaintiff cases that involve land loss, racial profiling and possibly other single issues. Finally, she provided the status of N'COBRA's progress towards the filing of N'COBRA's series of mammoth class action law-

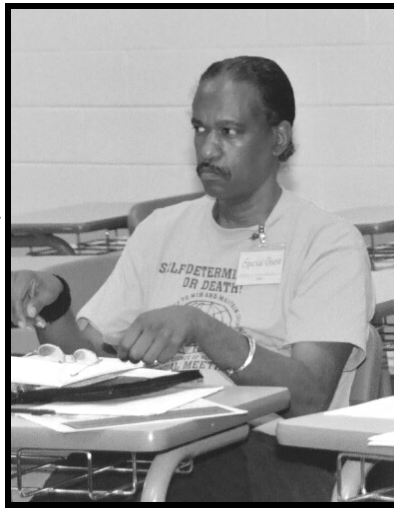


Photo by Ma'at

suits for reparations against the United States of America.

All of the speakers provided very informative presentations and each inspired great interest in this cutting edge legal work to win reparations for Black people. Each speaker spoke in the spirit of operational unity as discussed in Dr. Ron Walters' excellent essay on the subject as it pertains to the development of litigation strategies to win reparations.

A particular high point was the presence of so many NCBL legal warriors in the room who are also members of N'COBRA and who have been hard at work developing N'COBRA's litigation strategy that continues to originate uniquely from the enormous depths of the grassroots' movement of Black people for Reparations.

Among those present were Chokwe Lumumba, a member of N'COBRA's LS Commission and formerly co-chair of the criminal punishment sub-committee of the LS Commission; Gilda Sherrod-Ali, the newly elected female co-chair of NCBL and member of the LS Commission and formerly, female co-chair of the criminal punishment sub-committee of the LS Commission; Nkechi Taifa, a member of the LS Commission; Mark Fancher, former male co-chair of NCBL and current chair of the education sub-committee of the LS Commission; Ajamu Sankofa, male co-chair of the criminal punishment sub-committee of the LS Commission; and Efia Wangaza chair of the wealth and poverty sub-committee of the LS Commission.

It is certainly not a surprise that N'COBRA was in the house. NCBL was a founding organizational member of N'COBRA when N'COBRA was organized in late 1987 and early 1988 and, as such, continues its legacy since 1968 as the legal arm of the Black Liberation movement. NCBL's 35th "recommitting to purpose" conference magnificently displayed NCBL's total and effective commitment to win reparations for Black people.

Rules On African Leadership In The Movement To Win Reparations

By Ajamu K. Sankofa, N'COBRA National Secretary

Leadership is a skill and a talent that can be taught but that only improves with practice. Leadership must have both an individual and group aspect. Hence, African leadership is the capacity of an African to guide other Africans consciously and purposefully from a lowly state to an elevated state. African leadership also is the capacity of African people as a group to organize the power of African people such that we as a people actually move accordingly to that preconceived elevated state.

There has been a continuous crisis in the leadership of African people residing in this territory that we refer to as the United States for a long time. African scholars are showing us the features of this crisis in leadership as it arose out of our kidnapping from our Motherland, Africa.

One sign of the crises of leadership among our people today who reside in the US has still been that too many of our so-called "leaders" make decisions over the survival of Black people only after first seeking approval for that decision from white people.

If we wish to exercise effective leadership that elevates African people we must be prepared to exercise the spiritual, emotional, intellectual, and physical independence of thought and action such that we are not disoriented by white supremacy's shell games. We must end forever seeking validation from white people. Further, it matters not whether that white person calls him/herself a liberal, progressive, socialist, Marxist, revolutionary,...or in some cases your friend....etc.

This is a very significant and large issue. This tendency itself is a profound vestige of chattel slavery: Many terms are used to describe aspects of it: "slave mentality," post traumatic slavery syndrome, and many others.

So the first foundational African rule of African leadership is that we exercise full freedom and independence of thought and action in the interest of the full freedom of African people from all systems of power that act or seek to act to restrict or destroy our freedom.

The color Black is very important in this discussion as well.

It is precisely through the all pervasive symbolic content of color, propagandistically conveyed by white supremacists power centers, that creates and perpetuates negative and self-destructive images of African people that, in addition to sheer physical oppression, disorient us mentally. So the tendency to be deferential to white people shows up in our willingness to allow white people (or whiteness) to define what we fight for and how we fight for it. This is very often just below our conscious awareness but runs as deep as our most personal image of God.

I have three examples, of the effect of our present day injury of this deference to white people. It occurs in spite of an internal conflict of our people not to be that way. As leaders, we will face this challenge daily and our task is to overcome it daily:

1. Far too many of our people who, despite knowing that white racism has caused our present condition, do not understand that African people are due reparations, now. They do not understand this because they still do not experience their own human worthiness sufficiently to demand reparations Now. This effects *all* classes of our people.
2. Far too many of our people do not believe that we can actually win Reparations. This is a crisis of confidence!
3. And very sadly, far too many of our people are so consumed with fear and rage caused by the experience of their circumstances that they are more willing to destroy their brothers and their sisters rather than their real enemy.

Our specific deep leadership challenge as leaders in the reparations movement is to transform more and more of these folks (just described above) into courageous, self-confident, self-educated, and effective activists who then start building the reparations movement at their highest level of capacity; in that process we as leaders are transforming ourselves as well.

By going after this bottom layer of consciousness in

(Continued on page 32)

Formation of the National Reparations Congress

By Sam Anderson & David Horne

The Northeast Regional Working Group's first meeting was held on Sunday Sept 14, 2003. The overall sentiment was that it was a very good and productive meeting with full realization that we have a long way to go. The meeting was chaired by Sam Anderson.

The meeting began with a brief discussion of the state of the US Reparations Movement and the newly formed Global Afrikan Congress. Emphasis was placed on the need for coordinated actions on all Reparations fronts. The National Reparations Congress would be that body that would help in coordinating efforts around all the legal work, bills, petitions, resolutions, law suits, and mass education work. The Congress would be a complement to –not a replacement of– one organization.

The first National Prepcom meeting was held in New York in May 2003 and regions were created in the Northeast, MidWest, South and West. On October 18, 2003 at Kent State University, there will be a MidWest Regional PrepCom. October 31, 2003, the Southern Regional PrepCom meeting will be held in Birmingham, Alabama. On December 20, 2003 the second National PrepCom Meeting will be held in Atlanta, Georgia. Regional meetings are to be held leading up to the NRC. A National Reparations Conference is planned, possibly during Memorial Day Weekend, but this may be a bad time because of holiday traveling 2004 in either Atlanta or Compton, California. Organizers in Compton have already offered free space for all those attending the conference. There is a strong support network in Compton and having the conference there would be a good idea. However, in the past, having conferences in California has led to logistical issues. Traveling to the West Coast and then moving around once there has proven to be problematic. It was mentioned that the highest concentration of Afrikan-Americans are in the Northeast and surrounding areas. The possibility of delaying the conference to August of 2004, thus allowing more time for mobilization was also raised. Chicago, Philadelphia and Newark were also mentioned as potential locations. A proposal is being developed for a New

York-based Conference to be held in August 2004. A New York Conference would assist the Charles Barron Mayoral Campaign. There is also consideration for an August 2004 Conference in New York City. The securing of a venue seemed feasible and scheduling was not seen as a problem.

Who Are We Organizing?

We are going to focus our attention on those already organized but not forsake the inclusion of the masses that must be informed and included. We do not want people to lose energy and/or focus. We are often a crisis-oriented people who respond to the crunch of deadlines. If we stress the need for immediate action our people will respond. It was suggested that we follow the steps of those proposals developed prior to and at the 2001 Durban World Conference Against Racism.

For the US Reparations Movement to move forward effectively militancy must be re-injected into it. There was a consensus that we needed to move beyond radical lawyers and professors and take our struggle to a higher level of street/grassroots organizing. The concept of having the conference during the Republican National Convention in August of 2004 (to be held in NYC) was raised. This would sharply expose the contradictions between what the Republicans and the right in general represent and our Reparations Movement. We would hopefully revitalize the lost militancy and momentum of our struggle. A lot of energy has been given to the present anti-war movement in which we have participated. We have always had our issues put on the back burner for America's wars. We can no longer suppress our Reparations Movement to accommodate their imperial and racist wars.

“For the US Reparations Movement to move forward effectively militancy must be re-injected into it.”

Popularizing the Reparations Movement

We must make Reparations a household term and concept. The National Bar Association has taken into their Resolution the recent Goree Island statements of President Bush. The utilization of economic boycott must again be used as a tactic. The NRC must create

an infrastructure, which brings together groups across the country that are focused on Reparations. We must initiate an education campaign.

The West Coast National Reparations Congress PrepCom was held 9/13/03 at the L.A. Convention Center at 10:00 am. The welcome and invocation were given by Dr. David L. Horne. The group further clarified the focus of the NRC as follows:

1. Serve as a clearinghouse of Reparations materials and analysis
2. Coordinate information about Reparations activities
3. Develop mass education material regarding Reparations
4. Support the development of the international tribunal on Reparations
5. Encourage a comprehensive discussion about the possible forms that Reparations will take for African Americans.

Further Clarification of Who Will Be Invited / Who Will Attend the NRC

You must be Black (Afrikan or Black Afrikan Descendant). You must be able to demonstrate that you are doing work aimed at achieving reparations for African Americans (or Africans in the diaspora in order to come as observers). There was persistent discussion by two attendees from the Nigretians, who demanded to be called and to allow us all to be called Niggas, as a reportedly original name. They were eventually told to bring their argument, with substantial supporting data, and make their case, as long as the aim of the Nigretians (which was not self-evident) was to achieve reparations for Black folk, by whatever name they wanted to use.

Miscellaneous

Shabaka Heru requested, for purposes of clarity in the movement, a Mission and Declaration of three reasonable objectives at the NRC that communities could then work on diligently. Warren Williams has submitted a replacement Bill for HR40 to Rep. John Conyers. There was a recommendation that future planning meetings be limited to discussion relevant to planning and that we stay on point (They were not at all sure that the Nigretians belonged in this planning session--the Nigretians made their identification point clear, but Ernie and Alex said they heard nothing from those advocates about supporting reparations for African Americans).

Avenge the Ancestors

No more burning
camphor to protect our flesh
from the blinding dark
of all these years
pounding
our fists against the nothingness
of a debt they refuse to pay.
Our tears are without form
because the ocean carried us,
and the fields we worked sustained
us.

Our hands built empires
they did not lead,
but at night the moon showered
us

with kindnesses so we stole away.
Now the darkness we light
with the rich ore of our veins
speaks:

"Now, our Reparations now".
We have given too much
not to take what is ours.

by
Zumbi Soweto

History of N'COBRA's Legislative Front

(Continued from page 1)

Rep. Dymally; Rep. Ford, H.; Rep. Rangel; Rep. Collins; Rep. Bates; Rep. Crockett; Rep. Hayes C.; Rep. Owens M.; Rep. Towns; Rep. Dixon; Rep. Espy; Rep. Hawkins; Rep. Lewis, John; Rep. Jacobs; Rep. Mineta; Rep. Stokes; Rep. Payne, D. Since that original filing, in each Congress the bill has been reintroduced, and submitted to the House Committee on the Judiciary. Starting with its introduction on January 5, 1993, the bill has consistently carried the historically symbolic numeral, "HR 40," in remembrance of the "40 acres" of confiscated confederate land legislatively-passed (albeit by a slim margin) by both Houses of Congress in 1886, but executorially-vetoed by Andrew Johnson.

Rep. Conyers has stated that he receives more mail in support of his Reparations Commission Bill (HR 40), than just about any other legislative issue. Since the 1990's, the Congressman has insured a national legislative focus on the issue of reparations by convening a workshop, panel or braintrust on the issue of reparations each year at the Congressional Black Caucus' annual Legislative Weekend. At the September 16, 1993 Congressional Black Caucus panel on reparations, this author presented remarks entitled, "A Scientific Approach for a Preliminary Legislative Strategy in Support of HR 40." The challenge the remarks strove to answer was how to scientifically link the growing, positive grassroots sentiment in support of reparations to concrete legislative action in support of HR 40. The strategic approach outlined in the presentation was threefold: First, the gathering of legislative intelligence compiling the voting record of Members in the House and Senate with respect to the Japanese-American reparations legislation, and the compilation of a comprehensive list of organizations who supported that legislation. Second, using the legislative intelligence gathered, lobby each of the Members still in Congress who once co-sponsor of HR 40; encourage those Members who were not in Congress at the time of the Japanese-American bill to co-sponsor and vote in favor of HR 40; encourage the Judiciary Committee's Subcommittee on Civil and Constitutional Rights to schedule a formal hearing on HR 40; encourage specific Caucuses to endorse HR 40; and seek the introduction of a companion bill in the Senate. The third prong of the strategy was to provide model pieces of legislation and generate state, local and organizational resolutions supporting HR 40, particularly amongst groups which previously supported the Japanese-American reparations.

Since then, throughout the Congresses (103rd, 104th, 105th, 106th, and now 107th), the above strategies have been part and parcel of the activities of N'COBRA's Legislative Commission. The requisite voting records, long since compiled, are now relatively obsolete, due to the transient nature of Congress. It may be instructive, however, to currently note the names of the organizations who supported the Civil Liberties Act Amendments of 1992, which represent the most recent action related to the issue of the Japanese-American internment.

They are, as reported by the Japanese-American Citizens League, as follows: A. Philip Randolph Institute; American Baptist Church, USA; American Federation of Labor – Congress of Industrial Organizations; American Friends Service Committee; American Jewish Committee; American Jewish Congress; Americans for Democratic Action; Asian American Legal defense and Education Fund; Asian Americans for Equality; Asian Pacific American Labor Alliance; Anti-Defamation League; Arab-American Anti-Discrimination Committee; B'nai B'rith Women; Center for Women Policy Studies; Chinese American Citizens Alliance; Church of the Brethren Washington Office; Friends Committee on National Legislation; International Ladies' Garment Workers Union; Japanese American Citizens League; Leadership Conference on Civil Rights; Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund; National Asian Pacific American Bar Association; National Committee Against Repressive Legislation; National Congress of American Indians; National Council of Churches; National Council of Jewish Women; National Council of La Raza; National Education Association; Organization of Chinese Americans; Presbyterian Church USA; Project Equality; Service Employees International Union; Unitarian Universalist Association of Congregations; United Church of Christ – Office for Church in Society; United Methodist Church, General Board of Church and Society; Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

The Legislative Commission of N'COBRA has sought endorsement for HR 40 and the general concept of reparations for African descendants in the United States from a wide variety of national organizations, ranging from social action and professional groups to religious and labor organizations. Some of these endorsements emanated specifically from direct appeals by N'COBRA members; some through the groups' own volition; and others as the result of the

growing preeminence of The Reparations Movement across the country. A sampling of these groups include: NAACP, National Baptist Convention, Delta Sigma Theta Sorority, Sigma Gamma Rho Sorority, Association of Black Psychologists, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, National Conference of Black Political Scientists, National Conference of Black Lawyers, National Bar Association, International Association of Black Firefighters, American Civil Liberties Union, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, AFL-CIO, National Association of Real Estate Brokers, National Political Congress of Black Women, Inc., Council of Independent Black Institutions, National Black United Front, Black Radical Congress, Universal Negro Improvement Association, TransAfrica Forum, among many others.

In addition to the ever-increasing organizational endorsements, state and local resolutions have also proliferated. Again, it is hard to distinguish and isolate how much of this mobilization is the product of N'COBRA's lobbying and educational efforts or the spontaneous result of socially conscious legislators and their staff. Suffice it to say, however, that each of these efforts have combined to result in growing numbers of state and local legislatures formally adopting resolutions in support of HR 40 or other reparations-type legislative initiatives. These jurisdictions include the states of Louisiana, Florida and California; and the city councils of Atlanta, Georgia; Baltimore, Maryland; Burlington, Vermont; Jackson, Mississippi; Camden, Patterson, and Newark, New Jersey; Chicago, Illinois; Cleveland, Ohio; Dallas, Texas; Detroit, Michigan; Evanston, Illinois; Alameda County, Berkeley, Compton, Inglewood, Los Angeles, Oakland, Palo Alto, and San Francisco, California; Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; and Washington, DC. It is important to note that comprehensive reparations legislation is pending in the states of New Jersey, New York, and Texas.

Since its inception until the beginning of this century, the Legislative Commission was chaired by this author and subsumed under the auspices of N'COBRA's Legal Strategies Commission, chaired by Adjoa Aiyetoro. The beginning years were successful in rallying behind a concrete legislative target, elucidating a strategic blueprint to maximize success, and otherwise laying the groundwork which resulted in scores of municipalities passing supportive pieces of legislation. As a significant amount of the Legal Strategies Commission's attention became increasingly focused on the litigative front, the Legislative Committee was authorized as an independent Commission of N'CO-

BRA during the June 2000 N'COBRA National Convention in Washington, D.C.

Following that reorganization the Legislative Commission focused on the development of a core Mission statement; concrete objectives, and a specific plan of action for each Congress. The Commission's articulated mission is to "achieve passage of H.R. 40, The Commission to Study Reparation Proposals for African Americans Act, introduced each year since 1989 by Congressman John Conyers, or passage of comparable federal legislation which leads to a comprehensive award of reparations for African Americans based on slavery and post-slavery discrimination. The Legislative Commission will also actively support reparations initiatives at the state and local levels." The Commission was formally structured to 1) maximize communication and coordination with all the different and rapidly growing segments of the national N'COBRA, 2) compile all the federal, state, local and organization resolutions in a centralized repository; and 3) formulate and distribute legislative packets for N'COBRA members and other interested parties to assist in lobbying Congress, and other activities.

The June 2000 N'COBRA Convention, held in Washington, D.C., can be heralded as a model for sophisticated lobby training and scientifically structured lobby visits. Conducted in the Rayburn House Office Building on the Wednesday preceding and Monday following the annual Convention, the training consisted of simulation, role play, and questions and answers on the lobbying tips discussed, accompanied with spirited dialogue. Targeted lobbying visits during that National Lobby Day resulted in the successful co-sponsorship of five of the targeted nine previously recalcitrant Congresspersons.

In 2002, Kibibi Tyehimba, co-chair of the DC Chapter of N'COBRA, brought her expertise to the Legislative Commission as co-chair, joining this author in seeking to move the legislative thrust for reparations forward. 2002 was also the inception of the Legislative Commission's first flagship project, "A Year of Black Presence," under the leadership of Milton McGriff of the N'COBRA Philadelphia Chapter. McGriff's vision, inspired by the words of Randall Robinson in his pivotal book, "The Debt – What America Owes to Blacks," has soared the work of the Legislative Commission to a heightened new level, putting into action the strategy first articulated ten years ago of how to link positive, grassroots activism to concrete legislative support for

(Continued on page 35)

Reparations Forum 2003: "Honoring The Debt"

Congressional Black Caucus Legislative Conference



A



B



C

All Photos by Wautella

- A. Congressman **John Conyers, Jr.**, Detroit, Michigan
- B. Senator (Retired) **Bill Owens** of Boston, Massachusetts
- C. Councilman **Charles Barron** of Brooklyn, New York
- D. Ms. **Sallome Halima**, Youth4Reparations Activists
- E. Ms. **Rasheida Smith**, New York NCOBRA Youth Activist
- F. Mr. **Kahlil Almustafa**, Youth4Reparations Activists

D



E



F



Reparations Forum 2003: "Honoring The Debt"

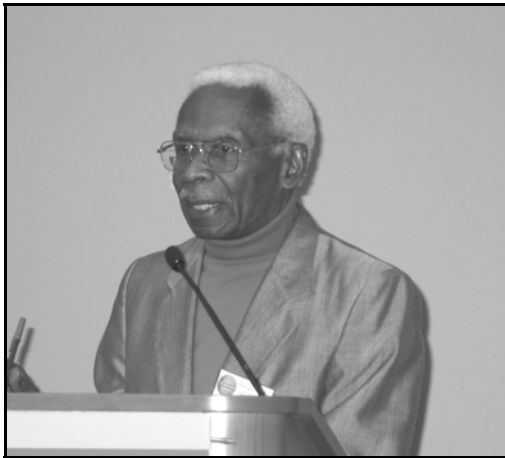
Congressional Black Caucus Legislative Conference



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D



E

All Photos by Wautella

- A. Ms. **Faye Rose Sanders**, Esq., Reparations Coordinating Committee
- B. Alderwoman **Dorothy Tillman** of Chicago, Illinois
- C. Dr. **Imari Obadele**, Min. of Foreign Affairs, Republic of New Afrika
- D. Mr. **Ken Fealing**, Director of Civil and Human Rights for the United Methodist Church
- E. Dr. **Iva Carruthers** and Ms. **DeBorah White**, United Church of Christ (UCC)

Legislative Commission Update

By Kibibi Tyehimba, Co-Chair
N'COBRA Legislative Commission

On September 25, 2003 Congressman John Conyers, Jr., hosted his annual Reparations Forum, during the recent Congressional Black Caucus Legislative Conference. This year the Legislative Commission played a significant role in the development of the forum, entitled "Honoring the Debt." The forum highlighted several elected officials who have been instrumental in introducing resolutions and bills in their municipalities, in support of H.R. 40 and Reparations, several Faith Community Activists, and two Reparations Activists fighting the battle on the legal front. Alderwoman Dorothy Tillman of Chicago, Illinois, Councilman Charles Barron of Brooklyn, New York, and Senator (Retired) Bill Owens of Boston, Massachusetts provided an overview of the resolutions and bills introduced in their areas, and why they committed themselves to the cause for Reparations for African Americans. Both the Massachusetts and New York bills are still pending. However, the Chicago Illinois Reparations Ordinance was adopted in April, 2000. Alderwoman Tillman provided extensive detail about her community's approach to the Chicago Reparations hearings, which included the testimony of renowned African American historians and social scientists, and personal testimony from the community. By the end of the testimony there was no doubt about the validity of the African American quest for Reparations. The success of the Chicago model is certainly one that should be duplicated in other cities and states seeking to adopt legislation in support of this important issue.

Dr. Iva Carruthers and Ms. DeBorah White represented the United Church of Christ (UCC), which has 1.4 Million members. They outlined their congregation's commitment to atoning and correcting the injustices committed against Africans and their descendants in the past and present. The UCC has

developed an excellent study guide that provides sound arguments for Reparations from a religious perspective. Mr. Ken Fealing, Director of Civil and Human Rights for the United Methodist Church also provided an overview of his congregation's commitment to Reparations. The United Methodist Church membership totals approximately 8 Million. Both the United Methodist Church and the United Church of Christ are national and international church communities with predominantly white congregations, an indication that support for the Reparations movement is growing. Ms. Faye Rose Sanders, Esq., an attorney with the Reparations Coordinating Committee, provided an update on the recently filed class action lawsuit on behalf of the survivors and descendants of the Tulsa Oklahoma Massacre of the Black township of Greenwood. Dr. Imari Obadele, Min. of Foreign Affairs, Republic of New Afrika was invited by Congressman Conyers to present background information on his "Equal Protection Reparations Law suit, which had recently, been submitted to the Supreme Court for a hearing. In addition, Youth4Reparations Activists, Mr. Kahlil Almustafa and Ms. Sallome Halima discussed their involvement in the Reparations Movement and their efforts to sensitize their communi-

ties to the connection between the Movement, and the various social, political, and economic issues they face.

In addition to the Reparations Forum, N'COBRA, Legislative Commission Co-Chair, Ms. Kibibi Tyehimba, and New York NCOBRA Youth Activist Ms. Rasheida Smith conducted an organizing workshop on Friday September 26. Workshop participation was good and even included a high school class of about 20 students. The exchange between all the participants was very rewarding.

N'COBRA Reparations Activists from New York, New Jersey, Washington, DC and Baltimore seized every opportunity to raise the issue of Repara-



Kibibi Tyehimba Photo by Wautella

tions in many of the other Issue Forums, and encouraged Congressional Black Caucus Representatives, who had not already done so, to co-sponsor H.R. 40. It is due to the efforts of these Reparations Activists that two additional CBC members have signed on to H. R. 40, bringing the total number of co-sponsors to 39. Congressman Melvin Watt of North Carolina is one of the two most recent co-sponsors. He had not signed on to H.R. 40 since the 105th Congress in 1997. Delegate Donna Christian-Christensen of the Virgin Islands also agreed to co-sponsor H.R. 40. Special thanks go out to Brother Ahmad Daniels of North Carolina, who had previously lobbied Congressman Watt on behalf of the Bill, and Brother Livingston Cummings who personally escorted Congressman Watt over to Congressman Conyers during the Thursday night Jazz concert to have a "little talk" about the bill. Thanks to Brother Milt McGriff and Brother Rob Bell, who helped to remind Delegate Christensen during her forum that she had signed on to the bill in the past. She admitted to the oversight and promised to rectify the error. Both of these cases are examples of the impact that even one or two people can make with a little persistence.

We encourage all Reparations Activists to follow the example of these brothers and take time to visit your Congressmen and Congresswomen at their state offices or at their offices here in Washington, DC to lobby on behalf of H.R. 40. There are now seven remaining CBC representative who have yet to sign on to the bill. Organize your community and call them up, harass them, send them letters and faxes. Write articles for your local newspapers and let your community know that they are not representing their interests. Include some history of your state's participation in the era of enslavement. Tell how many Black men and women were lynched in your state during the Jim Crow era. And if you happen to live in a state that was impacted by the riots and massacres during the Red Summer of 1919, remind your community of that. And of course tie all these facts to present day--- Racial profiling, disparate treatment under the so-called Justice system, lack of access to quality education, health care, and housing. And then ask your community if it is uninformed enough to believe that Affirmative Action, in just 30 years with no government appropriations to back it up, could ever erase the effects of 246 years of slavery and another 138 years of Jim Crow and systemic racism. Here are the members of the CBC that you should target:

Rep. Julia Carson Indiana (D) - 10th Congressional District(Indianapolis)Committees: Financial Services, Veterans' Affairs 1339 Longworth House Office

Building Washington, DC 20515 202-225-4011

Rep. James Clyburn, South Carolina (D) - 6th Congressional District (Columbia, Charleston, Orangeburg, Sumter) Committees: Appropriations 319 Cannon House Office Building Washington, DC 20515 202-225-3315

Rep. Artur Davis, Alabama (D) - 7th District, 208 Cannon House Office Building Washington, DC 20515 202-225-2665

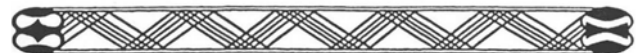
Rep. Denise Majette, Georgia 9D) - 4th District, 1517 Longworth House Office Building Washington, DC 20515 202-225-1605

Rep. David Scott, Georgia (D) 13th District 417 Cannon House Office Building Washington, DC 20515 202-225-2939

Rep. Robert Scott, Virginia (D) - 3rd Congressional District (Richmond, Newport News), Committees: Judiciary, Education and the Workforce 2464 Rayburn House Office Building Washington, DC 20515 202-225-8351

Contact the N'COBRA Legislative Commission if you need help in your lobbying efforts at 202.466.1622 or LegiCom@AOL.com

Remember the power to win Reparations is in our hands!



More Than Jobs

(Continued from page 3)

want to own and control our own lives and livelihood.

We want Justice, a world of justice. We want freedom, including freedom of the mind and spirit, and we want equality between all peoples, and between men and women. We want the wealth that our ancestors built. We want the human rights that our fore parents fought and died for. We want power over our own lives. We want the Freedom to choose a new and better future than the one that looms before us, and we want Reparations NOW to make that future real."

Sunni Muslims Hold Reparations Conference

By Hodari Abdul-Ali

Let there be no doubt that the Reparations Movement is alive and growing and expanding to all segments of our community. Further evidence was offered Sunday, September 28, 2003 at Howard University in Washington, D.C., when a special daylong conference entitled "Muslims For Reparations" was held.

While Muslims under the leadership of Minister Louis Farrakhan and Minister Silis Muhammad have long been active in the Reparations Movement, not as much has been heard from the Sunni or "orthodox" members of the African-American Muslim community. Some readers may be unaware of the fact that, the overwhelming majority of African-American Muslims are not affiliated with the Nation of Islam. So this conference was the first of its kind to get more of the general Muslim community involved in this crucial issue.

"Muslims for Reparations" was organized by Muslim Voices for Justice & Peace, a Washington, D.C. area coalition of activists and Imams that came together in April 2003 to oppose the U.S. invasion of Iraq. The co-sponsor was the Islamic Propagation Project headed by Imam Abdur-Rahman Muhammad.

In addition to educating the Muslim community and others about reparations, the conference also sought to facilitate greater interaction between it and reparation activists, and provide more information about Islam. Most attendees felt that these goals were accomplished, although more time was needed for comments, questions and answers.

Moderator Zarinah Shakir and eight panelists spoke to an audience of over 100 people in two sessions that covered topics such as the Islamic view of reparations, social justice, slavery, and the legacy of Muslims actively fighting for the liberation of our people. Several speakers emphasized the fact that Islam is fundamentally about justice, and that it is essential to the restoration of the soul of the human being, even more so than

our just quest for material compensation.

The audience was also encouraged to organize more programs in the masjids they attend, and to get more involved in the Reparations Movement by joining N'COBRA and other organizations fighting for the just demands of people of African descent who have suffered from the Trans-Atlantic slave trade and its aftermath.

Panelists such as Imam Muhammad Shareef, founder of the Sankore Institute of Islamic-African Studies in Pittsburgh, and historian Amir Muhammad, founder of Collections & Stories of American Muslims museum, spoke authoritatively on the Islamic heritage of West Africa and African-Americans.

The other panelists at this historic conference, which is already inspiring similar efforts, were "Black Reparations Times" Editor, Wautella ibn Yusuf; author and publisher H. Khalif Khalifah of Virginia; Imam Abdul-Alim Musa of Masjid Al-Islam in Washington, D.C.; Imam Aiyub Abdul-Baqi of the Tauhid Center in Queens, N.Y.; and this writer.

On December 13th 2003, there will be another "Muslims for Reparations From A Muslim Perspective" at the Masjidu-Nur's Islamic Learning Center in Camden, N.J., from 11am-6pm. It is our intention to pack our house. The media and other Non-Muslim groups and leaders will be invited.

Copies of the Washington, DC "Muslims for Reparations" conference are available on videotape for \$25 plus \$3 s/h from Dar Es Salaam Books, 4000 34th St., Mt. Rainier, Md. 20712. For more information call 301-728-8949 or 301-209-0010.

Hodari Abdul-Ali is the Convener of Muslim Voices for Justice & Peace, and a member of the D.C. chapter of N'COBRA. He can be reached at mvpj_dc@hotmail.com

Muslims under the leadership of Minister Louis Farrakhan and Minister Silis Muhammad have long been active in the Reparations Movement

Reflections From A 2003 Mississippi Bus Ride

By Johnita Scott Obadele

Since I first embraced the Reparations Movement in 1989, I have tried to take advantage of every appropriate situation to advance the work. So I welcomed the opportunity to participate in the bus tour sponsored by Mississippi Congressman, Bennie Thompson. This tour through his state was one of his get-out-the-vote initiatives to encourage maximum turnout for the approaching fall statewide elections. This opportunity arose when my husband, Dr. Imari Obadele, having helped out in past Mississippi campaign work, was invited to come along for some neighborly support.



Photo by Ma'at

This trip turned out to be very interesting and inspiring for me in several ways. We boarded the bus in Bolton, Mississippi with some of the Congressman's aides and other out of state visitors that included the Reverend Doctor Joseph E. Lowery. Being in the prolonged presence of and having informal, captive access to this icon of the struggle, was an uplifting experience. This eighty-year-old man kept us conversely thoughtful and entertained on the bus and he electrified the gathering at every stop, which included Yazoo City, Rolling Fork, Belzoni, Greenville, and Tunica. He is a master of quick wit and humor that worked to perfection on this whirlwind tour.

This trip was full of possibilities. I passed out the N'COBRA information sheet and membership forms to the audience at each stop and I successfully solicited membership payments among those on the bus. I waited patiently for "the feeling" that it was a good time to attempt to engage Rev. Lowery in a Reparations discussion.

As we headed towards Tunica, Mississippi our final stop, I joined others in the back of the bus where Rev. Lowery sat in a comfortable captain's chair. I asked him for his thoughts on the issue and the movement. He jokingly said, "Don't you and your husband ever give it a rest?" I did not know that Imari had already held a conversation on the subject with him. I told him that he knew that we could not rest until victory. Turning serious, he said that it was obvious that we are due reparations and he believes that pursuing reparations is a worthy endeavor. He went on to say that he had no specific suggestions about best strategies or what all reparations should include, but he encouraged those

who have taken on this work to press forward. Others present, some that had just taken an N'COBRA membership, joined the discussion with questions and opinions. Dr. Lowery later wrote a letter to the Solicitor General on behalf of the lawsuit filed by Dr. Obadele and Gen. Ali Rashid.

The meeting in Tunica centered on organizing efforts aimed at Hollywood Casino lower level employees. Here I had the opportunity of collecting the membership renewal fee from Attorney Jaribu Hill. Atty. Hill devotes her law practice in Greenville, MS to workers' rights. The cases that she handles are some of the most vivid examples of continuing atrocities against our people.

I submitted this article in the hope that it will inspire increased vigilance in seizing every opportunity given by the Creator to teach and to learn about this great issue of our day.

Front of Southern California

(Continued from page 9)

consistency necessary to impress the church leadership that this was a serious endeavor, made sure the invited guests like Congresswoman Maxine Waters participated, etc. RUF members did everything necessary to insure the success of this event. The overall strategy was to stay on it, follow-through, cross check all assignments, and make sure things got done.

FOLLOW-THROUGH ACTIVITIES: After the success of the May 31st event (one of the few times that no one had anything negative to say about an L.A. event. Everyone left seemingly happy and satisfied that they had participated, over 400 people stayed through a 3-hour presentation, we started and ended on time, etc.), the ad hoc committee that had pulled it off decided to become the more permanent Reparations Faith Community Coordinating Committee as another organizational affiliate of the RUF. A strategy was accepted by the RFCCC to produce and conduct workshops at over 25 Southern California churches of various sizes in order to inspire the congregations of those churches to spread the word of reparations as an obligation of Black Christians. These workshops are being scheduled and conducted currently.

YOUTH CORNER:

Working for Reparations

N'COBRA Youth Commission Report

by N'COBRA Youth Commission, Co-Chair Sister Shereeta Lacy and Brother Naphese Mugabe II

The Youth Commission is definitely on the move! We are two days away from our first meeting since Dallas. We will meet and develop ideas to form a strategic two-fold plan that organizes on a collegiate level and a community grass roots level. The first being to develop a work plan that fulfills the N'COBRA



Shereeta Lacy
Giving Youth Report at Ndaba II

Photo by Wautella

National Agenda to achieve reparations and the second to develop an action plan for the agenda of the Youth Commission to educate the Youth using whatever tools and strategies we feel will serve as a catalyst to organize Young people to achieve reparations.

Recently, Nuri and I, as co-chairs of the Youth Commission, attended the NDABA II in Jackson Mississippi hosted by the Jackson Mississippi Chapter of NCOBRA, and sponsored by the illustrious Baba Hannibal Afrik and the Millions for Reparations Coalition. We were part of the Youth working group. It was a powerful group of Young People that do student organizing at their respective college campuses. We provided models and examples of each other's work and developed ways to collaborate our efforts to organize the masses of youth to support the reparations movement. Our focus will be on the following:

- ❖ Enhancing communication through the use of the

- Internet and regular conference calls to provide updates and keep abreast of the progress of the group.
- ❖ Working with other student organizations at the collegiate level, including the SGA to encourage greater participation and influence at different campuses.
- ❖ Using strategic planning of events and programs to maximize participation and success. This would include utilizing all resources and personnel available, youth as well as elders, for information distribution, promotion and execution.
- ❖ Examining methods for encouraging and insuring accountability of those responsible for tasks without discouraging participation.

We also had a major discussion on the importance of a counter culture to fight the negative, self-destructive elements that exist in the culture of our people and particularly the culture of the youth. Another major element discussed is how to encourage more youth participation in conscious events and programs involving the issue of reparations. On a collegiate level one suggestion was the establishment and support of college societies that are based on African principles and consciousness. Many of our youth get bored with the traditional format and structure of our organizations, and meetings. We must take on the challenge of not only properly politically indoctrinating our youth with proper proactive concepts, but also keeping their atten-



Abini Elamin,
N'COBRA Youth Commission, Atlanta

Photo by Wautella

tion, and encouraging participation. Student societies must sponsor events and functions that all students can participate in, that are initiated by a core group who

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Reparations Now: Finally Getting That 40 Acres & a Mule!



Damario Solomon-Simmons
National Reparations Director
National Black Law Student Association

"If you are the son of a man who had a wealthy estate and you inherit your father's estate, you have to pay off the debts that your father incurred before he died. The only reason that the present generation of white Americans are in a position of economic strength...is because their fathers worked our fathers for over 400 years with no pay...We were sold from plantation to plantation like you sell a horse, or a cow, or a chicken, or a bushel of wheat...All that money...is what gives the present generation of American whites the ability to walk around the earth with their chest out...like they have some kind of economic ingenuity. Your father isn't here to pay. My father isn't here to collect. But I'm here to collect and you're here to pay." Malcolm X

October 14, 2003

RE: Reparations & Black Law Students...An Update

Dear Fellow Reparations Advocates,

As you know, the Reparations movement is quickly gaining momentum nationally and internationally, and it is my pleasure to serve National Black Law Student Association (NBLSA) as the National Reparations Director for the 2003-04 academic year. Make no mistake about it, NBLSA is committed to facilitating programs that will prompt emerging African-American attorneys to clearly understand and take our role in defining and fighting the noble legal battle to get Reparations. NBLSA recognizes that our members must lead because we are the so-called talented tenth that Dr. W.E.B. Dubois so passionately and articulately described. NBLSA understands it is OUR responsibility to provide leadership to the masses of our people and fight for reparations.

NBLSA understands that we must fight for Reparations with the same passion that Frederick Douglass fought against slavery. NBLSA understands

that we must fight for Reparations with the same commitment that compelled Charles Hamilton Houston, Thurgood Marshall, and many other African-American attorneys to fight to secure the most basic civil rights of our people through judicial advocacy. NBLSA understands we must fight for Reparations with the same dedication that Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and El Hajj Malik El-Shabazz fought for our basic human rights.

NBLSA clearly understands that we must fight to make Black Reparations a household word. We clearly understand that we must learn to spell, define, and defend reparations. We clearly understand that we must raise the issue every time someone talks about Affirmative Action, Welfare Reform, Jobs, Education, Housing, Health Care, the Growing Prison Industrial Complex, Police Brutality, and all of the other pertinent issues threatening the survival and empowerment of our communities because they all fall under the banner of Reparations. Lastly, we clearly understand that we must do more than talk about Reparations. That is why I am proud to announce the following recent accomplishments and future events of NBLSA in support of the Reparations movement:

- 1) Asking our members to join the National Coalition of Blacks for Reparations in America (N'COBRA), which we feel, is the pre-eminent organization actively working on securing Reparations for our people. Organizing town hall meetings, workshops, and conferences at your schools about Reparations
- 2) Asking our NBLSA chapters at every school to invite Reparations advocates and speakers to present at your school, or to have regional seminars about Reparations. For example, the Rocky Mountain Region of NBLSA Regional Conference is Feb. 19-22, 2004, and there will be an entire session devoted exclusively to Reparations.
- 3) Encouraging our members to read at least one book or article about Reparations a semester.
- 4) Establishing and encouraging our members to visit the Reparations page on the NBLSA website at <http://www.nblsa.org/programs/reparations/> weekly for new information concerning the Reparations movement.
- 5) Publicly supporting H.R. 40 and asking all of our members to call or write their respective U.S. Senator or Congressman asking them to support H.R. 40.
- 6) Planning a Reparations Symposium at the NBLSA National Conference to be held in Boston, Mass on March 19th, 2003 from 10:00am to 12:00pm.
- 7) Encouraging the Ada Lois Sipuel Fisher Black Law Student Chapter at the University of Oklahoma to file an amicus brief in support of the case to get Reparations for the 1921 so-called Tulsa Race Riot.

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Ask The Editor

How would you respond to comments by Whites and Blacks, who believe that Black people perpetuate their own poverty, oppression, etc. through violence, drugs, etc.?

This is the most common of all misperceptions. The truth, however, is that violence and drugs are the direct result of the destruction of the economic base of the Black community. Industrial jobs in basic manufacturing industries such as steel production, auto manufacturing, etc. began moving overseas in the early 1960's and they continue to do so today. These industrial jobs were by and large what encouraged many Blacks to migrate out of the South to the North (at least those who weren't run out by the Klan.) In addition, immigrants from Latin America and Asia have displaced Blacks in areas of traditional service sector work. These combined factors have resulted in massive unemployment among Black youth, leading to poverty, drugs and violence.

Many believe that Blacks are already getting special privileges, yet are demanding equality. Is there proof that Blacks have received special privileges?

If you believe Blacks are getting special privileges, then you should be willing to trade places with Blacks in the ghetto, in order to get those special privileges, right? Here are the real statistics on White special privileges:

1. Whites receive preferential treatment and affirmative action everyday. According to Census data (1998), "The median income for Blacks in 1998 was \$25,351, but for non-Hispanic Whites it was \$42,439." Therefore, more of America's wealth flows back to White hands. Score one for white privilege.

2. According to the Commerce Department (1997), Whites, 69.1%, own their homes, while only 44.1% of Blacks own their homes; a difference of 25%. Therefore, more of the money from the home mortgage interest deduction, the largest welfare program ever invented goes back into White hands. Score two for white affirmative action

3. According to that same study, it costs Blacks more money, \$3,199, to go to college than Whites, \$2,922. Therefore, with respect to college, whites get a chance to retain more of their money than Blacks. Score three for White privilege.

4. Whites get more money, \$3,449, than Blacks,

\$2,863, from college aid, again, according to that Department of Commerce study. Therefore, Whites, with respect to college aid, get more help than Blacks, which allows them to save more of their own money, and accumulate wealth faster. Score four for White affirmative action.

5. According to the Department of Agriculture (2000), White headed-households, 3,624,000, or 43.9% of the 8.2 million households total, were getting food stamps in FY98. Black headed-households, 2,770,000, or 33.6%, were getting food stamps that same year, according to that same study. Therefore, with respect to food stamps, more public money goes back into White hands, than Black hands. Score five for White preferential treatment.

6. According to the USDA (2000) Women's Infants and Children's (WIC) program, there were 8,042,758, participants in the WIC program in 1998. Of those WIC participants, 3,155,604, or 39.2% were non-Hispanic Whites, and 1,842,107, or 22.9% were Blacks. Therefore, with respect to WIC, more public money goes back into White hands, than Black hands. Score six for White preferential treatment.

7. According to the Social Security Administration (SSA) (2000), there were 44,598,890 recipients of Old Age and Survivors Insurance and Disability Insurance, (OASDI), otherwise known as Social Security, as of December 1999. Of those 38,237,240, or 86% were White, and 4,538,570, or 10% were Black. The average monthly benefit for Whites was \$753.20 and the average monthly benefit for Blacks was \$604.30. Therefore, with respect to Social Security, more money goes back into White hands, than Black hands. Score seven for White privilege.

Again, according to the SSA, (1998), Aide For Dependant Children, AFDC, is now called TANF, Temporary Assistance for Needy Families. There were 2,631,142 adults who received TANF as of September 1998. Of those, 35.6% were White and 37.1% were Black.

Statisticians call that 1.5% difference within the margin of error, and a statistical tie, therefore, with respect to TANF, nearly, just as much money goes back into White hands as Black hands.

*Answers provided by J. Damu and Vic Nickson
Send your questions to: InformationMedia@aol.com or
N'COBRA-IMC, P.O. Box 716, Washington, DC 20044-0716*

N' COBRA

National Coalition Of Blacks for Reparations in America

Invites your organization and you to the

N' COBRA 15th ANNUAL CONVENTION 2004

Washington DC
Junteenth 2004 (June 17th - 20th)

“COALITION BUILDING AND OPERATIONAL UNITY”

Help Create the 2004-2005 National Agenda for the Reparations Movement

*The Largest and Most informative Annual Gathering of National Organizations,
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*Workshops led by National Reparations Leaders and Educators; Great networking opportunities;
Uplifting Cultural Entertainment: Music, Poetry, Black Arts Exhibit; Commemoration of
Our Ancestors; Black Business Marketplace, and much more!*

Make Your Plans Now!

MAIN EVENTS

- Thursday - 17th Lobbying for Reparations on Capitol Hill
 Legislative Award Banquet/Fundraiser
- Friday - 18th N'COBRA Organizations Leadership Roundtable
 N'COBRA Youth Commission's "Youth Summit"
 National Reparations Unity Forum
- Saturday - 19th Reparations Run (5K): "Keepin' Up The Pace"
 Reparations Workshops
 Cultural Entertainment (Poetry Slam, Music & Dance Extravaganza)
- Sunday - 20th Sunrise Spiritual Service
 Conference Closing Activities

National Coalition Of Blacks for Reparations in America
P.O. Box 90604, Washington, DC 20090-0604

Phone 202-291-8400 Fax 202-291-4600 Email: NationalNCOBRA@aol.com

Online Information: www.NCOBRA.org or http://groups.yahoo.com/group/Reparations_For_Africans

Minister Louis Farrakhan *Offers His Life To The Reparations Movement*

*Dorothy Benton Lewis, N'COBRA National Co-Chair
N'COBRA National Unity Forum,
Washington, DC 8.16.02*

"I am excited about Minister Farrakhan because when I was with the Black Reparation Commission, when I was with the African National Reparations Organization we couldn't get anybody with the microphone to say the word "Reparations." He was the only man who stepped up to the plate and became our voice, the only national representative and I love him for that!"



*The Honorable Minister Louis Farrakhan,
N'COBRA National Unity Forum, Washington, DC
8.16.02*

"We must always lift the Cause above ourselves, now, if we are Cause oriented more than personality oriented then we will submerge our personalities for the good of the Cause. The Cause for which we are gathered here tonight and tomorrow is bigger than all of us who are gathered. And therefore it is incumbent upon us to submerge our personalities even our differing methodologies, religious persuasions, or the lack thereof for the Cause that is bigger than us all. We are here tonight not because of ourselves. We are here tonight because of those went before us, to pave the way for us and we must not be untrue to them, and to those who struggled to make life what it is to us. Nor should we relegate what we can do today for our children to do tomorrow. We should complete our assignment today so that our children may work on the next phase of that assignment."

"We must not betray the Ancestors in our negotiation for what we feel is just and justly due to the children of the slaves. It's not about money; it is about what is requisite to repair the damage."

*"I am going to offer my life to
this Movement for Reparations,
national and internationally"*

"(T)he founders of this rally, tomorrow and tonight, who met in Durban and decided that there must be 'Millions For Reparations' they were not just talking, but there was a Spirit moving them, the Spirit of those who have gone on, who are not able to be here tonight but produced us that we might make an accounting of ourselves and our time period. This is our time period and (we) have to make an account for ourselves as to how we functioned in our time."

"Liberation is not a one day journey; neither is Reparations, for Reparations and Liberation really are synonymous. You won't be free without the damage being repaired. And in order to repair the damage you must make a proper assessment of the damage."

Photo by Ma'at

*The Honorable Minister Louis Farrakhan
NDABA II, Jackson, MS 10.4.03*

"I have reached the age of 70, by the Grace of God."

"I still have some youth left, and some juice left. I think I am going to offer my life to this Movement for Reparations, national and internationally. I think we can design a national tour and just as we spoke in cities and had 10's of 1,000's of people come out that culminated into the Million Man March. I think we can do it again on the principle of Reparations. I think we can do it again on the international scene as well.

Africa is in need of Reparations, the indigenous people of the South Pacific, Australia, the Aborigines, the Maori, the Ainu People – all are in need of Reparations. And out of the valiance of those of us struggling inside America we can send up a light to all our people all over the world from this, the capitol of Neo-colonialism and slavery and create an International Movement that puts pressure on the enemy. We can unite the Hip Hop Nation around this thing and let everybody talk about "add it up" what you owe."

International People's Democratic Uhuru Movement

12th World Tribunal on Reparations for African People in the U.S

On Tuesday, October 7th, at 10:00am, the International People's Democratic Uhuru Movement held a press conference across from the United Nations to announce the upcoming 12th Session of the International Tribunal on Reparations for African People in the U. S.. Organizers of and participants in the Reparations Tribunal were available to talk to the press. As the U. S. comes under increasing international criticism for it's invasion and occupation of Iraq, African people in the U.S. are escalating pressure for acknowledgement and compensation for slavery and other violations of international law.

On November 15th and 16th, 2003, the 12th Session of the International Tribunal on Reparations for African People in the U.S. will convene in Philadelphia. In 1982, Black people, denied recourse through domestic courts, put the U.S. government on trial for violating international law in its treatment of the African community. An international panel of judges found the U. S. guilty and owing \$4.1 trillion dollars in stolen labor alone, with damages yet to be set for pain and suffering.

Subsequent sessions of the Tribunal have compiled further testimony and evidence that has been entered into the growing body of documentation supporting the demand of African people for reparations.

The 2003 Tribunal session takes place in the context of a growing movement for reparations for Black people. 11 sessions of this Tribunal, held in various cities since 1982, have popularized the reparations demand in Black communities throughout the U.S. In 1989, Michigan Congressman John Conyers introduce H. R.40, a bill that he has submitted every year since, in an effort to establish a "Commission to Study Reparation Proposals for African Americans". Beginning with Aetna in 2000, Deadria Farmer-Paellmann initiated lawsuits against numerous U.S. corporations demanding reparations for profits gained from slavery.

At the 2001 United Nations-sponsored World Conference Against Racism the great majority of the world's countries gave their support for the reparations demand, declaring the enslavement and colonization of African people by Europe and America was a crime against humanity.

The International Tribunal on Reparations for African People in the U.S. is based upon international laws including the U.N. Human Rights Charter and the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide.

Chimurenga Waller is President of the International People's Democratic Uhuru Movement, and sponsor of the upcoming Tribunal. He says "400 years is too long to owe anybody anything! African people demand our human rights to self-determination and reparations under international law."

This year's session in Philadelphia will focus on the issues of police brutality and the prison and education systems. Scheduled witnesses include:

Dr. Leonard Jeffries, City College of New York, on the slave trade

Councilman Charles Barron, Brooklyn, New York

Attorney Michael Coard, Philadelphia lawyer on police brutality and unjust imprisonment

Ms. Bonnie Kerness, American Friends Service Committee, on the torture of African children in prisons

Ms. Pam Africa, on the case of African political prisoner Mumia Abu Jamal

Lawrence Hamm, People's Organization for Progress, on police brutality in New Jersey

Professor Ella Forbes, Temple University African History whose son Erin was killed by Lower Merion, PA Police

Ms. Barbara Vance, whose nephew Kenneth Griffin was killed by Pennsylvania parole officers

Ms. Ramona Africa, survivor of the 1985 bombing of the MOVE house in Philadelphia

Mr. Leodus Jones, on the use of African prisoners in medical experiments

Ms. Ingrid Crew, whose brother, Stanton Crew was

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African Leadership

(Continued from page 15)

our people, we automatically accelerate the movement of our people who are already more conscious.

Keep in mind that our people who have these injuries aspects may or may not have locked hair; may or may not have adopted an African name; may or may not wear kente cloth. Do not be fooled by appearance. And do not fail always to look for those same injuries in thyself. "Our most ancient people taught the world that the ultimate instruction for human growth and transformation was: 'Man, know thyself.'" (Akbar 1998)

We will not survive as leaders; and we certainly will not be effective leaders if we are not consciously and permanently doing this transformative organizing work with our people and ourselves on a daily basis. As leaders in the reparation's movement, we must face this dynamic within our own mental make-up, conscious and unconscious, and rip it out in the process of doing this work. Otherwise, we will never gain the capacity to be movers of our people to Reparations. This is continuous work. It does not matter how long we have been in the struggle. This work is easier spoken about than practiced. I believe that it is a profound love of our people that will ultimately sustain us in this process of doing the actual work.

The above is a foundational perspective on the work. We must be thorough with this foundation; otherwise, we will be frustrated and unable to apply successfully the following seven African leadership rules in our reparations work:

SEVEN AFRICAN LEADERSHIP RULES

One:

African reparations leaders must always seek to know and see the world as it is in its full reality and in the absolute interest of African people. We must vision African liberation from that perspective and always know the world through the eyes of white supremacy but never see the world through the eyes of white supremacy.

Two:

African reparations leaders must continually study the worldwide experiences of African freedom fighters

and African freedom movements of the past 500 years; study the history of the Reparations movement within the United States; and study current local events and worldwide current events. This must be part of lifelong work

Three:

African reparations leaders must strategically join and embrace local community struggles around housing, health care, education...etc. of the African community and combine the resolution of that specific struggle with the reparations demand.

This is very difficult and very essential work. It takes great skill and integrity of leadership, requiring the combination of tactics. It is not putting, for example, the housing or health crises ahead of the Reparations demand. Rather it is making reparations concrete and the essential part of addressing all of the ills of our community caused by chattel slavery and systemic racism/white supremacy. Hence our community's fight for adequate schools, health care, education is the fight for reparations.

But not all "community struggles" are reparations struggles. It really takes preparation to do this grassroots work. We must never use an authentic community struggle to push any organization or any issue outside of that authentic community struggle itself. We only get involved if a reparations' issue (however the community describes it) is a central issue of the community struggle itself. We may have to connect the dots for the community. One of the vestiges of chattel slavery is our inability to see clearly the full responsibility for and connection of our present day condition to the acts of the US and state governments to slavery. Our job as reparations leaders in our communities is to help our people to see the connection clearly. When this is accomplished, enormous opportunities arise to build the reparations movement in the local area and to strengthen the capacity of the community to make gains in its particular community struggle as well. They are mutually reinforcing. It is real movement forward.

Four:

African reparations leaders must work passionately for their perspective of what form(s) they think reparations should take. But we must always practice operational unity and political unity when appropriate around the following options of the possible forms reparations may take, placing full emphasis on building the capac-

ity of our people to design, articulate, and win the full range of options as we as a people design and desire them:

“...The material forms of reparations includes cash payments, land, economic development, and repatriation resources particularly to those who are descendants of enslaved Africans. Other forms of reparations for Black people of African descent include: funds for scholarships and community development; creation of multi-media depictions of the history of Black people of African descent and textbooks for educational institutions that tell the story from the African descendants’ perspective; development of historical monuments and museums; the return of artifacts and art to appropriate people or institutions; exoneration of political prisoners; and, the elimination of laws and practices that maintain dual systems in the major areas of life including the punishment system, health, education, and the financial/economic system. The forms of reparations received should improve the lives of African descendents in the United States for future generations to come; foster complete economic, social, and political parity; and allow for the full rights of self-determination.”

(N’COBRA, An Information Sheet, p.2, 2002)

Five:

African reparations leaders must consciously build leadership in other people. Appreciate the value of a charismatic leader but do not build the cult of the leader; rather build the capacity of African people as a whole to lead each other to victory.

Six:

African reparations leaders must on a consistent basis hold town hall meetings or community teach-ins where the community can come to learn what reparations is and why and how to build the movement for Reparations. It is also a place where a larger group of reparations leaders participate in teaching a larger number of community people at the same time. This is a place where we connect the dots between our present day circumstances and the necessity for the Reparations remedy to a mass audience.

Seven:

African reparations leaders must actively work to build consensus and to ensure a meaningful level of democratic and non-sexist decision making in all of the Reparations movement building work.

Conclusion:

The above seven rules are not written in any particular order because they are meant to be thought of holistically, each one fertilizing each and every other one at the same time as all are implemented together.

Also, the above seven rules must be applied within the context of an organization that exists or that is in formation and that has Reparations as a focus and that also has a viable structure and a capacity to stand on its own financial feet. If any of you are not a part of such an organization join one and/or start one. We encourage you to include N’COBRA among the organizations that you join. © 2003

12th World Tribunal

(Continued from page 31)

killed by New Jersey police

Family of Edward Shawn Pickens, killed by Philadelphia police

The International panel of judges listed below will hear the testimony and enter it into the record.

Thami Kaa Plaatjie, Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (South Africa)

Dorothy Lewis, National Coalition of Blacks for Reparations in America (N’COBRA)

Luwezi Kinshasa, African Socialist International, London

Mohammad Chehab, Arab activist

Judy De Los Santos, Union Del Barrio, (Mexican national liberation organization)

Penny Hess, African People's Solidarity Committee

For more information, contact the International People's Democratic Uhuru Movement at (727) 502-0575.

West Coast Community Organizing Continues

by Jahahara Amen-RA Alkebulan-Ma'at

On Saturday, November 1, 2003 the Oakland/Berkley community hosted a Reparations forum entitled: "NO LONGER CAN AFRICAN PEOPLE WAIT: A Critical Dialogue for Actions on Reparations," at the beautiful Black Repertory Group Theater (on the Oakland/Berkeley border). The event was co-sponsored by the African Initiative of the American Friends Service Committee and Foundations For Our Nu Alkebulan/Afrikan Millennium (FONAMI).

The goals throughout this continuing process are to deepen the outreach and discussions on Reparations among isolated Afrikan family members and supporters; to encourage a sharing of our varying perspectives and paths of direction; and to look at unique ways that our groups can unite and collaborate for necessary action.

The event has been described as superb!, with magnificent panelists representing a rich diversity of spiritual, grassroots and scholarly leadership and experiences from around our Afrikan Diaspora, and a rich response from the community at large. The presenters and the community should be applauded for offering their comments in a respectful and loving manner even when there were significant disagreements on strategies and priorities in building our movement. There are many roads to Kujichagulia (self-determination), and all are worthy of honor and respect. Unity does not mean uniformity in every aspect of our lives, thinking, or struggle.

What's up next? In the California Bay Area

- "Critical Dialogue for Action on Reparations," featuring California Central Valley groups and activists, at Wo'se Community Church of the Way, Sacramento, today, Sunday, 2 November, 3 pm
- "Walk, Run, Bike, Skate, Handstand... for Reparations (#1)" around Oakland's Lake Merritt, a fun(d) raiser for N'COBRA and our Global Afrikan Congress, on Saturday, 22 November.
- African Initiative of AFSC kicks-off regional "LIFE over "debt" and death" campaign calling for unconditional cancellation of the criminal "debt" on Africa, and Reparations in many other forms, on Inter-

national Human Rights Day, Wednesday, 10 December, at birthplace of United Nations in downtown San Francisco.

- "wRiters, Rhymers, Rappers, Radio/tv Personalities, Re-Creators... for Reparations" performances and fun(d)raiser for N'COBRA, GAC and others, on Saturday, 13 December.
- Celebration of Our Day of IMANI (FAITH) and 200th Anniversary of Afrikan-Haitian Revolution, 1 January 2004.
- National African Initiative of AFSC kicks-off U.S. "LIFE over debt" campaign on Capitol Hill in Washington, DC, on birthday of Ancestor Rev. Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., Thursday, 15 January 2004.
- "Critical Dialogue for Action on Reparations" at San Francisco Public Library, in March 2004.

For information contact Brother Jahahara Amen-RA Alkebulan-Ma'at, African Initiative Coordinator, AFSC Pacific Mountain Region; nuafrikan777@msn.com or jalkebulan@afsc.org; 415.867.7120


Unity does not mean uniformity in every aspect of our lives, thinking, or struggle.

Reparations Now!

(Continued from page 27)

8) Encouraging our members to not get discouraged with the Reparations movement, but to remember the immortal words of Frederick Douglass that "If there is no struggle there is no progress. Those who profess to favor freedom and yet depreciate agitation...want crops without plowing up the ground, they want rain without thunder and lightening. They want the ocean without the awful roar of its many waters.... Power concedes nothing without a demand. It never did and it never will."

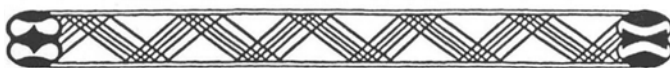
History of N'COBRA's Legislative Front

(Continued from page 19)

HR 40. McGriff, through "A Year of Black Presence (AYBP)," is successfully providing a bridge for persons who wish a consistent structure through which they can come to Washington and, as constituents, lobby their Members to support this legislation.

On January 30, 2003, over 250 Reparations supporters from Philadelphia, Pennsylvania converged on Capitol Hill for the AYBP kickoff event. This event took place in Room 2237 of the Rayburn Building, which is the very room where the House Judiciary Committee will eventually determine whether H.R. 40 will be forwarded for debate on the House floor. In response to the efforts of Milton McGriff, Reparations lobbyists are now coming each month to lobby on behalf of H.R. 40. Lobbyists have included Mr. Hilary Shelton, Director of the Washington Bureau of the NAACP, Mr. Ken Fealing, Director of Civil and Human Rights for the United Methodist Church, Ms. DeBorah Gilbert White, Minister of Anti-Racism and Conflict Resolution for the United Church of Christ, Minister Khadir Abdul Muhammad, East Coast Representative for Nation of Islam Leader, Honorable Minister Louis Farrakhan, and renowned scholar and political analyst, Dr. Ron Walters. Mr. Keenan Kellar, Judiciary Counsel to Congressman John Conyers, has worked closely with the AYBP initiative, providing invaluable support and counsel to more than 800 Reparations lobbyists who've come to the Hill in support of this effort. At AYBP's inception, there were 20 co-sponsors of the bill. To date, there are 39 co-sponsors, and while this is a far cry from the total number of votes needed to pass H.R. 40, the efforts of AYBP lobbyists are clearly bearing fruit.

In sum, just as the 21st century brings renewed vigor to N'COBRA's forward thrust for reparations on the legislative and other fronts, it also represents the solidification of what can only be characterized as the beginnings of a true reparations MOVEMENT. Thanks to the painstaking groundwork laid by reparations pioneers of the late 1980's and 1990's, reparations in this millennium is an idea whose time has come. We must all find our place within this Movement and work to make it a reality. If you feel your place is as part of the Legislative Front, you are invited to join the Legislative Commission and become an active part of achieving "Reparations in Our Lifetime."



Youth Commission

(Continued from page 26)

have chosen to make their participation in the society and struggle, a life long endeavor. These societies need to be the vehicle through which our youth can be properly educated, since we cannot depend on the public educational system to consistently and completely educate our youth about themselves. Since many college students are attracted to the allure of "greek" organizations, we can utilize our societies to reclaim our youth and return them back to the path of the African based consciousness, which is healthier for the black psyche. We should incorporate African principles, ceremonies, values, and Rights of Passage. We agreed we must not neglect any and every opportunity to organize and promote joint events between all organizations that represent our people.

If you would like to join that list serve please visit the msn.com website and go to groups. Look for the NDABA Youth Group and follow the steps to join. Look to hear from us with a strategic plan within the next month. If you have any suggestions or would like more information please contact 317-329-3552, madina@fwo360.com, or slacy@scarabys.com

Avenge the Ancestors II

Where are our bayonets,
our martial arts,
where are our Priests
who chant into the night the old rituals,
where are the ceremonial drummers
who know the ancient rhythms
that strike the call
to arms, to gather our minds, our hearts, our souls
to the greater oneness of our ancestors?
Where are the shrines we must certainly carry
to win the victory our people deserve,
that sets a new sun ablaze in the heavens
that ignites the hell *they* will live in forever?
Where are the millions
to stand for the millions
who stood for the millions
who died by the millions?
Avenge the Ancestors

by Zumbi Soweto

INTERNATIONAL AFRICAN REPARATIONS MOVEMENT

Jubilee South Africa Statement On Reparations

Issue date: 2003-07-24

Statement from reparations gathering of 18 and 19 July

Reparations Yes! Reparations Yes! Reparations Yes!

This gathering of Jubilee South Africa, together with partners of the popular movements and other organisations of civil society, meeting at Technikon SA from 18 to 19 July 2003, believes that the issue of reparations is rooted in the oppression, exploitation and systematic dispossession of our people. The TRC, because of its limited terms of reference, was not able to consider the nature and scope of reparations in a systematic and comprehensive way. It was thus unable to redress the legacy of Apartheid and racial oppression.

The TRC has unfinished business, especially in relation to big business, both foreign and national. We reaffirm the right and legitimacy of oppressed communities and their organisations to implement a range of initiatives to ensure more far-reaching forms of reparations, including legal claims in foreign and South African courts. In this respect, this gathering gives support to the current court cases being undertaken in the United States courts.

In order to secure reparations at a level able to redress the damage of Apartheid and racial oppression in all its manifestations, for all those affected, Jubilee, together with its partners in the popular movement, will initiate hearings where communities can express and define the scale and nature of reparations that satisfactorily address the past.

This process will culminate in a People's Tribunal that will determine the people, institutions and businesses that must make reparations and the forms that these should take.

In order to pressure big business into meeting their responsibility to make reparations, Jubilee, with its partners, will undertake a name and shame campaign against the monopolies that were fundamental to the apartheid system.

In addition, we will identify specific companies and products that symbolise the role these corporations played in facilitating the development of apartheid, which will be targeted in a consumer boycott.

The broader conference that has been called for later this year by the churches amongst others, must be based on clear principles, including the need for reparations to comprehensively address the damage done and the right of those struggling for reparations to use the courts of law to this end.

We see this conference as a step in the process towards a popular tribunal and the intensification of campaigning activity towards the realisation of reparations.

We believe that it is important that the demand for reparations must be integrated into the ongoing struggles and campaigns within popular civil society that will give the issue of reparations the necessary weight and importance and locate reparations within the increasing challenge to neoliberal policies.

Furthermore, we recognise that our struggle for reparations is part of a broader struggle of the people of Southern Africa for reparations for Apartheid destabilisation and other forms of racial and neoliberal damage. We stand fully in support of these struggles and demands.

The gathering included participants from the following organisations:

Alternative Information and Development Centre
Anti-Privatisation Forum
Ceasefire
Concerned Citizens Forum
Earthlife Africa Ethikwini
Ecopeace
Environmental Justice Networking Forum
Fairshare
Freedom of Expression Institute
Green Network
Inanda Dam affected communities
SACBC - Justice and Peace
Khanya College
Landless People's Movement
LCLT
PACSA
Popcru
RDSN

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Samancor Retrenched Workers Crisis Committee
Sangoco

Soweto Electricity Crisis Committee
Young Christian Workers
Youth for Work

For further details, contact Jubilee Chairperson MP
Giyose 082 350 0361/011 403 7624, or Jubilee
General Secretary George Dor 011 648 7000

Jamaica Reparations Movement

Greetings and Blessings!

The Jamaica Reparations Movement (JaRM) sends its felicitations and congratulations to the Millions For Reparations movement, on the occasion of its upcoming National Rally in New York, September 13, 2003.

Though our enslavers in Jamaica were English, not American, our history of exploitation, brutality, racism and impoverishment is the same and our need for Reparations identical and equally justified.

The JaRM has been in existence following the Durban WCAR and has recently completed a Jamaica Reparations Document that can be viewed at our website (http://www.geocities.com/i_makeda) outlining our Proposals and Plan of Action for the award of Reparations to the Jamaican descendants of enslaved Africans.

The JaRM is inspired by the strong and brave leadership of the USA Reparations Movement, acknowledging that our African-American Brothers and Sisters can, by their numbers and multiple sources of communication and litigation, give inspiration and guidance to I&I in Jamaica and the rest of the African Diaspora.

Though I cannot be physically present in New York, I and all members of the JaRM send you our extremely positive prayers and Blessings for a successful event that will focus more international attention on our fight for Justice and Human Rights.

May the spirits of our African Ancestors protect and guide you all!

ONE LOVE!
Makeda Blake Hannah
Co-Ordinating Secretary
Jamaica Reparations Movement.

The Situation in Zimbabwe: *Land and Reparations*



By Sabelo Sibanda

Zimbabwe, at the present, is going through one of the most challenging periods since the time of our independence. The thrust of our concerns is mainly related to self-determination with a focus on reparations and the goal of righting the wrongs of the past. We are reclaiming what is rightfully ours. What has progressively presented itself as a challenge is how we, as African people, deal with the situation without the interference of outsiders. As the indigenous people of Zimbabwe our position is, that this is part of our collective responsibility to ourselves, and to our ancestors. However, Westerners are intent on getting involved in what is essentially a domestic issue of a sovereign nation. Patriotism is very much under threat as many Zimbabweans weigh the prospects of the difficult work of bringing stability to the nation or just jumping ship and going to another man's land where life appears easier. To a great extent some of us view ourselves as necessary players in the development of our country and will

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do all it takes to procure a better future for African people, whereas there are some who are ready to abdicate their responsibility to others.

One of the major challenges is whether to go through with the process we have engaged upon relating to our reparations based on the land reform policies of the present government or to give in under the onslaught of international criticism that we are currently facing. The voices and opinions differ but the essential issue is that we as African people, both at home and in the Diaspora seem to be failing to dialogue with one another and to put a structure in place that will prevent all of us from being used by those who want to keep us all in bondage.

This is the summary on Zimbabwe that will be discussed in more depth in a public address or interview. You will note that politically, I do not take any party position, as I do not subscribe to party politics. I simply work on an agenda that is in keeping with the future well being of our people. The School of African Awareness is apolitical.

Global Afrikan Congress Haiti Resolution Cap Haitian August 21, 2003.

Reparations for the Nation State and People of Haiti

Whereas, for a period of almost 300 years, the people of Haiti were victims of the most extreme crime against humanity- the trade in enslaved Africans and the associated system of racialized chattel slavery- which was inflicted upon them by the nation of France and various other European powers;

And whereas the people of Haiti fought and won the only successful revolutionary war waged against the system of chattel slavery by the enslaved victims of that system;

And whereas the Haitian Revolution and the military defeats inflicted on the slavery sustaining regimes of France, Spain and England by the Haitian revolutionaries constituted a major blow to the entire European system of racialized chattel slavery, and proved to be an invaluable source of inspiration to all enslaved African people struggling for their freedom;

And whereas these major victories won by the Haitian people for themselves and all other African people were accomplished at the expense of tremendous human and material sacrifice on the part of the nation and people of Haiti;

And whereas in the years after the Revolution powerful and vindictive regimes in Europe and North America, including the governments of France and the United States, made every effort to inflict punitive damage on the nation and people of Haiti by imposing on Haiti a so-called compensation payment of 150 million gold francs to France, and by carrying out a number of blockades, embargoes, invasions and occupation of Haiti;

And whereas these long years of criminality and unlawful victimization have resulted in continuing and currently existing underdevelopment, poverty, human suffering and economic, social and cultural damage to the nation and people of Haiti;

And whereas, as a matter of international law and morality, the nation and people of Haiti are entitled to the payment of reparations and the implementation of reparative measures and programmes, to repair the damage that they have suffered and continue to suffer;

And whereas, at the African and African Descendants World Conference Against Racism which was held in Barbados in October 2002, the newly established Global Afrikan Congress committed itself and called upon African and Caribbean people and governments to make the achievement of reparations for Haiti one of the priority objectives of the international Reparations movement;

This 3rd Assembly of Caribbean People hereby resolves:-

To immediately launch a Caribbean and a wider international campaign, in collaboration with progressive forces in Haiti and in the Haitian Diaspora, to advance, demand and achieve reparation payments and reparative measures and programmes for the nation and people of Haiti, and in so doing, to identify and target the government of France as one of the major guilty parties from which reparations are due and owing; and

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To observe and celebrate every 23rd of August as an international day in support of reparations for the nation and people of Haiti.

CARRIED: By Majority of Delegates
Dated August 24/2003, Cap Haitian, Haiti.

Representing the Global Afrikan Congress at the 3rd Assembly of Caribbean People in Cap Haitian, Haiti Are:

Cikiah Thomas; GAC Chairperson (Canada)
David Comissiong; Director of the Commission For Pan-African Affairs (Barbados)
Attorney Bobby Clarke; (Barbados)

Nekesha Holdipp; York University Toronto (Canada)
Akins Vidale, University of West Indies, (Trinidad & Tobago)

Global Afrikan Congress European Regional Meeting

On Friday October 3RD, 2003 the Global Afrikan Congress Europe (GAC) commenced its first regional family gathering. This historical event, the first of this kind in Europe, was a three-day intensive multi-pronged critical analysis of the diverse challenges faced by Afrikans and Afrikan descendants in Europe to improve their fortunes and present social conditions. The gathering achieved its aims and objectives to increase the levels of organisation, and implement decisions reached in gatherings held in Durban (2001) and Bridgetown (Barbados) (2002). Another accomplishment was the fulfilment of the aim to devise new, and improve existing strategies, as well as deepen the commitment of GAC members and delegates.

Held in Rotterdam (Netherlands), the conference was well attended with over 100 attendees. The organisers were very pleased with the overall turnout and support received, especially with the significant youth presence. There were representatives from GAC chapters, regions and country delegates from Europe, specifically Belgium, Norway, France, Netherlands and the United Kingdom. There were representatives from GAC structures in Canada, United States of America, Barbados, Bermuda, St. Eustatius, St. Kitts & Nevis,

Jamaica, St. Maarten, Guyana, Surinam, (Dutch) Antilles, Uganda, Angola, Cameroon, Ethiopia, Somalia, Southern Africa, Ghana, Kenya, Congo and Nigeria.

With the focus of the Global Afrikan Congress on the discourse on Reparations, plenaries explored the history of GAC and the importance of the European region in this discourse. Whilst numerous resolutions presented helped shape the future of the GAC Europe region, the Haitian resolution (recently accepted at the assembly of Caribbean people in Haiti) was revisited. Several working groups ran concurrently to deal with a number of historical and contemporary themes within the Afrikan & Afrikan descendants' community: the effects of enslavement and colonisation, youth development, research methodology and documentation, education.

The delegates actively participate in all aspects of the event. From resolutions proposed to continuous updates and debates within working groups and during report back sessions, delegates were instrumental in the success achieved in this event.

The gathering was truly a community event that surpassed expectations. Having organised committees, yielded action plans and fostered a sense of renewal, empowerment and cultural dignity, these results speak to the success achieved and the promise held by the GAC, especially the European region.

Please join us at the official GAC international website:
www.globalafrikancongress.com
GAC-European Website:
www.globalafrikancongress.europenet.nl

Look out for future events.
For further information contact: 0031 618213802

BARRYL A. BIEKMAN, GAC Europe
ESTHER STANFORD, GAC Europe
CIKIAH THOMAS, GAC International Chair
RESOLUTION: (DUTCH) ANTILLES & SURINAM
CAUCUS LINKED TO GAC EUROPE

Organisations in the (Dutch) Antilles and Surinam are already working to give body to an Antillean and Surinam caucus. It is realistic and logical that this caucus be a part of the Caribbean region, but also natural, from an historical perspective that an Antillean and Surinam caucus be linked to GAC Europe, due to the triangular and forced relationship between the Antillean islands, the Netherlands and Surinam.

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Therefore, be it resolved that the GAC Europe accept that it is good and beneficial to implement an official caucus of GAC in the Antilles, the Netherlands, and Surinam.



RESOLUTION:
GAC-NETHERLANDS, GAC-BELGIUM & GAC-FRANCE

With the persistently false, negative and racist misrepresentation of Afrikan people in the European controlled media, (mis) education system, and all other European and European controlled institutions,

With a consistent European programme that presents a false and misleading history that is ethnically cleansed of all Afrikan content,

Further, that such unjust acts are oppressive and injurious to the spiritual, social, psychological and economic health and well-being of all Afrikan people, and constitute affronts to human dignity and crimes against humanity,

Considering the vast number of examples demonstrating unjust practices i.e. *ZWARTE PETE* in Netherlands, *PERÉ FOUETTARD* in France and the exhibition of Afrikans in Belgium animal parks,

Be it resolved that the GAC recognize such practices as a basis for Reparations,

Be it further resolved that the GAC calls upon the United Nations to investigate these past and continuing human right infringements,

Be it further resolved that the GAC call for the immediate cessation of all such practices, with a forth coming recognition of the wrongdoing in the form of a written apology from the offending parties,

And be it further resolved that the GAC institutes measures to monitor and report the incidence of these, and similar, practices in these named countries and those around the world.

RESOLUTION:
GAC-UNITED KINGDOM

- (1) Be it resolved that the term "SLAVE TRADE" be discarded as an unacceptable term to describe Our history of enslavement and genocide, from Continental invasion to (present) globalisation, at the hands of the Arab and European Nations alike, and replaced with the Afrikan terms "MAAFA and MAANGAMIZI".
- (2) Whereas all Afrikans are workers and We recognise that all Afrikan workers must be organised, We strongly urge that all organised Afrikan workers must work towards the liberation of Afrikan workers world-wide. To this end, the Global Afrikan Congress must work towards building an (independent) "Afrikan Trade Union" (movement).
- (3) Whereas, We recognise that as Afrikan people We have and continue to suffer from European and Arab terrorism as a direct result of the events that transpired in the "TRANS-ATLANTIC" and present-day "SUB-SAHARAN" ENSLAVEMENT" of Afrikan people, and that this (historical) terrorism has not ended, for wherever Afrikan people are found We are still subject to the devastating effects of this "Global Terrorism",

Be it resolved that the GAC take a firm stance to oppose the attempt by the governments of the United States and United Kingdom, in the aftermath of September 11, 2001, the war on Afghanistan, Iraq, and the so-called war on terror, to label Afrikan people and the Afrikan continent as terrorists or terrorist states.

Be it further resolved that the GAC takes an oppositional stance against the internal and external, national and international anti-terrorist legislation and, or laws designed to be used to target the continent of Afrika and Afrikans in the Diaspora.

Be it further resolved that the GAC call upon all Afrikan governments and political forces on the Afrikan continent and in the Diaspora to cease and desist from the overt and covert support of the white supremacist, imperialist war of aggression masquerading as a war against terrorism.

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South Africa's Civil Society Conference Decisions on Reparations

From: george@sn.apc.org

The civil society reparations conference, "Opening Civil Society Dialogue on Reparations", was held in Randburg on 27 and 28 August 2003. It was attended by some 50 organizations -- including those of national and more localized characters -- and ranging from organizations directly interested in reparations 'per se' to others actively bringing together people around reparations-related issues.

The conference had its origins in the South African Government's response to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) in April this year, to which Jubilee and Khulumani responded by announcing a call to South Africans to come together to develop another position on reparations that would serve as an alternative to that announced by the Government. The South African Council of Churches (SACC) had also indicated an intention to hold a conference, and thus efforts were made to work towards a single 'civil society' event.

These efforts were hampered by tensions, leading to a meeting convened by Archbishop Ndungane resulting in the establishment of a steering committee to organize the conference. A Jubilee preparatory event, including 35 organizations, was held on the dates originally scheduled for the conference, namely 18 and 19 July 2003.

The steering committee was comprised of the Anti-Privatization Forum (APF), the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), the Environmental Justice Networking Forum (EJNF), Jubilee South Africa, the Khulumani Support Group, the National Congress of Trade Unions (NACTU), the National Land Committee (NLC), the National Religious Leaders Forum (NRLF), the SACC, the South African National Civic Organization (SANCO), the South African NGO Coalition (SANGOCO) and the Womens' National Coalition (WNC).

The conference was opened by Archbishop Njongonkulu Ndungane. The Minister of Justice, Penuell Maduna, presented Government's position on reparations, and Advocate Dumisa Ntsebeza and Father Mi-

chael Lapsley critiqued the TRC and Government's response to the TRC, in addition speaking to the topic of the lawsuits filed in the United States.

Khulumani presented their critique of Government's response to the TRC. Jubilee and the Apartheid Claims Taskforce described the process towards and developments in relation to the lawsuits. COSATU, the Landless Peoples Movement (LPM), EJNF, the APF and SANCO talked to reparations and the workplace, land, the environment and the community.

The final sessions of the conference identified areas of agreement amongst the participating organizations. In the first instance, organizations reached a common understanding on who the "victims" are, what constitutes reparations, and who should pay. Then the conference reached decisions in relation to responses to the TRC, the lawsuits and a reparations movement.

Who are the "victims"?

The negative connotation of the word "victims" was raised, and alternative terms such as those affected or survivors were suggested as being more appropriate.

The following were described as affected people:

- ~ People directly affected by Apartheid violence, including police and military brutality;
- ~ All other South Africans more "indirectly" affected by Apartheid;
- ~ People dispossessed of their land;
- ~ People removed to make way for dams;
- ~ People forced to move for plantations;
- ~ People dispossessed of their land before 1913;
- ~ Workers suffering low wages and appalling working conditions;
- ~ People in the townships;
- ~ People affected by mining pollution, including those suffering ill health as a result;
- ~ Workers and communities affected by industrial pollution;
- ~ Fisherfolk;
- ~ People victimized in the post-1994 period; and
- ~ Affected people throughout the Southern African region.

The structural, psychological and physical aspects of

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damage were also raised, and this was not seen as a definitive or an exhaustive definition of those affected.

What constitutes reparations?

It was agreed that reparations has a monetary component that is both legitimate and necessary.

Other forms of reparations were mentioned, including:

- ~ Individual and collective reparations;
- ~ 'Targeted' reparations vs reparations for the whole society;
- ~ Debt cancellation as a form of resources for reparations;
- ~ Exhumation and reburial;
- ~ Memorials;
- ~ Those forms of reparations identified in Volume 5 of the TRC report;
- ~ Uncovering the truth;
- ~ Historical documentation;
- ~ Rewriting our history;
- ~ Education;
- ~ Reparations as an element of change to a more equitable society.

Development was seen as a form of repairing historical inequities, but it was stressed that general government policies and development activities are not a substitute for other forms of reparations.

Who should pay and who should effect reparations?

It was agreed that the money 'is there', and that all those who benefited from Apartheid should pay. More specifically, business, local and foreign, should pay.

Government has a major responsibility, and needs to identify mechanisms to increase income from business.

Foreign governments that supported Apartheid and business activity in contravention of sanctions also have an obligation to make reparations.

It was also noted that reparations is a complex issue, but that this should not deter us from addressing the complexities. On the contrary, it is important to lo-

cate individual struggles for reparations within the broader context and for people, communities and organizations, and to support each other's struggles as part of the broader struggle for reparations.

Responses to the TRC:

The conference agreed that the Government's response to the TRC recommendations is inadequate. The amount of 30,000 South African Rand is less than a quarter of the amount recommended by the TRC as long ago as 1998. The announcement that 19,000 people are due to be receive this amount fails to address the vast numbers of people affected. The TRC recommendations themselves are absolutely minimal - - representing less than one half a percent of the national budget -- and fall well short of what could be provided.

Khulumani made various proposals for structures and services to meet the needs of those affected, including the establishment of a reparations desk at the highest level, better resourcing of the National Prosecuting Authority, and the inclusion of victim representatives in all memorialization projects.

The conference endorsed the spirit of these and other proposals made during the conference. Due to time considerations, the conference could not consider the proposals in detail. The consolidated proposals were circulated in written form, and all organizations agreed to forward detailed comments on the specific proposals.

Lawsuits:

The conference stressed the right of all affected South Africans to legal action in any court that best represents their interests anywhere in the world.

The conference recognized that lawyers have to take their mandate from their plaintiffs, and that the conference had no powers in this regard. The conference encouraged lawyers to work together in the best interests of all affected.

Participants expressed their openness to dialogue, mediation and settlement, and encouraged Archbishop Ndungane to take the lead in dialogue.

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However, the conference also noted the antagonistic approach of business. It condemned business for its failure to respond positively to the invitation to address the conference, and identified this as a 'slap in the face'. The conference also noted that Government is taking the side of business, as evidenced by its affidavit to the US court calling for the dismissal of the lawsuits.

The conference expressed support for the litigation in the United States against Apartheid-supporting foreign companies. The spokesperson for the SACC indicated that the SACC can't pronounce on the specific lawsuits before the US courts.

It was stressed that those affected in South Africa must lead the legal process, that organization 'on the ground' in support of the lawsuits must be strengthened, that the lawsuits must be located within a broad view of reparations, and that they must be embedded in a reparations movement.

It was noted that current litigation is only the beginning and that those that aided and abetted Apartheid, both foreign and local, must make reparations.

It was noted that dialogue or mediation requires a fundamental change of approach by business and government. This includes full disclosure by business of their activities. It was stressed that any mediation or settlement on a specific claim should not close the door on other potential claimants' rights to pursue the legal route. The need to elaborate upon what exactly is meant by mediation was identified.

The conference demanded that the South African Government withdraws its affidavit to the US court. It agreed to look into the constitutionality of the Government's approach in making the affidavit, and into the possibility of a civil society affidavit to the court.

The conference agreed on the need for more dialogue and increased levels of cooperation amongst the participating organizations. It agreed on the need for more education around -- and pamphlets on -- the lawsuits. Participants agreed to deepen grassroots support for the lawsuits and work towards maximum unity.

A Reparations Movement

The conference agreed to work towards building a reparations movement. It was agreed that this movement should include different organizations, should enhance communication and relationships between the organizations, and create circumstances where they can support one another's struggles.

The conference agreed that the Apartheid Debt and Reparations Task Team should act as a point of coordination for the movement, and that it should be expanded to include organizations not currently part of the task team. Partners of the Interfaith Mission in Southern Africa and the South African Reparations Movement indicated an interest in participating. The Freedom of Expression Institute highlighted the need to address the role of the media under Apartheid, and the conference agreed upon the need to avoid confusion between the reparations movement and the South African Reparations Movement.

It was agreed that the task team should carry forward work in progress and tasks arising from the conference.

The conference was informed of the call by the President's Office for a list of participants to the conference, and expressed its condemnation of this approach as an invasion of participants' rights.

Reparations, Repatriation and the threat to Africa's survival

Ras Tafari Global Reasoning 2003 Conference
University of West Indies, Mona, Jamaica
July 16th – 24th

by Bobo Greg (bobo_greg@yahoo.co.uk)

Greetings in the Name of the Most High, Emperor Haile Sellassie I, JAH RASTAFARI!

The subject Reparations, Repatriation and the threat to Africa's survival, has become the most imperative topic of the 21st Century. We Africans have reached the point for decisions that will alter our fate and shape our destinies for the survival of our race.

In summary, we are to decide whether to :-

(i). Integrate into trade groups/zones for our survival. But in the words of H.I.M. Emperor Haile Sellassie I;

INTERNATIONAL AFRICAN REPARATIONS MOVEMENT

by turning to one or another major power groups we risk engorgement; that gradual process of assimilation which destroys our personality and identity. And this assimilating process is known today as GLOBALISATION!;

(ii). Agitate for reparations for the atrocities of colonial slavery and with it comes a structural plan; socially, politically, and economically in order to exist in the midst of these same oppressive colonial infrastructures; or

(iii). To continue the struggle for total emancipation from every slave ground for the redemption of our race; a struggle which now demands reparations for resettlement and for crimes against humanity. These I believe are now the main choices for the Black Race's survival. Since these decisions are being contemplated because of the consequences of colonialism, I strongly believe that the real answer for our race survival lies within the course of struggle for our emancipation from slavery. It becomes our duty to set the records straight so that in the course of seeking redress the succeeding generations will have the benefit of history to acquire success if we had failed in our lifetime to gain the victory for the justice of REPATRIATION and REPARATION.

We begin at August 1st 1834/8, the date that the British slavers were given £20,000,000.00 to emancipate Africans within the British Empire. To this date this sum for reparations was never used to repatriate us back to Africa! This became the decisive division for the African diaspora: those who insist on working for their masters, 'the good slaves', who do not see the necessity to return to Africa wanting instead to emulate their masters in the quest for power and dominance; and those that struggled to be truly free someday; the rebelling Souls!

Fifty years later the Prophet Marcus Mossiah Garvey was born, the champion instigator for the Back-to-Africa movement. He didn't demand reparations for obvious reasons but instead roused the consciousness of the black peoples and instilled great hope and pride with the visions of an African Empire. The legacy he left behind should send a clear message to all black people in the diaspora that we cannot become an economic power outside of Africa but will always be mere hedges in the white-men yard! The Black Star Liner was to be, for start, a major trading, shipping enterprise between the diaspora and home for where your

economic strength lies, there you shall be!

In March 1958, the 'good slaves' reached the heights of their emulation by wanting a Federal Caribbean instead of British rule, utterly refusing Garveyism to this day, calling it the final freedom from colonialism. But the rebelling Souls began chanting down this act of betrayal under a gathering of over 3,000 Rastafari children (surpassed only by the Emperor's visit) because the full course for emancipation was never materialized. The month March 1958 saw the rise of the NYA-HBINGHI Priest-hood Order in the leadership of Prince Emmanuel (Bongo Eddie) whose settlement (Back-a-Wall) was then destroyed by the police before he was dragged to court. Aided by barrister Evans who defended the Mau Mau uprising in Kenya, he defeated the 'good slaves' and Elizabeth's councils which was seen as a great victory for InI Rastafari Movement. Why is this very significant historic NYAHBINGHI Gathering only enshrined in the founding Principles of the E.A.B.I.C. and not taught no where else amongst the Rastafari Movement InI would really love to know?

It was because of the developments that followed that the 'good slaves government' was forced to send a delegation to Africa as I quote: (Star, April 14th 1961) Mr. Elliston Wakeland (J.L.P., northern Trelawny) remarked while speaking on the Budget that if he was Premier, and his head was at stake, he would likewise have provided £12,000.00 to send the mission to Africa.

Did you know: that this delegation had proposed to the queen £300m. for reparations for the resettlement of the entire diaspora; that the Queen declared a provision of £140m. to resettle Jamaica's rebelling Souls if Africa wanted us; that independence granted to Jamaica was geared towards crushing the repatriation demands and by thus the resettlement payments for they had hoped that Africa would have done it instead. And this can also be confirmed by Jamaica's refusal of membership state in the O.A.U. in 1966; that the Rastafari Movement was severely persecuted afterwards which are strong grounds for reparations demands. (eg. Coral Gardens, Back-a Wall, Hero's Circle etc.).

Did you know that the dual economic process of Privatization and Liberalization orchestrated by the World Bank and implemented by the Jamaican governments

INTERNATIONAL AFRICAN REPARATIONS MOVEMENT

that imported Transnational Corporations into the island, is in fact neo-colonialism and will develop into GLOBALISATION by the year 2005 as dictated by the W.T.O. with the aid of the computer age; that Transnational Corporations(TNC) have almost total control over the process of Globalisation with the ten largest TNC having a total income greater than that of a 100 of the world's poorest countries; that CARICOM, the new federation, is now being organized to counter this new threat for survival, yet is being warned by the African Union President that Globalisation will further widen the gap between the richer and poorer nations. The A.U. has offered to CARICOM closer economic ties but no racial ones like was previously presented by the O.A.U. under H.I.M. Haile Sellassie I; a very great disappointment! This new federation now promotes freedom from poverty and underdevelopment.

Economically, it is impossible for poorer countries to compete against the richer ones without being impoverished into starvation. Morally, it defies the Divine Laws of the Universe.....This is GENOCIDE! The white supremacist doctrine of GLOBAL 2000! And we know the truth about A.I.D.S. We remember William Lynch, the instigator of a slave plan to control the mental space of the African slaves.

Let us not deceive ourselves. The diaspora is now faced with the decisive decision to develop either the E.U., the F.T.A.A., CARICOM, or the A.U. for our survival! What has Europe, or the Americas, or the Caribbean have to offer to Africans for the maintenance of our identity and cultural development? Where is the bridge to Africa? We are being revisited with the times of 1838 and 1958. Must we sell out our birth-right disgracefully to these economic systems of servitude to integrate into Babylon? The African Union must receive several strong messages from her exiled children. As Rastafari, InI choose to work with and in the A.U. for an African Empire. InI choose to be in Africa!

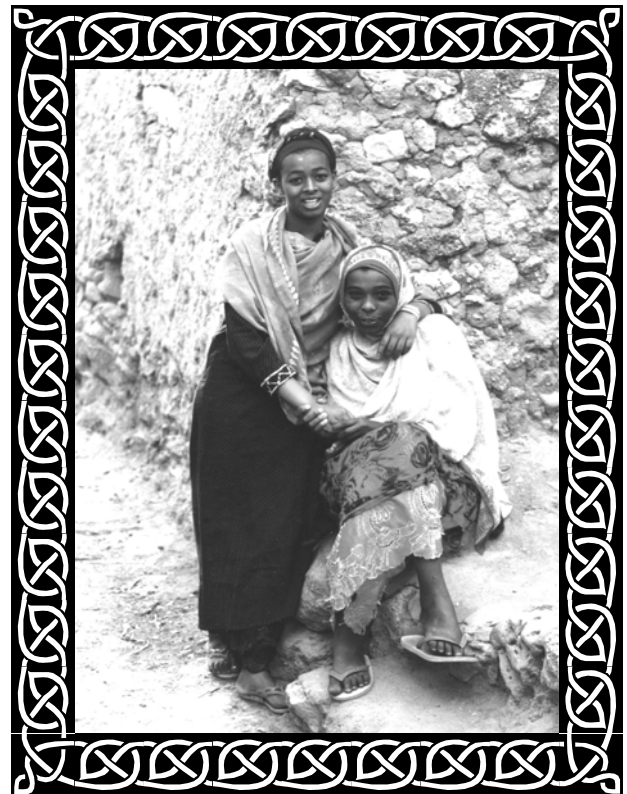
Were we ever warned about this? Yes we were. (Speech by Hon. Marcus M. Garvey).

The World Conference Against Racism of 2001 at Durban, South Africa has rekindled new strength in the diaspora. After 40 years in the wilderness like unto the Israelites, we now possess real power to bring the

case against slavery into the U.N. Law Courts as N.G. O.s for justice sake equaling to one case in 1952 when Fed. Rep. of Germany paid Israel \$822m. for the resettling of a half million Jews who fled Nazi countries. InI strongly support this process as the Jamaica Reparation Movement has proposed. As the new generation in the struggle for emancipation we must rekindle the Spirit of 1958 to invoke the presence of the Most high to guide and protect InI in our stance towards the redemption of our race; Back to Africa! The conclusion is this: So long as there remain a deafening silence throughout the diaspora for the demands for repatriation and reparations, will mean that the integration process is very alive! If they captured InI from Africa, then they must begin to free InI there. Justice must be served! Everything else becomes secondary.....

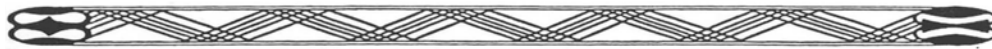
Give Thanks and Praises;
Holy Emmanuel I, Sellassie I, JAH RASTAFARI!

Presented at: Ras Tafari Global Reasoning 2003 Conference University of West Indies, Mona, Jamaica July 16th – 24th



Young Women of Harar, Ethiopia Photo by Wautella

National Coalition Of Blacks for Reparations in America



PRINCIPLES OF UNITY

As a collective of various organizations and philosophies, we will respect each other's autonomy in organization and philosophy. The central principles we unify and agree upon are:

1. Our primary goal is to achieve Reparations for Africans in America;
2. The so-called Trans-Atlantic "slave trade" was not trade but was in fact a Holocaust of Enslavement. It was morally wrong and a crime against humanity;
3. We define Reparations as a process of repairing, healing and restoring our people; therefore we continue our ancestors efforts to liberate us by focusing on repairing, healing and restoring the personal, family, and community damages that we suffered during the Holocaust of African Enslavement;
4. Africans in America are due Restitution for the Holocaust of African Enslavement and its vestiges; and
5. We support and work for the passage of HR-40, sponsored by Congressman John Conyers and other state and local legislative initiatives.

Reparations United Front

1. Functioning as a "Reparations United Front," is critical to maintaining a unified public posture. Members of the Collective (organizations and individuals) agree not to attack each other, especially regarding Reparations.
2. In instances where there may be differences of opinion, members will emphasize their commitment to Reparations, to minimize attempts to divide and neutralize the effectiveness of the Collective.
3. The Collective may elect not to recognize those who fail to abide by the aforementioned principles of unity. Everyone is encouraged to support the work of the Collective in ways most suitable for them, whether inside or outside the Collective.

We Believe

We believe the Reparations Movement can empower African Americans to continue our task of gaining social, economic, and cultural parity and liberation for individuals, families and communities. The movement provides an opportunity to address all issues impacting the Black Community by:

1. Creating a path for self, family and community development and liberation;
2. Providing a cause strong enough to unite Black People across socio-economic, and education barriers;
3. Recognizing and assisting with restoring the dignity of over 100 million Africans lost and sacrificed during the Holocaust of Enslavement and one hundred years of lynching that followed;
4. Providing an opportunity to expose the perpetrator of the Holocaust and educate the victims by creating dialogue locally and nationally that thoroughly examines our collective oppression (and mistakes), and exposes the perpetrator's responsibility in creating our past and current social condition;
5. Providing compensation for Black People locally and nationally;
6. We believe our people are ultimately responsible for our collective achievement of social, economic, and cultural parity and liberation. Restitution will only assist in our recovery and building process. The struggle for Reparations is a sacred responsibility that must be assumed by African descendants in the Americas; and
7. We believe there can be no Reparations without mass participation. Mass participation is essential to achieving Reparations (repairing, healing and restoring Black People) and Restitution (receiving compensation for the Holocaust and its vestiges).

BLACK FRIDAYS CAMPAIGN



CONGRATULATIONS to the TRAIL BLAZERS

HATS OFF to the forward thinking businesses that were the first to register with N'COBRA's commitment to support the black community, justice, and the Reparations movement. These are the first group of members supporting the BLACK FRIDAY MOVEMENT. Be sure to buy from them. Join the BUY BLACK on FRIDAY campaign. Get your Black Friday Palm Cards from one of these businesses and buy black every day.

FLORIDA

The African Violet, Inc.
P.O. Box 12627
Gainesville, FL 32604
Contact: Delphine Jackson
Ph. 352/ 335. 6161
Fax. 352/ 335. 3737

NEW YORK

Southern Comforts
483 Atlantic Ave.
Brooklyn, NY 11217
Nettie Paisley

Zawadi Gift Shop
519 Atlantic Ave.
Brooklyn, NY 11217
Lora Brown

R & W Facility Care systems, Inc.
485 Atlantic Ave.
Brooklyn, New York 11217
Wayne Miles

Indigo Cafe and Books
672 Fulton St.
Brooklyn, NY 11217
Tel: 718-488-5934

Lewis Gallery
525 Atlantic Ave.
Brooklyn, NY 11217
Gwen Lewis

Doe's Antiques
442 Atlantic Ave.
Brooklyn, NY 11217
718-858-6903

4W Circle of Art & Enterprise

794 Fulton Street
Brooklyn, NY 11217
Contact: Selma Jackson
Ph. 718/ 875. 6500
Selma4W@Searthlink.net

Big Deal Books

973 Fulton St.
Brooklyn, NY 11238
Phone# 718-622-4420
Owner: David D. Mcleod

Harriets Alter Ego

191 Flatbush Avenue
Brooklyn, NY 11217

WASHINGTON DC METRO

YAWA Books & Gifts

2206 - 18th Street, NW
Washington, DC 20009-1813
Contact: Jacqueline Hawkins
Ph. 202/ 483. 6805

Dar Es Salaam

4000 - 34th Street
Mt. Ranier, MD 20712
Contact: Hodari Abdul-Ali
Ph. 301/ 209. 0010
Hodari2@Juno.com
www.desbooks.com

Heavenly Stitches

512 - 24th Street, NE
Washington, DC 20002
Contact: Tanya D. Claggett
Ph. 202/ 390. 8806
HeavenlyStitch3@aol.com

N'COBRA, the National Coalition of Blacks for Reparations in America, has launched a nationwide campaign based on the Kwanzaa principle of "cooperative economics." N'COBRA's goal is to be a key mover in the powerful process of enabling the Black community to gain more economic control of our community.

Contact: BuyBlack4Friday@aol.com
202.291.8400

“REPARATIONS AIN’T FREE” N’COBRA’s National Donation Drive

FROM: Dorothy Benton Lewis/Oravouche, National Co-Chair and
N’COBRA National Fund Development Committee

TO: All People Supporting Justice and Reparations

An Urgent Call for Support

The Reparations Movement needs you and your financial support. “Reparations Ain’t Free.” Our ancestors paid the ultimate price of suffering through 265 years of slavery, and now those who have benefited from their sacrifices must pay us reparations. We, the descendants of enslaved Africans, MUST now sacrifice our time, talent and money for the work that must be done to get complete and full Reparations for ourselves and future generations.

This year, at our 14th Annual Conference, the National Coalitions of Blacks for Reparations in America (N’COBRA) unveil its 5-Year Action Plan, which outlines the various programs that have been implemented to achieve Reparations. We need your help with executing this Plan. There are so many critical requirements that must be funded: printing, postage, regular conference calls, travel, vehicle rental, advertising, Website development and expansion, e-group support, supplies and equipment, just to name a few.

N’COBRA also has a number of commissions that are tackling critical issues in each of the following areas: **Legislative** (HR 40 Lobbying, Reparations Resolution Campaign); **Legal** (legal injury research, filing briefs) **International** (WCAR, Global African Congress, UN Lobbying); **Economic Development** (Black Friday Buying Campaign, Congress of Economic Development); **Information & Media** (“Black Reparations Times,” “ENCOBRA magazine,” NCOBRA.org website, “REPARATIONS NOW!”); **Grassroots Organizing** (Town Hall Meetings, Direct Action, National Membership Drive), etc. Each of these areas supports the other. All are necessary to achieve Reparations, and all require people and money to make them work.

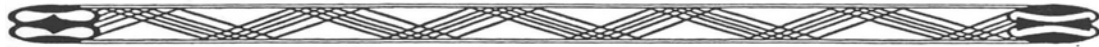
For the past 14 years, N’COBRA has been an organization of volunteers, who have funded the movement with their own resources, in order to supplement annual membership dues, which fall short of the Coalition’s actual needs. It is now time to take the Reparations movement to another level. It is now time for all of us to pool our resources, creativity, and our genius.

Please contribute generously to N’COBRA. The form on the next page establishes a number of different patron participation levels. Each level acknowledges Africans and African Descendants who have played an important role in our struggle for civil and human rights. While you’re selecting the patron level that’s most appropriate for you, be sure to tell us which commissions you’d most like to support. And remember, no amount is too great or too small!

The Reparations movement is not for N’COBRA members alone—it is for all African Descendants and our allies. Encourage your church, sorority, fraternity, family reunion, and other community based organizations to send a donation to N’COBRA to support this very spiritual work that we are doing in honor of the sacrifices of all our Ancestors.

In Unity,

National Coalition Of Blacks for Reparations in America



Please send your contributions (check/money order only) payable to:

N'COBRA
P.O. Box 90604
Washington, DC 20090

Yes! I pledge my support for the Reparations Movement struggle for Justice, Restitution and Reparations for the African Holocaust of Enslavement and Its Vestiges.

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____

STATE _____

ZIP CODE _____

PHONE _____

Enclosed is my check or money order for \$ _____

I PLEDGE:

- \$25 _____
- \$50 _____
- \$75 _____
- \$100 _____
- Other Amount \$ _____

Patron Participation Levels

- 1. L'Ouverture \$5000 _____
- 2. Walker \$3000 _____
- 3. Tubman \$1000 _____
- 4. Garvey \$700 _____
- 5. DuBois \$500 _____
- 6. King \$300 _____
- 7. Moore \$200 _____

Payment Cycle

- Weekly _____ Monthly _____
- Quarterly _____ Annually _____

I want my donation to support:

(please check mark one or more areas of N'COBRA work listed below)

- Grassroots Organizing _____ Membership & Organizational Development Commission _____ Legislative Commission _____
- Information & Media Commission _____ Economic Development Commission _____ Legal Strategies Commission _____
- National Office & Administrative _____ International Commission _____ Human Resources Commission _____
- Youth Commission _____ Education Commission _____

PATRON PARTICIPATION LEVELS

Become a Reparations Patron today and have your (or your group) name added to N'COBRA's National Donation Drive. An ongoing list of patrons will be updated and published.

- | | | |
|--------------|-------------------------|---------------|
| 1. \$5000.00 | Toussaint L'Ouverture | {1743 - 1803} |
| 2. \$3000.00 | David Walker | {1796 - 1830} |
| 3. \$1000.00 | Harriet Tubman | {1819 - 1913} |
| 4. \$700.00 | Marcus Garvey | {1887 - 1940} |
| 5. \$500.00 | W.E.B. DuBois | {1868 - 1963} |
| 6. \$300.00 | Martin Luther King, Jr. | {1929 - 1968} |
| 7. \$200.00 | Queen Mother Moore | {1898 - 1997} |

These noble ancestors contributions to our liberation and development are priceless. We lift up their names in chronological order to honor them.

National Coalition of Blacks for Reparations in America N 'COBRA

MEMBERSHIP APPLICATION

PURPOSE

We believe that the descendants of Africans, who were captured, taken from our homeland (Africa), enslaved, colonized and held captive for hundreds of years in the Americas and throughout the diaspora, believe that we should be compensated for the injustices, cruelties, brutalities, inhumanities and exploitations of racism, white supremacy, economic discrimination and oppression imposed upon our people past and present.

DEFINITION

REPARATIONS: Payment for a debt owed; the act of repairing a wrong or injury; to atone for wrongdoings; to make amends; to make one whole again; the payment of damages to repair a nation; compensation in money, land, or materials for damages. In the Ancient African, Kemetic sense, Reparations means to rise up. Repair and restore the ruined and damaged, develop the underdeveloped, and create a just society.

INVITATION

Please help continue the organizing and expansion efforts of N'COBRA in building our National & International Movements for Reparations. Reparations are obtainable in our lifetime. A committed people with a righteous cause is a force that cannot be denied.

Mail this bottom portion to the National Office N'COBRA,
P.O. Box 90604, Washington, DC 20090-0604
Tel: 202. 291. 8400 * Fax: 202. 291. 4600 * Website: <http://www.ncobra.org>

-----Tear off-----

N'COBRA National (Annual) Membership Application
Select appropriate categories. Make check/money order payable to NCOBRA.

There may be additional fees for local membership

Individual: ___ \$10-one year; ___ \$20-two years; ___ \$30- three-years; \$ ___ for ___ years; or ___ \$500.00 Life Membership (can be made in two \$250 payments); ___ \$25 Local Org; ___ 50 National Org. and

I would like to support the Commissions (check one or more and enter \$ amount):
___ Economic Development; ___ Education ___ Human Resources; ___ Information & Media;
___ International; Legal; ___ Legislative; ___ Youth

Total Amount Enclosed \$ _____

Name _____ Chpt/Org/Bus _____
(Please Print)

Street Address _____
(Please Print)

City/State/Zip Code _____

Home Phone () _____ Chapter/Org/Bus () _____

E-Mail _____ FAX () _____

Collected by (NCOBRA Member Name) _____

Chapter Name/Location _____

N'COBRA

National Coalition of Blacks for Reparations in America

P.O. Box 90604 Washington, DC 20090-0604

PHONE: 202.291.8400 FAX: 202.291.4600

EMAIL: NationalNCOBRA@aol.com WEBSITE: www.ncobra.org

DISCUSSION: http://groups.yahoo.com/group/Reparations_For_Africans

N'COBRA's Board of Directors

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Baba Hannibal Afrik, Co-Chair
(Port Gibson, Mississippi)

Kupenda Olusegun, Treasurer
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Ajamu Sankofa, Secretary and
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Dr. Imari Obadele, Emeritus and Ex-Officio
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(Detroit, Michigan)

***N'COBRA's Elder Advisory Board and Commissions also
have representation on our Board of Directors.***

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Erline Arikpo, Elder Advisor
(Chicago, Illinois)

Raymond "Reparations Ray" Jenkins, Elder Advisor
(Detroit, Michigan)

General Ali X. Rashid, Elder Advisor
(Miami, Florida)

General Mwesi Chui, Elder Advisor
(Dayton, Ohio)

Nia Kuumba, Elder Advisor
(Washington, DC)

Dr. Ron Walters, Elder Advisor
(College Park, Maryland)

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Economic Development

Alvin Brown (St. Louis, MO)
Taiwo Kugichagulia (Oakland, CA)
Baba Dr. Imari Obadele (BR, LA)

Education

Dr. Mary Hoover (Washington, DC)

Human Resources

Njere Alghanee (Atlanta, GA)

Information and Media

JoAnn Watson (Detroit, MI)
Wautella ibn Yusuf (Washington, DC)
Jahahara Alkebulan-Ma'at (Oakland, CA)

International

Mashariki Jywanza (Indianapolis, IN)
Sababu Shabaka, Baltimore, MD

Legal Strategies

Adjoa Aiyetoro (Washington, DC)

Legislative

Nkechi Taifa (Washington, DC)
Kibibi Tyehimba (Washington, DC)
Milton McGriff (Philadelphia, PA)

Membershi/Organizational Development

Kupenda Olusegun (Washington, DC)
Johnita Scott (Baton Rouge, LA)
Frank Omowale Satterwhite (E. PA, CA)

Youth

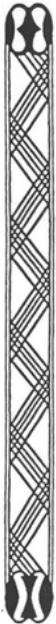
Shereeta Lacy (Indianapolis, IN)
Nuri Madina, (Chicago, IL)

Your Expertise and Participation Are Needed.

Join An N'COBRA Commission!

N'COBRA

National Coalition of Blacks for Reparations in America
P.O. Box 90604
Washington, DC 20090-0604



In This Issue...

*MINISTER LOUIS FARRAKHAN
Offers His Life To The Reparations Movement*

We are especially grateful to founding member Baba Kalonji Tor Olusegun for designing the N'COBRA logo (above). It consists of three sacred Andinkra symbols: NKON-SONKONSON (link or chain); OWA FOR A ADOBE (snake climbing the palm tree); and, BIRIBI-WO-SORO (a symbol of Hope denoting there is something in the Heavens). Together, these symbols express our links in this, and the next life; that We share a common blood relation which will never break apart; and that We can perform the impossible.

ATTENTION REPARATIONS ADVOCATES

FACT: The Reparations Movement cannot be advanced without the support of African (Black) People.

FACT: African (Black) People cannot and should not expect anyone other than ourselves to provide the resources needed to win our Reparations.

FACT: If you do not keep your membership up to date you will no longer receive N'COBRA membership mailings.

Do your part to move us closer to achieving Reparations. Contribute generously to N'COBRA. Renew Your N'COBRA membership each year. Encourage other Reparations supporters to join N'COBRA. Host fundraisers for N'COBRA and contribute the funds to N'COBRA projects that you feel passionately about. And remember the Power to Win Reparations is In our Hands! Reparations: Conceive It...Achieve It!

◆ Black Reparations Times ◆

Volume 1, Issue 1

March 7, 2003

On to Dallas Juneteenth 03

Save the dates, 19-22 June 2003, Sisters and Brothers. N'COBRA's 14th Annual Convention is heading to the birthplace of Juneteenth—the state of Texas, and the city of Dallas.

Relying on the past experiences of other chapters, our very active N'COBRA Dallas chapter, supported by leaders throughout the southwest region, are collectively working out details for this enormous undertaking. Official registration forms and calls for participation were sent out early in 2003. Contact our N'COBRA National Office or DallasNCOBRA@hotmail.com to offer your support and recommendations. Ase`.



**Reparations for
the Holocaust of
Enslavement and
Its Vestiges**

REPARATIONS LOBBYISTS ON CAPITOL HILL!

By Kibibi Tyehimba, Co-Chair, N'COBRA Legislative Commission

On January 30, 2003, 250 members of the Philadelphia Reparations Coalition converged on the nation's capitol for the Kickoff of the National Coalition of Blacks for Reparations in America (N'COBRA) Year of Black Presence (AYBP)



*Ms Dorothy Lewis, N'COBRA National
Co Chair & Congressman John Conyers*

Lobbying initiative. This initiative, spearheaded by Philadelphia NCOBRA member and National AYBP Coordinator, Mr. Milton McGriff, will

mobilize Reparations Advocates across the country to actively work toward the passage of Reparations Study Bill, H.R. 40.

The January 30th kickoff event took place in Room 2237 of the Rayburn Building in the very room where

the House Judiciary Committee will eventually determine whether H.R. 40 will be forwarded for

(Continued on page 5)

N'COBRA'S LITIGATION WORK

by Adjoa A. Aiyetoro, Chair, Legal Strategies Commission

N'COBRA embarked upon a litigation strategy in 1997, when the Board of Directors approved the formation of the Reparations Litigation Committee. This committee is composed of reparations activists, social scientists and lawyers. Of course, some of the social scientists and lawyers are reparations activists. Many N'COBRA members have gotten dismayed because it is now 2003 and N'COBRA has not filed the lawsuit that people have been looking for: one that raises the demand for reparations for slavery and the vestiges of slavery for African descendants in the United States.

(Continued on page 2)

Black Reparations Times © 2003

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Anti-War and Pro-Reparations

The National Coalition of Blacks for Reparations in America (NCOBRA) opposes the immoral United States war against Iraq, and this country's unprovoked aggression against other Peoples around the world. We do not support people of African descent going off to fight and die in disproportionate numbers in yet another war, for a country that refuses to admit to the 500 years of terrorism it has perpetrated against African descendants, and that refuses to admit that it has a debt that must be paid to the descendants of formerly enslaved Africans.

The U.S. war against Iraq transfers wealth from African descendant communities and other communities of color that are ravaged daily by systems and institutions that benefit from our exploitation and our restricted access to wealth and power. This transfer of the nation's wealth only exacerbates our condition and lessens our ability to respond to the needs of the most vulnerable members of our communities. The resources that will be allocated for the war must be transferred to African descendant communities to right one of the most grievous crimes against humanity-the Trans-Atlantic Enslavement of African People.

African descendants are painfully aware that white supremacy, globalization, unbridled exploitation of other nations' land and resources, and the violation of other nations' right to be self-determining can ultimately lead to a recurrence of the horrors that our people suffered during the American Holocaust of African Enslavement. Therefore, we have an obligation to speak in opposition to the war against Iraq and any actions that deny People of other nations, the human rights that Americans take for granted.

January 15, 2003

{approved and distributed by N'COBRA's Board of Directors - January 2003 Board Meeting, Dallas, TX}

Legal Commission Work

(Continued from page 1)

Some have gotten downright angry – accusing the Legal Strategies Commission and its Reparations Litigation Committee of misleading the community concerning the development of the litigation. Some have asked why we have not developed litigation since others have filed litigation in the past few years while we continue to prepare.

There are a lot of legal obstacles to filing a lawsuit for reparations and we are figuring out how to get around those obstacles. We don't want to file something that may make you feel good, like we are doing something, only to end up spending lots of time and money on a losing case – one that we knew or should have known when we filed it would not be successful. We want to develop a lawsuit that we feel has a good chance of succeeding.

We understand the frustration of the community since we put out there that N'COBRA was developing reparations litigation. It was a mistake to put a time frame on the filing of a lawsuit. Many of you rightfully wanted to hold us to the projected date; however, the difficulties encountered in putting a lawsuit together against the government have resulted in significant time delays. We no longer give a date for the filing, because of this.

“It was a mistake to put a time frame on the filing of a lawsuit”

There is another issue that perhaps has confused many of our members and supporters. N'COBRA voted in June 2001 at the Baton Rouge conference to have Adjoa A. Aiyetoro serve as co-chair of the Reparations Coordinating Committee (RCC). The RCC was formed in August 2000 by Randall Robinson and Charles Ogletree. Adjoa was asked to participate, representing N'COBRA and later Dorothy Benton Lewis participated representing N'COBRA as well. The confusion is that many of our people don't want to see this as N'COBRA litigation work when in

(Continued on page 4)

From National Co-Chairs Aurevouche Dorothy Benton Lewis & Jahahara Alkebulan-Ma'at

Greetings N'COBRA Family!

Peace and Blessings for a Happy, Healthy, Prosperous New Year!

Yea though we walk through the valley of wars and rumors of wars, we stay the course. We yield to no distractions. We do our job, Satan does his. We know we will be the victor.

We give thanks to You, the Ancestors, and the Great Spirit for another outstanding year of accomplishments through work, faith, and love. May we all be energized by our love for the God within us, love for our families, for each other, and the vision we hold for our children and our future. Let us continue to step out on faith knowing that the path of our divine mission will be lighted with each step. Let us take time to look with amazement at the miracles we create from nothing. Let us marvel at our brilliance, but only for a moment for we have yet another mountain to climb.

For some of us, mountain climbing is a struggle, for others it is good exercise, but many of us see mountain climbing as a spiritual journey. Along the way, we face our demons; some find God, some find ourselves, some find each other. So, let us keep moving toward the mark, knowing that there is value in the journey whether we are in the valley, on the plateau, or at the mountain's peak from where we see the next mountain. For, it is all God's work and we graciously surrender to the work, knowing that our on-the-job training is divinely guided and inspired.

Much love and appreciation for all that you do.

Asante Sana N'COBRA Detroit

By Jahahara Alkebulan-Ma'at

Many, many thanks and sincere appreciation to the members of N'COBRA's dynamic Detroit, Michigan Chapter for their expert organizing of N'COBRA's 13th Annual Convention.

Held this past June at the beautiful, elegant and 100 percent African-American owned St. Regis Hotel, the Convention focused on the very appropriate theme "REPARATIONS, NOW: A United Stand Against Over 500 Years of Terrorism." Addressing hundreds of participants with their great wisdom were keynoters, such as the admitted "hoodlum-to-judge" Greg Mathis and Congressman John Conyers, (both natives of MoTown), President Ukali Mwendu of the Republic of New Afrika (one of the groups that founded N'COBRA), the founder of KWANZAA Dr. Maulana Karenga, Dr. Ron Daniels of the new Institute of the Black World, and Dr. Conrad Worrill of the National Black United Front. International presenters included our great Ancestor FRANTZ FANON's daughter Muriel Fanon from France; Attorney Esther Stanford, a leading activist for Reparations in England; and the dynamic legal scholar, Leonard Hinds.

Among our many cultural events were a sunrise spiritual gathering on Belle Isle, where many of our enslaved Ancestors

launched their escape from the U.S. to Canada; a special acknowledgement and call for immediate release and amnesty for hundreds of our long-suffering political prisoners and exiles (former POW Baba Herman Ferguson, founder of our N'COBRA Rochdale Village Queens, NY was introduced); a fabulous tour of African-centered and other important landmarks in the Detroit area; inspirational dancing from local youth, and music by a former member of the mighty Impressions. Helping the N'COBRA Detroit chapter tie it altogether were our dedicated founders, members of the Board of Directors, Commission co-chairs, and regional and chapter leaders from around the U.S.

During the convention the General membership elected to not only participate in the 17 August 2002 Reparations March (called by the December 12th Movement and NBUF); but to use the occasion to host an *inclusive, democratic, African-centered* N'COBRA sponsored event on 16 August to highlight "Black Friday", and to maintain a visible N'COBRA presence during the march the following day.

Other Convention decisions focused on expanding our

(Continued on page 6)

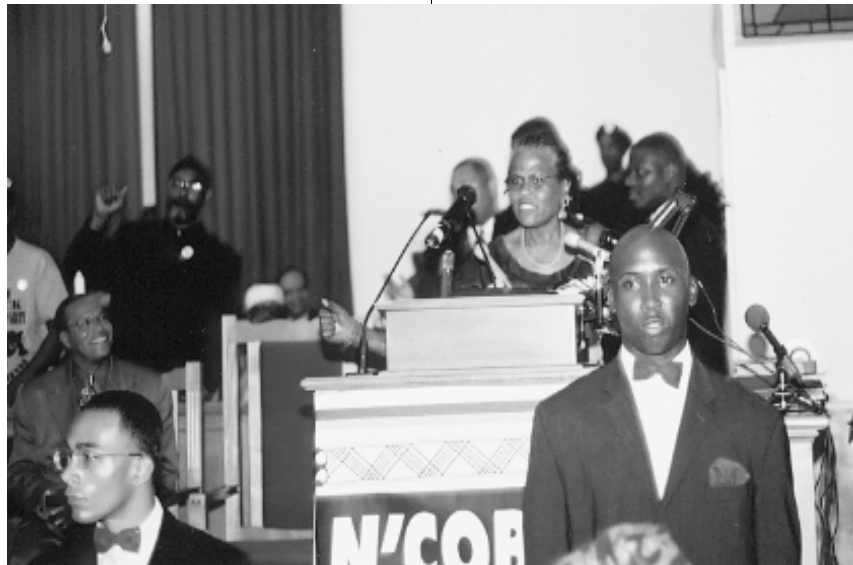
Legal Commission Work (Continued from page 2)

fact it is. We joined the RCC to advance the reparations litigation work. Although we understand that people are wowed by the star factor of a Johnny Cochran or Randall Robinson, our leadership role in the RCC has been misunderstood by many and dismissed by others. Yet, we have a significant role in the RCC and through our participation, litigation development has been advanced.

The RCC filed the first of what will be a series of lawsuits in the federal district court in Tulsa, Oklahoma on February 24, 2003. Of course, this case is not about all African descendants in the United States, although since it speaks to the vulnerability of African descendants to mob violence, particularly in the

early 20th Century, it is. This case is not about slavery, although since it describes conditions of violence, detention and forced servitude that are reminiscent of slavery, it is. This case is not about the vestiges of slavery, although since the African descendants in the Greenwood district were subjected to the presumption of the validity of white supremacy that was a hallmark of slavery, it is. N'COBRA's website, www.ncobra.org, has the complete Tulsa Complaint for your review.

So, this first reparations lawsuit filed by the RCC, is N'COBRA's first reparations lawsuit as well. As a viable member of the RCC, we have chosen to work in coalition with Charles Ogletree, Randall Robinson and the other members of the RCC, some of whom are also N'COBRA members such as Ron Walters, a member of our elder advisory board, and Rose Sanders. Charles Ogletree is also a member of N'COBRA. This suit is consistent with N'COBRA's mission, to obtain reparations for not only chattel slavery, but the vestiges of slavery. Its focus on Tulsa is at the same time a focus on all our communities that have suffered white mob violence. Its focus on the demand that the city and state pay reparations and restitution to the survivors and descendants for their role in the destruction of African descendants homes and businesses and brutalization of their families is a demand for justice for all of us.



Atty Aiyetoro brings the crowd to their feet as Min. Farrakhan smilingly looks on

Tulsa is not the end of our litigation work. Nor is it the beginning. N'COBRA and the National Conference of Black Lawyers filed an amicus brief in the United States Supreme Court on February 14, 2003, supporting the University of Michigan's affirmative action and diversity programs. The amicus brief makes a strong argument that the University of Michigan's affirmative action and diversity programs are required as reparations to African descendants. This brief can also be seen by going to N'COBRA's website: www.ncobra.org.

It is important that we see N'COBRA's litigation work in a broad context: coalition work with other groups that have a similar vision is not only appropriate but essential since N'COBRA is itself a coalition. At the same time, N'COBRA's Legal Strategies Commission and Litigation Committee are continuing to develop litigation that may not be joined by other groups. It is also important to see that every piece of litigation that is filed may not be litigation that N'COBRA will

join because, among other reasons, N'COBRA's human and financial resources do not allow it to become part of every litigation effort. Finally, there may be differences among N'COBRA and other groups concerning the approach to take. These differences may result in N'COBRA not being a part of some litigation efforts. Despite the differences, we hold the good thought that other individuals and groups are as sincere in their efforts to obtain reparations as is N'COBRA. The combined energy of all our efforts will result in obtaining reparations for African descendants in the United States. It also will combine with efforts internationally to obtain reparations for African and African descendants worldwide.

REPARATIONS NOW!

IN OUR LIFE TIME

AYBP (Continued from page 1)

debate on the House floor. To pave the road, Mama Nia Kuumba, a founding member of N'COBRA, member of N'COBRA's Elders Council, and member of the DC Chapter of N'COBRA, started the event by pouring a powerful libation to call forth the energies of our ancestors for whom we demand Reparations. She called on all the freedom fighters, known and unknown, all the countless and nameless men, women, and children, whose lives were sacrificed building this country, and she asked for the blessings of the Creator, as we continue on our sacred path to victory. Prayers were also offered by Reverend Chaney of Philadelphia's House of the Lord Pentecostal Church, and from the Islamic tradition by Mr. Wesley Wilson Bey of the Moorish Unification Council of America. This powerful beginning demonstrated our commitment to moving beyond religion and other barriers created by our sojourn in this country, and achieving Reparations in our lifetime.

Brief statements were provided by AYBP National Coordinator, Mr. Milt McGriff, and Philadelphia Co-Chair Mr. Rob Bell, which laid out the historical and

moral justification for our quest for Reparations, and highlighted the significance of AYBP in achieving that goal. N'COBRA Legislative Commission Co-Chair, Ms. Nkechi Taifa spoke to the growing synergy in the Reparations Movement, and Mr. Keenan Keller, Judiciary Counsel to Congressman John Conyers Jr., brought greetings and words of encouragement from the Congressman who was unable to attend. N'COBRA National Co-Chair Ms. Dorothy Lewis congratulated the Philadelphia Reparations Coalition for their tremendous turnout, and also reminded us of the sacredness of our quest for Reparations. The group was inspired by the poetry of four strong sister warriors who are part of the group "In the Company of Poets". And if the purpose of music is to prepare the people to move then we must extend our greatest appreciation to "The Trane Stop Institute" for bringing forth the rhythm of the drum, and giving us the energy to take on the formidable task ahead.

The Philadelphia Coalition, made up of the Philadelphia Chapter of N'COBRA, the African American Freedom and Reconstruction League, House of the Lord Pentecostal Church, Trane Stop Resource Institute, the Philadelphia Branch of the NAACP, Mother Bethel AME Church, the Philadelphia Chapter of the UNIA, Philadelphia Black Radical Congress, and the Lost Found Nation of Islam separated into groups, which then moved out to engage members of the Congressional Black Caucus (CBC), and their State Representatives in both the

House and the Senate, on the issue of Reparations. Pennsylvania's CBC members have all endorsed H.R. 40, but there's still work to be done with their remaining members of Congress. In addition to lobbying Pennsylvania representatives, a small group set out to meet with Congressman F. James Sensenbrenner of Wisconsin, chairman of the Judiciary Committee who has stated that H. R. 40 will never receive a hearing. All future lobbying sessions must include a visit to Congressman Sensenbrenner's office until he is able to see the light.

While the lobbying continued at the Rayburn Building, the smaller group of lobbyists ventured into the Hart Building to address Pennsylvania Senators. Luckily, Mr. Keenan Keller was able to escort us through the underground corridors. We decided to board the Congressional underground train to hasten our journey. As

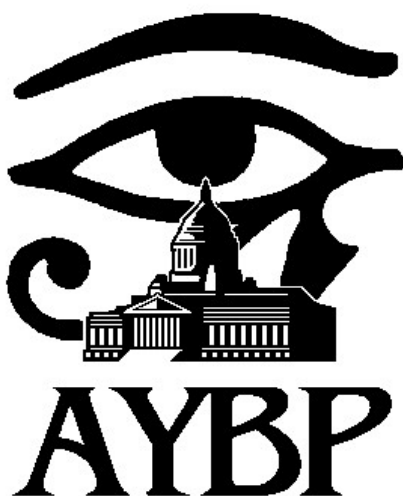
the train moved along, we all took note of something that is surely a very powerful sign from the Creator. We sat with smiles on our faces as the train passed Senators Trent Lott and Orin Hatch who were walking together, no doubt hatching some plan to move this country back to the days of open segregation. We all believe in our hearts that the message was clear-- that we will be victorious, and we will leave behind the likes of Trent Lott and Orin Hatch and any others, who attempt to deny the African descendants' demand for Reparations.

The group had a full day of lobbying. Although there were no new

Representatives persuaded to endorse H.R. 40, the event was an excellent opportunity to hone our lobbying skills, and commit to staying the course.

On February 25, in commemoration of Reparations Awareness Day, the DC Metropolitan Chapter of N'COBRA and other Reparations Advocates gathered at the nation's capitol for another day of lobbying for the passage of Reparations Study Bill H.R. 40. It is more and more apparent that the Reparations momentum is mounting as evidenced by the presence of and participation in the day's lobbying effort by leaders from organizations with significant national and international constituencies. Mr. Ken Fealing, Director of Civil and Human Rights for the United Methodist Church represented the faith-based organization with membership totaling approximately 9 Million. This predominantly white international organization has already passed a Reparations Resolution, and has commissioned a task force to study this and other issues which impact African Americans. Mr. Hilary Shelton, Director of the Washington Bureau of the NAACP, whose internationally based membership totals

(Continued on page 12)



N'COBRA DETROIT (Continued from page 3)

collective efforts to educate and involve our people in Reparations' solutions by strengthening our chapter-building strategies and the work of the Economic Development commission; to intensify our pressure on political candidates running for public office to urge their support of H.R. 40 during this year's elections; to send a delegation to the African Descendants Caucus' follow-up conference to the United Nations' "World Conference Against Racism," that will take place in Barbados; to raise the necessary funds to file and sustain our class-action lawsuit against the U.S. government.

We are especially grateful to the team of leaders in the Detroit area for their commitment, hospitality and perseverance. Special Salutes to Dr. JoAnn Watson, Stanley Bragg, Lillian Brown, Raymond "Reparations Ray" Jenkins, Sherylynn Robinson, Ben Looney, Billie Parrish, Cicero Love, Maya Watson, Dr. Robert Bland, Mary Ann Hinds, Mary Ruffin-Williams, Minister Malik Shabazz... and so many other wonderful members, such as N'COBRA's Midwest Region Representative Alvin Brown, our national co-chairs, and Board members.

Congratulations Detroit N'COBRA for a job well done. ASANTE SANA (many, many thanks) . WE Love You All!

**SOUTHWEST REGIONAL
CONFERENCE**

Submitted by:
Bobby R. Scott, Dallas N'COBRA Chapter &
Lady Claudia Nelson, N'COBRA National Secretary

The New Orleans Chapter hosted the Southwest Regional Conference on Saturday, March 15th, 2003 at the Andrew Bell Middle School in New Orleans, LA. The conference was attended by chapter members from Dallas, Texas, New Orleans, Baton Rouge, and Lafayette, Louisiana. The theme of the conference was "Educate, Organize, and Mobilize". Workshops were conducted concurrently during the am and pm sessions on Chapter Building for Reparations, Reparations 101, Reparations: A Global Perspective, and Coalition Building and Recruitment. There was also a timely, and informative examination of the history of African American participation in the military in a workshop entitled "No H.R. 40 No Draft". Chapters were encouraged to consider the importance of marketing Reparations information to African descendants in ways that are easily understood and identified

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***"ORGANIZE, ORGANIZE,
ORGANIZE"***

By Ajamu Sankofa,
N'COBRA Northeast Regional Representative

"Organize, organize, organize" was a clarion call to action taught to us by our esteemed ancestor, Kwame Toure. Brother Toure brilliantly popularized not only the term "Black Power" but he also nurtured the experience of African empowerment and beauty by actively organizing our people.

The N'COBRA Northeast Regional Meeting, held on October 19, 2002 in NYC chose "organize, organize, organize" as its theme and purpose because that work is still our work. Over seventy-five people attended.

The meeting held two powerful workshops. Lively constructive dialog among all attendees characterized both workshops.

The first workshop posed the question, "How Does the African Community Organize for Reparations in the Belly of the Beast?" The panelist were multigenerational veteran organizers that included Herman Ferguson, co-chair of the N'COBRA Queens Rochdale Chapter; Rosa Clemente, Malcolm X Grassroots Movement; Monifa Bandle, National co-chair of Malcolm X Grassroots Movement; Duane Andre, leader in the Haitian Coalition for Justice; Kibibi Tyehimba, co-chair of N'COBRA DC Chapter; and Khalil Amusthafa, poetry editor of The Paper and co-founder of Youth for Reparations. This workshop was moderated by Linda Roots, female co-chair of the New York Metro Area N'COBRA Chapter and Wautella ibn Yusuf, male co-chair of the DC N'COBRA Chapter.

This workshop produced a list of specific recommendations for organizing our community.

The recommendations included:

1. Develop joint activities among organizational N'COBRA members that directly build the capacities for all organizations to win Reparations;
2. Do bottom up organizing. For example, before going to the church pastor, first organize a few of the church members who then go to the church pastor;
3. Translate Reparations materials into Spanish and Creole;
4. Physically go into the streets and engage our people using the voter registration model;
5. Always keep a grassroots and inclusive focus;
6. Strategically plan activities;
7. Actively include the arts in all of our organizing work;
8. Take a long view, do not expect microwave results, and remain consistent and persistent with our eyes on the prize of Reparations.

Attendees, many of whom were community activists who had

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NATIONAL REPARATIONS WEEKEND: A Movement in the Making!

Kibibi Tyehimba,
Co-Chair DC Metro Chapter of N'COBRA

In the not too distant future, August 16-17 2002 will be marked as one of the major milestones in the growing Reparations movement. This past weekend, Tens of thousands of African Americans converged on the nation's capitol to demonstrate their demand for Reparations in our lifetime. It was the first mass Reparations mobilization effort in this century, and the enthusiasm oozing from all the participants clearly demonstrated it won't be the last.

The Millions for Reparations demonstration, which also commemorated the 115th birthday of the honorable Marcus Mosiah Garvey, was in response to a call to action issued by the Durban 400 following the World Conference Against Racism in Durban

South Africa. Although the National Coalition of Blacks for Reparations in America (NCOBRA) did not issue the call, the Coalition supported it and encourage its members to participate because of its commitment to supporting any genuine efforts to further the cause for Reparations.

The weekend began with a "Black Friday" observance organized by NCOBRA. African Americans and their allies were encouraged to only spend their dollars with Black owned businesses for the entire day to increase the circulation of money within the Black Community. Although "Buy Black" campaigns have been instituted in the past, it is hoped that the Reparations movement will motivate a long range commitment to this effort.

On Friday evening N'COBRA hosted a Pre-Demonstration National Reparations Rally and Forum, at Plymouth Congregational Church in Northwest DC. Reverend Haglar

and Plymouth Congregational Church should be commended for allowing access to a standing room only and overflowing crowd, particularly since far too few leaders in the African American Faith Community have come out to publicly support Reparations, with the notable exception of Rev. Willie Wilson, pastor of Union Temple Baptist church, and recently declared candidate for mayor of Washington, DC. The Rally will certainly be remembered by all those in attendance, as an event that rivaled some of the most important milestones during the

Civil Rights movement. The speakers ranged from the conservative to what is perceived to be the most radical. Nation of Islam leader, Minister Louis Farrakhan, keynote speaker for the evening, spoke at length about the moral justification for the Reparations movement, the Nation of Islam's history of support for the issue, te importance of land as part of the demand for Reparations, and a call for unity and the formation of a united Reparations Front resonated throughout. Minister

Farrakhan spoke of the Reparations movement as a prime opportunity to unite, heal and repair African families and communities.

Other speakers for the evening included Dr. Imari Obadele, founder of NCOBRA; male and female co-chairs, Ms. Dorothy Benton-Lewis and Mr. Jahahara Alkebulan Ma'at; Ms. Adjoa Aiyetoro, Esq., Co-Chair of the NCOBRA Legal Commission; Mr. Charles Ogletree, Esq., Professor of Law at Harvard School of Law and Co-Chair of the Reparations Coordinating Council, which will file a class action Reparations law suit in the fall of 2002; Dr. Maulana Karenga, Chair of US Organization and creator of Kwanzaa; Dr. Conrad Worrill, founder and chairman of the National Black United Front; Dr. Ron Daniels, founder and CEO of the Institute of the Black World, and candidate for the presidency of the U.S in the 1992 election; Ms. Harriet Frost of the Rosewood Idella



Minister Louis Farrakhan, keynote speaker

Minister Louis Farrakhan greeted the crowd with a message for unity and increased commitment to making Reparations a reality.

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“Organize, Organize, Organize” *(Continued from page 6)*

just heard of the meeting, came forward to give examples of their best practices.

The second workshop demonstrated the unbroken chain of destruction that leads directly from chattel enslavement of African people in this north american territory to present-day non-education and miss-education of African people in this same territory. The expert panelists included: Malik Lewis, editor of the Black student newspaper called “The Paper”; Basir Mchawi, African-centered educator, activist, and host of WBAI radio talk show “Education at the Crossroads”; Dr. Mary Hoover, Professor of literacy and reading, Howard Univ. School of Education and chair of N’COBRA Education Commission and student advisor to the N’COBRA Howard University student chapter; Dr. Sam Anderson, community activist, Prof. of Mathematics Medgar Evers College, and founder of Reparations Mobilization Committee; Bertha Lewis, community activist and Director of Education, ACORN; Gilda Sherrod-Ali, Esq., former public school teacher and member of the Education Sub-Committee of N’COBRA’s Legal Commission; Iyalua Ferguson, veteran educator and retired NYC Public High School Teacher; and Bruce Ellis and Ayo Harrington, grassroots advocates for education. This three- hour workshop was moderated by New York State Assemblymen, Roger Green who last year introduced a Reparations Bill in the NY State Assembly.

The workshop buttressed the working alliance between NYS Assemblymen Roger Green and grassroots community leaders for the struggle to pass the state Reparations legislation that he has introduced.

Five NCOBRA Chapters from NYC, Wash. DC., and Philadelphia presented reports of their very extensive organizing work. National Board member Kalonji Olusegun reported on N’COBRA’s National Black Fridays campaign which is designed to keep Black dollars in the Black community while building firm support among the Black business community for Reparations. Milt McGriff, N’COBRA’s National Coordinator of A Year Black Presence (AYBP), gave a report on the strategies and tactics of AYBP, the powerful effort to gain passage of US Congressmen’s John Conyers Reparations study Bill, HR 40. Lastly, Gilda Sherrod-Ali reported on N’COBRA’s litigation strategy.

Veteran actor Clebert Ford performed Langston Hughes, “I’ve Known Rivers,” while Kahlil Mustafa slammed some knowledge on us with his original poetry.

The meeting was video and audio taped by the NYC based Sound Gatherers.

The results of the meeting strengthened the reparations movement because African grassroots activists, progressive intellectuals and cultural workers mixed it up for Reparations

such that organizational and individual membership in N’COBRA grew, solid friendships began, and most importantly an effective process for organizing our community was demonstrated.

It was a long day but all of our ancestors who had worked tirelessly to organize our people for freedom would have been proud. Indeed they were present.

**CAMPAIGN FOR 100%
CONGRESSIONAL BLACK
CAUCUS SUPPORT FOR H.R.40!!!**

Kibibi Tyehimba,
Co-Chair N’COBRA Legislative Commission

March 5, 2003 UPDATE

Reparations supporters, write letters, call, and/or FAX your disappointment and your intentions of voting non-Reparations supporters out of office if they do not support our cause. Remember letters and faxes cannot be just a form letter. They must be personalized to demonstrate they are in fact the opinions of individual voters. Organize large numbers of callers to flood Representatives’ State office phone lines during designated time periods. Reparations supporters in several states can coordinate mass phone campaigns to tie up the phone lines of several Representatives’ Capitol Hill offices. Take this BULL by the horns, and know that the battle is already won, once the heart believes in victory. The power to win Reparations is
i n o u r h a n d s .

The following are the co-sponsors of H.R.40 presented to the 108th Congress as of March 5, 2003:

Mr. CONYERS (for himself), Mr. SANFORD BISHOP of Georgia, Mr. BRADY of Pennsylvania, Mr. CUMMINGS, Mr. DAVIS of Illinois, Mr. FATTAH, Mr. JACKSON of Illinois, Mr. JEFFERSON, Ms. EDDIE BERNICE JOHNSON of Texas, Ms. KILPATRICK, Ms. BARBARA LEE of California, Ms. MCCARTHY of Missouri, Mr. MCDERMOTT, Mr. Kendrick MEEK of Florida, Mr. MEEKS of New York, Ms. MILLENDER-MCDONALD, Ms. NORTON, Mr. JOHN OLVER, Mr. OWENS, Mr. RANGEL, Mr. RUSH, Ms. SCHAKOWSKY, Mr. THOMPSON of Mississippi, Mr. TOWNS, Ms. WATERS, Ms. WATSON, and Mr. WYNN)

The following Representatives committed to co-sponsor H. R.40 during recent NCOBRA "A Year of Black Presence" Lobbying days:

(Continued on page 13)

National Weekend

(Continued from page 7)

Carrier Foundation, which is the only group of African Americans to receive reparations to date; Mr. Gary Grant of the Black Farmers Association currently embroiled in a confrontation with the United States Department of Agriculture for its documented discrimination against Black Farmers' who have sought farm subsidies throughout the 20th century; Mr. Hilary Shelton, director of the Washington, DC Branch of the NAACP; Mr. Damu Smith, director of the National Black Environmental Justice Network; Mr. Malik Zulu Shabazz, Esq. of the New Black Panther Party; Mr. Senghor Baye of the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA); and Mr. Omali Yeshitela of the African People's Socialist Party. All the speakers were able to show a clear connection between their organization's primary mission and the Reparations movement. Of course no event of this caliber would be complete without some form of artistic expression. The night ended with a reading of a poem written by Washington's own Ms. Laini Mataka, and a very energizing song by Baba Doc entitled "I Want My Money".

Saturday morning, August 17, 2002, Reparations supporters gathered at Lincoln Park in Southeast DC to participate in a Spiritual Gathering to commemorate the sacrifices of African Ancestors during the American era of enslavement.

The African Diaspora Ancestral Commemoration Institute (ADACI) orchestrated the building of a beautiful altar in front of the Mary McCloud Bethune statue. Ms. Tendai Johnson, Mwangaza Michael-Bande, Paula Jones, and Eureka Huggins and all the members of the community who assisted, should be commended for their superb work. Participants in the event placed pictures and tiny placards with the names of their ancestors around the altar. The altar even incorporated several of the emotionally charged illustrations from the book "Middle Passage" by Mr. Tom Feelings, who voluntarily brought them all the way from South Carolina. Mr. Feelings indicated that he initially created the book to assist the descendents of formerly enslaved Africans with the healing and repair process that is so important in the Reparations movement. The local chapter of the UNIA, under the leadership of Minister Ahmed Assalaam, honored the life and legacy of Marcus



*Mr. Omali Yeshitela,
African People's Socialist Party*

Mosiah Garvey, a strong advocate of Reparations and Repatriation in the early part of the 20th century. Under the leadership of the Honorable Marcus Mosiah Garvey, the UNIA boasted 1100 branches in more than 40 countries around the world. Garvey's "Race First" message awakened the consciousness of black people, and advocated racial pride and dignity among blacks around the world. Later that morning the crowd of Reparations supporters marched

down East Capitol behind the "Red, Black and Green" Flag designed by the Honorable Marcus Mosiah Garvey, and the NCOBRA Banner towards the demonstration site in front of the Capitol building.

By noon the grounds immediately in front of the Capitol building were beginning to fill up. Despite the oppressive August heat and humidity, thousands of Reparations supporters were out in full force with banners, t-shirts with an array of Reparations slogans, and their voices raised in support of the issue. No, there were not a million people in attendance as the name of the march implies. But one thing is clear, the support for this issue is growing by leaps and bounds, and considering that a demonstration of this magnitude or smaller would have been virtually impossible 30 years ago, the organizers of the demonstration and all those who worked tirelessly to make it happen should be congratulated. No one ever knows what event in history will be the one to thrust a movement forward. Surely in

1955 Rosa Parks had no way of knowing that her refusal to give up her seat to a white man would be the catalyst for the Civil Rights Movement. Eventually, history will reveal the significance of August 17, 2002.

Minister Louis Farrakhan greeted the crowd with a message for unity and increased commitment to making Reparations a reality. Congressman John Conyers Jr. of Detroit Michigan, and champion for the H.R. 40 Reparations Bill, submitted to Congress every year since 1989, also raised his voice in support of the issue. Councilman Charles Barron of New York, who recently introduced one of the most extensive Reparations Bills also addressed the crowd. There were few of the notables that one would expect to see and hear at an event such as this. The organizers of the demonstration, very early on, expressed a desire to give the masses center stage,

(Continued on page 11)

A Brief Description of the Reparations Work and Political Conditions in Northern California

by Mr. Jean Damu, Co-Chair San Francisco N'COBRA Chapter

Keeping in mind the struggle for African American reparations in the United States will be long and protracted and that the reparation process will probably take place over the course of several generations we offer the following comments.

California in general is a good place to develop political strategies in the fight for reparations because the state and political bodies within the state are not directly tied to slavery. The state is also a good place to develop political strategies because of its bell-weather role on the American political scene. To date the California legislature is one of only two such bodies that have endorsed H.R. 40 and the only one, as far as I know that mandated its university system to hold two colloquiums (eventually three were held) on slavery and its legacy. And California is the only state that has a slavery insurance index that is available on the internet for all interested in genealogy or filing lawsuits. Finally the current California governor, Grey Davis has publicly stated he thinks reparations "is a good idea."

Despite these favorable conditions the reality of the matter is generally political organizations that have focused on reparations have not taken advantage of these pluses. In the San Francisco-Bay Area we have, for the past 18 months begun to lay the basis for what we project as a strong reparations movement headed by N'COBRA and the California Coalition for H.R. 40.

Why two organizations? Those of us who first began the N'COBRA work in San Francisco have as our political base the trade union movement. We are from the longshore and hotel workers unions. When we first began to appear before our union's executive bodies to ask for support and endorsements we found greater success and acceptance addressing larger numbers of people, many of them non-black, on the issue of African American reparations, by focusing on H.R. 40. Soon we came to the conclusion there needed to be an organization, more or less in lock step with N'COBRA, focused specifically on H.R. 40. There is much more to this issue but that is it in a nutshell.

Our primary long range task is to get as many of the California Congressional Delegation as possible to sign on to H.R. 40. Nancy Pelosi, San Francisco's congressional delegate and Democratic Minority Whip is our number one target but we have not aimed at her yet. First we want the San Francisco Board of Supervisors to endorse H.R. 40, then possibly the city and state Democratic parties. We think, we hope, we are close to getting that resolution passed.

We have begun to lay the basis of this by meeting with labor unions, churches and community based organizations getting

endorsements and support. (I will include an attachment with our local supporters and endorsers.)

We learn as we go. We have started some projects that did not pan out. Other times the literature we gave out was inappropriate. For instance Monday at noon I'm speaking at a brown bag lunch meeting with 20 kids from the Tower Projects in S.F. on reparations. I faxed the co-coordinator a four page article on reparations to prepare them. She called back saying "keep it simple. Four pages is way too much." I will prepare a one page handout explaining how to "say" reparations and then some bullets about what reparations is.

What we have in motion and upcoming engagements

1. A Juneteenth event in conjunction with the San Francisco Dept. of public Health "Black Health and Reparations" featuring Vernellia Randall and Jewel Crawford.
2. An appearance before the San Leandro city council on H.R. 40. They won't endorse it but we're doing it for informational purposes.
3. An appearance before the Rotary Club in Oakland.
4. A meeting with BAPAC. The Black American Political Action Committee, chaired by Percy Pinckney, Senator Dianne Feinstein's chief political consultant, has 60,000 members in California. George McCutcheon a lifetime member of NCOBRA and special assistant to Percy Pinckney is the facilitator.
5. Creating a high school curriculum on reparations with Daphne Muse.
6. Designing a multi-colored postcard sized handout for young people on reparations- like handouts hip-hoppers make for concerts.
7. WE are in the initial stages of planning a large meeting on reparations utilizing Adjoa, to capitalize on the Black health and Reparations conference to build regional, possibly statewide support for reparations. We have been projecting such a conference since we began this work 18 months ago but we are now getting closer to the time it may become possible.

We are building a website.

These are some of the things we have developed over the recent period of time. There are many, many weaknesses and problems. But we've found that just by staying focused and continuing to show up things get better and finally accomplished. But N'COBRA wrote the book on staying focused and continuing to show up.

Remembering Baba**KENNETH BRIDGES**

by Jahahara Amen-RA Alkebulan-Ma'at,
National Co-Chair

African people around the U.S. and Diaspora are honoring the life and work of Brother KEN BRIDGES, one of several victims in the sniper killings in the Washington, DC metro area this past October.

Brother Bridges and his beloved wife, Sister Jocelyn English-Bridges, were been blessed with six children—Aya, April, Justin, Joshua, Alona, and Alyssa—to carry on their family legacy.

For the past quarter century, Brother Bridges had been in the forefront of our very necessary Black economic development, self-sufficiency, and internal Reparations efforts. With colleague Al Wellington, he co-founded several important programs, including: P.O.W.E.R. (People Organized and Working for Economic Rebirth) collaboration on product distribution collaboration with others, like the George Johnson's Products Company and Minister Louis Farrakhan, in the 1980s; Correction Connection, Inc., distributor of Dick Gregory's "Bahamian Diet"; and All America Film & Videos. Based on mass surveys conducted at the 1995 Million Man March, Bridges and Wellington created the MATAH Network, which now has nearly 300 items in its catalog. N'COBRA is extremely proud that Brother Bridges chose to be a paid member of our alliance. He was patiently teaching our constituency the importance of economic self-reliance as an integral part of Reparations. Most recently, he participated in N'COBRA's 13th Convention in Detroit, this past June; and during the Black Friday and Reparations March in Washington, in August 2002.

N'COBRA members and supporters are encouraged to continue building on the great work of our new Ancestor. Show your family's and organization's support by contributing to the Ken Bridges Memorial Fund, c/o Milligan & Co., CPAs, 105 North 22nd Street, 2nd Floor, Philadelphia, PA 19103. To contact the MATAH Network, call 1.800.977.MATAH or visit www.matah.com Amen.

Ancestor
**Kenneth
Bridges**

1949-2002

**"BLACK REPARATIONS TIMES"**

In response to the growing momentum of the Reparations movement, the Information and Media Commission is committed to disseminating timely information on issues related to our struggle for Reparations. Our new publication, "BLACK REPARATIONS TIMES" © 2003 is a step up from the N'COBRA membership newsletter "REPARATIONS NOW!", and will report news and information not only about N'COBRA's work, but also the efforts of other Reparations advocates, nationally and internationally. Please let us know what you think of our first edition of "BLACK REPARATIONS TIMES". Your suggestions are always welcome. You can also help out by: 1) providing items for possible publication such as articles, photos, etc; 2) volunteering professional skills (graphic arts, managing subscriptions & distribution, fundraising, etc.); 3) donating generously to this project, and 4) identifying potential sponsors.

Contact information:

Information and Media Commission
P.O. Box 716
Washington, DC 200440-0716

Email: InformationMedia@aol.com
Phone: 202.466.1622

National Reparations Weekend

(Continued from page 9)

so that it would be clear how they view the Reparations Movement. The presenters and participants during the course of the day, did not include sufficient representation from African American and other progressive organizations who's large constituencies will be critical to the success of the Reparations Movement. But then, this was the first mass mobilization effort. As the movement continues to grow, there's no doubt the people will demand that all Reparations initiatives be more inclusive.

Saturday evening was rounded out with a "Rappin' for Reparations" poetry slam hosted by the Howard University student chapter of NCOBRA, under the leadership of Ms. Fahima Seck and Mr. Julius Jefferson, and advisor and long time N'COBRA member Dr. Mary Hoover. The energy was high, and the poetry and songs were powerful. Historically, artists have played a very important role in African American human rights struggles. It was good to see that the tradition is still alive and well. And of course it is heartening to see the young people rising up, and ready to receive the baton from their elders. And everyone knows, once you capture the imagination of the youth, victory is inevitable.

AYBP (Continued from page 5)

approximately a half million, reported the NAACP's commitment to the passage of H.R. 40 as part of its core legislative agenda for the 108th Congress. Mr. Shelton also lent his energy to the lobbying effort. Nation of Islam Minister Khadir Abdul Muhammad, East Coast Representative for Minister Louis Farrakhan, was present to remind Reparations Advocates of the Nation of Islam's 40-year history of support for Reparations, and its consistent call for land for African Americans, here and abroad. Also present were representatives from the United Church of Christ, another predominantly white faith based organization with 6000 churches and over 1.4 Million members.

The day's focus was on CBC members who have not endorsed H.R. 40, although one group chose to visit CBC members who had already endorsed the bill to thank them for their support. Of the eight members of the CBC visited, five committed to endorse H.R. 40—Congressmen Major Owens

focus his energies. In addition to the five CBC members who agreed to endorse H.R.40, Congressman James Moran of northern Virginia also agreed to endorse the bill.

A group of Maryland residents met with the Legislative assistant for Congressman Steny Hoyer, who is the Democratic Whip, and a member of the Appropriations committee. The Democratic Whip is the second highest-ranking position amongst House Democrats. The assistant expressed concerns about the use of the term "Reparations" in the H.R. 40 Bill and felt that consideration should be given to deleting it in order to move to the next level. He suggested that once the word "Reparations" is deleted there might be more willingness to take a serious look at the Bill. Future lobbying efforts will also include visits to Congressman Hoyer to discuss this matter further.

A small group also began a preliminary search for a Senator or Senators who might be persuaded to co-introduce a bill in the Senate. Although it is premature at this time to identify the names of the Senators that were approached, it is safe to report that the discussions were fruitful, and future meetings are planned to provide additional information.

In addition to a full day of lobbying, to commemorate Reparations Awareness Day, the Library of Congress hosted its first Reparations forum. We extend our sincere appreciation to Ms. Marita Harper for her organizing efforts and for having the foresight to make it happen. DC NCOBRA Co-Chairs Mr. Wautella ibn Yusuf and Ms. Kibibi Tyehimba participated in the panel discussion along with Mr. Keenan Keller, Judiciary Counsel to Congressman Conyers, and Ms. Janis Hazel, formerly a member of Congressman Conyers' staff, in 1989, and part of the team of writers of the Reparations Study Bill H.R. 40. Ms. Hazel is currently a producer at Howard University's television station WHUT, and has expressed an interest in creating opportunities for broadcasting Reparations Forum in order to reach a broader audience.



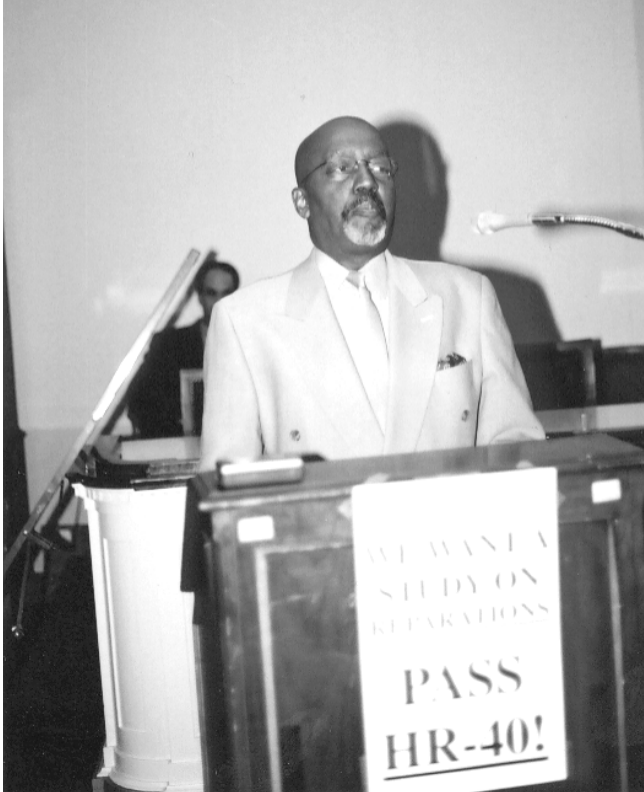
Strategy meeting in Con. Conyers' (9th from left) office: Mr. Keenan Keller (5th), Mr. Milt McGriff (6th), Ms. Kibibi Tyehimba (7th), Ms. Dorothy Lewis (8th), Ms. Nkechi Taifa (10th), Mr. Hilary Shelton

of New York, John Lewis of Georgia, Alcee Hastings and Kendrick Meek of Florida, and Congresswoman Sheila Jackson Lee of Texas. Congressman Melvin Watts declined to commit until voters from his state of North Carolina made it plain that they wanted him to endorse the bill. Congressman Clyburn of South Carolina refuses to endorse the bill for the same reason. (We urge registered voters in these two states who are also Reparations Advocates to contact these two Congressmen and urge their support of this important issue.) The Legislative Assistant for Congressman Donald Payne of New Jersey indicated the Congressman had problems with the bill, so a future visit is in order to clarify his concerns. The Legislative Assistant for Congressman Robert Scott of Virginia stated the Congressman does not currently support the bill because he believes there are not sufficient funds available to pay Reparations and he believes this administration's Faith-based initiative is the place to

AYBP (Continued from page 12)

New York, and Pennsylvania will join forces to “Turn Up the Volume” a little higher.

The Northeast region is on the move, in large part because of the dedication and persistence of Mr. Milt



**Mr. Milton McGriff,
National AYBP Coordinator**

McGriff who was inspired almost two years ago by the words of Mr. Randall Robinson, in his book “The Debt”. Robinson called for a thousand African descendants to walk the halls of Congress every day until the issue of Reparations is addressed. Although we’re a ways away from a 1000 per day, we are off to a good start, and there’s hope that “A Year of Black Presence” will make a tremendous impact on the Reparations Movement. In the words of Mr. Milt McGriff:

“We must make the nation see, that Reparations for people of African descent is a matter of justice, that it is a moral issue before it is an economic or political issue. Many, possibly the majority of Americans, say we should not be talking about Reparations now, that the wrongs committed against Black people are ancient history. But we must force Congress to discuss Reparations now because, in the past, our government has been too overtly racist to do what was right. The impact of Jim Crow and the Holocaust of captivity and enslavement is still felt today. The government professes to have moved beyond

the racist thinking of the past. We call on them to prove it by passing HR40 and having a long overdue discussion about repairing the damage done by the crimes of the past.”

The N’COBRA Legislative Commission urges Reparations advocates in other states to pick up the baton and keep the momentum going. Work to build coalitions in your area. Organize to get your cities and states to adopt Reparations Resolutions and Bills, and provide documentation once resolutions and bills are adopted so that N’COBRA can add your information to its database. Contact the N’COBRA Legislative Commission at 202.466.1622 or by email at LegiCom@AOL.com for a sample resolution and Lobbying Packets to ensure consistency in our lobbying efforts. Mobilize your communities to visit the home offices of your Congressmen and Congresswomen. Organize groups to come to the nation’s Capitol to continue lobbying and to demonstrate to the country that we will not rest until Reparations is won. Remember, “The Power to Win Reparations is in Our Hands.”

CAMPAIGN FOR 100% (Continued from page 8)

Rep. Sheila Jackson-Lee, Texas (D)
Rep. Alcee Hastings, Florida (D)
Rep. John Lewis, Georgia (D) -
Rep. Major Owens, New York (D)
Rep. Jim Moran, Virginia (D)

Below is the contact information for the Congressional Black Caucus members who have not co-sponsored the bill to date. Exercise your rights as a tax paying, hopefully registered voters. Mobilize voting Reparations supporters in the districts of the CBC members who have not endorsed the bill, and let them know you expect their support for H.R. 40.

Rep. Denise Majette Georgia (4th District :DeKalb and Gwinett Counties) Committees: Budget, Small Business, Education and the Workforce, 1517 Longworth House Office Building Washington, DC 20515 Phone: 202-225-1605

Rep David Scott Georgia(13th District:Butts, Clayton, Dekalb, Fulton, Gwinnett, Henry, Newton, Rockdale, Spaulding, Walton Counties) 417 Cannon House Office Building , Washington, DC 20515 phone: (202) 225-2939

Rep. Corrine Brown, Florida (D) - 3rd Congressional District (Jacksonville, Orlando, Daytona Beach)Committees: Transportation and Infrastructure, Veterans' Affairs 2444 Rayburn House Office Building Washington, DC 20515 202-225-0123

Rep. Julia Carson, Indiana (D) - 10th Congressional District (Indianapolis)Committees: Financial Services, Veterans' Affairs 1339 Longworth House Office Building Washington, DC 20515 202-225-4011

(Continued on page 14)

National Congress of Economic Development Commissioners

Baton Rouge, Louisiana

Elder William Jones and Dr. Imari A. Obadele

Chicago, Illinois

Cecelia Butler
Melvin Cosey
Rev. Albert Sampson
Dr. Robert Starks
Dr. Conrad Worrill

Cincinnati, Ohio

Dr. Stanley Broadnax

Dallas, Texas

Diana Kimble and Helene Reese

Detroit, Michigan

Kwame Atta
Dr. Robert Bland
Mother Lillian Brown
Adwoa Faune Carter
Mary Hines
Raymond "Reparations Ray" Jenkins
Kwame Kenyatta
Queen Mother Nefertiti
Dr. JoAnn Watson

Houston/Prairie View, Texas

Robin J. Anderson, Doris Cleveland and
Simon Wiltz

Indianapolis, Indiana

**Kamau Jywanza, Achebe Turner and
Mauguiro Sadiki Yisael**

Miami/Dade, Florida

Violet Barry
Dr. Mae Christian
Leroy Jones
General Ali K.X. Rashid

St. Louis, Missouri

Alvin Brown,
Richard Dockett
Alphonso Lumpkins

CAMPAIGN FOR 100% *(Continued from page 13)*

Del. Donna Christian-Christensen, Virgin Islands (D)
Committees: Resources, Small Business 1510 Longworth
House Office Building Washington, DC 20515 202-225-
1790

Rep. William "Lacy" Clay, Jr., Missouri (D) - 1st
Congressional District(St. Louis)Committees: Financial
Services, Government Reform 415 Cannon House Office
Building Washington, DC 20515 202-225-2406

Rep. Eva Clayton, North Carolina (D) - 1st Congressional
District (Greenville, North Carolina) Committees:
Agriculture, Budget 2440 Rayburn House Office Building
Washington, DC 20515 202-225-3101

Rep. James Clyburn, South Carolina (D) - 6th
Congressional District(Columbia, Charleston, Orangeburg,
Sumter)Committees: Appropriations 319 Cannon House
Office Building Washington, DC 20515 202-225-3315

Rep. Harold Ford, Jr., Tennessee (D) - 9th Congressional
District(Memphis)Committees: Financial Services,
Education and the Workforce 325 Cannon House Office
Building Washington, DC 20515 202-225-3265

Rep Artur Davis Alabama (7th District, Montgomery
208 Cannon House Office Building, Washington, DC
20515 phone: 202-225-2665

Rep. Stephanie Tubbs Jones, Ohio (D) - 11th
Congressional District (Cleveland) Committees: Financial
Services, Small Business 1516 Longworth House Office
Building Washington, DC 20515 202-225-7032

Rep. Donald Payne, New Jersey (D) - 10th Congressional
District(Newark, Elizabeth)Committees: Education and the
Workforce, International Relations 2209 Rayburn House
Office Building Washington, DC 20515 202-225-3436

Rep. Robert Scott, Virginia (D) - 3rd Congressional
District (Richmond, Newport News)Committees: Judiciary,
Education and the Workforce 2464 Rayburn House Office
Building Washington, DC 20515 202-225-8351

Rep. Melvin Watt, North Carolina (D) - 12th Con. District
(Charlotte, Greensboro)Committees: Judiciary, Financial
Services 2236 Rayburn House Office Building
Washington, DC 20515 202-225-1510

Southwest Regional *(Continued from page 6)*

with. During a leadership track there were important discussions about the importance of developing leadership in our chapters, and the importance of performing all tasks as efficiently as possible. Some participants went on a brief tour

of the African American Museum. There was also a panel discussion entitled "Perspectives on Reparations" which examined the importance of genealogy and documentation, and the legal and legislative approaches to Reparations.

Some News from Around Our Reparations Movement

MISSISSIPPIANS FOR REPARATIONS

Thinking back to the organizing struggles of Sister Fannie Lou Hamer, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), and the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, one can only wonder about the challenges facing anyone audacious enough to carry the baton for the Reparations Movement in the state that was once considered the most hostile during the Civil Right Movement. For the likes of Mississippi State Coordinator, Baba Hannibal Afrik and the Mississippians for Reparations (MFR) Coalition, the knowledge of that history seems only to have made them more determined. The MFR is made up of the National Coalition of Blacks for Reparations in America (NCOBRA), the Republic of New Afrika (RNA), and the Millions for Reparations Coalition. The MFR coalition conducts town hall meetings throughout the state of Mississippi to bring critical information about the Reparations movement to the people, and give them an opportunity to discuss the truth that has been suppressed for far too long. Like the vicious murder of 14-year old Emmett Till, whose murderers remain unpunished to this day. The MFR is on the front line circulating post card petitions, which demand the State Attorney General re-open the investigation. The coalition is also urging the Mississippi Faith community to become the moral vanguard and lead the way in declaring the Holocaust of African Enslavement morally wrong and worthy of Reparations.

The efforts of the MFR coalition are not going unnoticed. The city of Jackson, Mississippi adopted a resolutions sponsored by Councilman Kenneth Stokes, designating February National Reparations Month, and another honoring Baba Hannibal Afrik for outstanding citizenship, and proclaiming him an honorary citizen of the city.

Baba Hannibal Afrik, MS State Coordinator
Phone: 601.535.7551

Mississippians For Reparations
P. O. Box 225
Port Gibson, MS 39150

N'COBRA Retreat Held in North Carolina

Our Board of Directors, Chapter leaders and Commission workers met recently in historic Princeville, North Carolina for the first-ever N'COBRA Retreat. Hosted by Brother Milton Bullock, and facilitated by N'COBRA members, Kenneth Young and Catherine Copper of The Real One, LLC., the Retreat provided leaders a chance to access N'COBRA's history and evaluate the work that had been done over the years. A Strategic Planning Committee was established to develop a long-term plan of action to improve

N'COBRA's effectiveness. All attendees agreed, that the retreat was time very well spent.

Global Afrikan Congress

N'COBRA was well represented at the African/ African Descendants follow-up conference to the U.N. World Conference Against Racism. Attending the special gathering in the African-Caribbean nation of Barbados this past October were National Co-Chair Dorothy Aurevouche Benton Lewis, International Commission Co-Chair Kamau and Mashriki Jywanza, the new Information Co-Chair Wautella ibn Yusuf, DC Chapter Co-Chair Kibbibiti Tyehimba, and other members.

This significant meeting resulted in the formation of the Global Afrikan Congress. Sister Aurevouche was elected as one of two Steering Committee Representatives for North America (the other resides in Canada). Regional (continental) conferences are being planned—including a December planning meeting in Toronto, and another major gathering of Africans in the Diaspora in 2004.

Reparations Awareness Day

For nearly a decade N'COBRA chapters across the U.S. have organized special "Reparations Awareness Day" events on February 25th or during the last weekend of that month. Please inform us of your plans so they can be shared with others.

N'COBRA Sends Condolences To...

The family of N'COBRA member **CLEVELAND LEE ARMSTRONG, SR.**, who became an Ancestor in September 2002. Baba Cleveland was the beloved husband of member Elizabeth Armstrong, grandfather of Chioke Bakari, and father of Jahahara Alkebulan-Ma'at.

The family of Viola Plummer of the December 12th Movement on the passing of her husband, Baba **JIMMY PLUMMER**

{The following excerpts taken from "NewAfrika@aol.com" message posted to N'COBRA's website "Reparations for Africans"}

With sadness, we announce that **BROTHER ROB PENNY**, at age 62, passed away Sunday night, March 16, 2003, in Pittsburgh, PA. Rob Penny and his Beautiful Wife Timamu Betty were foremost in leading the struggle for Reparations, Unity and Upliftment.

(Continued on page 16)

N'COBRA NATIONAL FIVE YEAR STRATEGIC PLAN

By Ajamu Sankofa, Northeast Region Representative

" We cannot continue so. For a refusal to change direction, for the abandonment of the way, for such perverse persistence there are no reasons, only hollow, unconvincing lies."

Ayi Kwei Armah from two thousand seasons

On January 18, 2003, N'COBRA launched its powerful National Five year Strategic Plan. The Plan crystallizes N'COBRA's fifteen years of valuable experience in creating the contemporary Reparations movement within the United States into a roadmap with guideposts that leads inexorably to the destination of winning full Reparations for Black African decedents residing within the United States of America and its territories

N'COBRA's sharp perspective is sown into the kente cloth fabric of the strategic plan's mission statement:

" The mission of the National Coalition of Blacks for Reparations in America (N'COBRA) is to win full Reparations for Black African decedents residing in the United States and its territories for the genocidal war against Africa that created the TransAtlantic Slave "Trade," "Chattel Slavery," Jim Crow and Chattel Slavery's continuing vestiges (the Maafa). To that end, N'COBRA shall organize and mobilize all strata of these Black communities into an effective mass-based reparations movement. N'COBRA shall also serve as a coordinating body for the reparations effort in the United States. Further, through its leadership role in the reparations movement within the United states and its territories, N'COBRA recognizes that reparations is a just demand for all African peoples and shall join with others in building the international reparationsmovement."

This mission statement tells us what is to be done. The

balance of the strategic plan tells us how we are to get it done. The completion of the strategic plan was a high point, a profound example of N'COBRA expressing collective work and responsibility (UJIMA) and demonstrating the limitless power of African unity in a c t i o n .

Among the highlights of the strategic plan are: assurances that N'COBRA will have an expanded national office with a paid staff with the state of the art equipment that will ensure communications capacities that connect N'COBRA directly and immediately to African people throughout the United States, Africa, and the African Diaspora; the development of more efficient and responsive internal administrative and management systems; establishment of the highest standards of professionalism; and the creation of the capacity to sustain and expand ever stronger national grassroots organizing campaigns such as Reparations Awareness Day, election of Economic Development Commissioners, A Year of Black Presence (AYBP), BLACK FRIDAYS, and Mobilizing for Reparations National Campaign: Reparations in Action .

The Reparations movement is a world historical movement that accelerates at the speed of spirit, the awakening of African consciousness. N'COBRA is both the result of and a contributor to this powerful awakening of the African mind. N'COBRA's Five Year Strategic Plan is now another essential tool to further unlock our consciousness and take African people to the next higher level to win this sacred struggle of winning full Reparations for African people in o u r l i f e t i m e .

Ashe to N'COBRA's Strategic Planning Committee and N'COBRA's National Board for brilliantly taking the strategic plan from concept to completion!

BROTHER ROB PENNY (Continued from page 15)

Pan African Rob Penny N'COBRA Rob Penny Reparations Rob Penny was a member of N'COBRA for 7 years. As the unifying force behind the Pittsburgh Chapter of NCOBRA, Rob Penny gave unselfishly of his time and resources. During the 2001 Northeast Regional Conference hosted by the Pittsburgh Chapter he even used his own funds to pay for the meals for all the Northeast Region participants. He frequently purchased large quantities of books and other cultural materials during N'COBRA's annual conferences to take back to his community as gifts. Rob Penny utilized the DC N'COBRA Chapter's book "Black Reparations" during classes that he taught at the University of Pittsburgh. He was always willing to do whatever he could to move us closer to achieving Reparations.

Black Arts Movement Rob Penny Kuntu Writers Workshop Rob Penny Black Horizons Poet Rob Penny Rob Penny Black Radical Congress Rob Penny Black Community Rob Penny Playwright Rob Penny Children and Youth Rob Penny Beginning with Books Rob Penny Historian Rob Penny On the Hill Rob Penny Afrikan. Rob Penny, Professor/Playwright/Poet was an award winning writer and historian. Born in Opelika, Alabama, raised in the Hill District of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, where he always called "Home", Rob Penny was an Afrocentric poet, playwright, Chair of the Department of Africana Studies at the

JAPANESE AMERICANS FOR BLACK REPARATIONS

Japanese Americans Black Reparations Support Statement

As members of the Japanese American community, we offer our support for Black Reparations. Our community undertook a decades-long struggle to achieved the Civil Liberties Act of 1988, which granted an apology and monetary compensation to survivors who endured racist and unconstitutional detention and incarceration during World War II. Our struggle for redress was born in part out of the Black Civil Rights Movement and the support of African Americans was essential to our success.

Today, we take a long overdue step by calling for complete justice and standing in full support of reparations for 250 years of slavery and the subsequent institutionalized racism and disenfranchisement of Blacks in America. Today, we offer our presence, our experience as Japanese American recipients of reparations, and our commitment to education and advocacy for Black Reparations as determined by African Americans.

Toward this end we call for support by Japanese Americans, and indeed all Americans, for H.R. 40, Commission to Study Reparation Proposals for African Americans Act, as introduced by Congressman Conyers to Congress every year since 1989. We further call for support for other legal actions that seek reparations. We are committed to the continuing education about the history of slavery and its legacy, and we pledge support for all struggles that lead us toward social and economic justice for Blacks in America.

Signed by:

Yuri Kochiyama, Kenji Liu, Mari Matsuda, Dale Minami ,
Janice Mirikitani, Susan Serrano, Dina Shek, Rev. Lloyd
Wake, Eric Yamamoto and Rev. Michael Yoshii

Japanese Americans for Black Reparations Principles and Commitments

Principles

We, as Japanese American community members who have seen redress from our government for unconstitutional abuses for during World War II, believe in the righteousness of the struggle for Black Reparations and call upon the U.S. government to make significant amends for the history of slavery and its legacy.

We believe in the need for multi-racial support for Black Reparations and we recognize that participating in this struggle is essential to the healing of the nation as a whole.

We believe that African Americans are the only ones who can determine the means and objectives of reparations, and we pledge our support for the proposals put forth by the African American community.

We believe that reparations begins with each of us. As such, we will make monetary contributions to local and national efforts in support of racial justice in America.

Commitments

We stand in support of H.R. 40 and will advocate for its passage.

We offer our experiences in the Japanese American redress movement and will establish a website with articles, resources and statements of support from the JA community.

We offer financial contributions to legal efforts for reparations and community initiatives that work to repair the damage done by slavery in America.

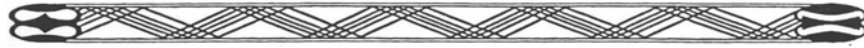
For more information, please contact Dian Shek at: dina@asianimprov.com.

BROTHER ROB PENNY *(Continued from page 16)*

University of Pittsburgh from 1978 -1984, and a professor since 1969. Rob Penny was Playwright in Residence for Kuntu Repertory Theatre. In 1976 Rob Penny and August Wilson Co-founded the Kuntu Writers Workshop, the 2nd oldest Black

Writers Workshop that is still in existence today. He co-founded the Black Horizon Theatre with August Wilson in 1968. Rob Penny brought life, love and passion for life to his family, his friendships and throughout the Black Community. A beautiful Black Man, Loving Husband and Father, Grandfather. Fantastic Friend. Phenomenal Man. Writer of Expressions of Pride, Heritage, History, Celebration, Unity, Movement of and for our Precious People. We love you always, Rob Penny!

N'COBRA'S Information Sheet



What is Reparations?

Reparations is a process of repairing, healing and restoring a people injured because of their group identity and in violation of their fundamental human rights by governments or corporations. Those groups that have been injured have the right to obtain from the government or corporation responsible for the injuries that which they need to repair and heal themselves. In addition to being a demand for justice, it is a principle of international human rights law. As a remedy, it is similar to the remedy for damages in national law that holds a person responsible for injuries suffered by another when the infliction of the injury violates domestic law. Examples of groups that have obtained reparations include Jewish victims of the Nazi Holocaust, Japanese Americans interned in concentration camps in the United States during WWII, Alaska Natives for land, labor, and resources taken, victims of the massacre in Rosewood, Florida and their descendants, Native Americans as a remedy for violations of treaty rights, an political dissenters in Argentina and their descendants.

What is N'COBRA?

The National Coalition of Blacks for Reparations in America is a mass-based coalition organized for the sole purpose of obtaining reparations for African descendants in the United States. It was organized in late 1987 and early 1988, to broaden the base of support for the long-standing reparations movement. Organizational founders of N'COBRA include the New Afrikan Peoples Organization, the National Conference of Black Lawyers and the Republic of New Afrika. It has individual members and organizational affiliates, a few of which include the National Association of Black Social Workers, Sigma Gamma Rho Sorority, National Black United Front, Black Reparations Commission, and the International Peoples' Democratic Uhuru Movement. N'COBRA has chapters throughout the U. S. and in Ghana and London. It is directed nationally by a board of

Why are African Descendants entitled to Reparations?

The Trans-Atlantic Slave "Trade" and chattel slavery, more appropriately called the Holocaust of Enslavement or Maafa, was a crime against humanity. Millions of Africans were brutalized, murdered, raped and tortured. They were torn from their families in Africa, kidnapped and lost family and community associations. African peoples in the United States and the prior colonies, were denied the right to maintain their language, spiritual practices and even normal family relations, always under the threat of being torn from newly created families at the whim of the "slave owner." This form of dehumanization, chattel slavery, lasted officially from 1619 to 1865. This was followed by 100 years of virtual re-enslavement through a series of laws and practices such as Black Codes, convict lease, sharecropping, peonage, and Jim Crow practices of separate and unequal accommodations. African descendants continue to be denied rights of self-determination, inheritance, and full participation in the United States government and society. The laws and practices in the United States continue to treat African peoples in a manner similar to slavery - maintaining dual systems in virtually every area of life including punishment, health care, education and wealth, maintaining the fiction of White superiority and African and African descendants inferiority.

Those groups that have been injured have the right to obtain from the government or corporation responsible for the injuries that which they need to repair and heal themselves.

Is an apology necessary?

A necessary requirement of all forms of reparations is an acknowledgment by the government or corporation that it committed acts that violated the human rights of those making the claim for reparations. Some groups may want an explicit apology, however, neither the acknowledgement nor apology is sufficient - there must be material forms of reparations that accompany the acknowledgment or apology.

{to be continued in next issue}

N'COBRA

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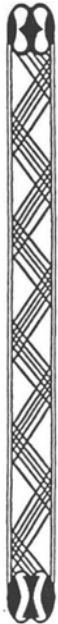
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N'COBRA

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Address

In This Issue...

*N'COBRA'S LITIGATION WORK &
REPARATIONS LOBBYISTS ON CAPITOL HILL!*

We are especially grateful to founding member Baba Kalonji Tor Olusegun for designing the N'COBRA logo (above). It consists of three sacred Andinkra symbols: NKON-SONKONSON (link or chain); OWA FOR A ADOBE (snake climbing the palm tree); and, BIRIBI-WO-SORO (a symbol of Hope denoting there is something in the Heavens). Together, these symbols express our links in this, and the next life; that We share a common blood relation which will never break apart; and that We can perform the impossible.

ATTENTION REPARATIONS ADVOCATES

FACT: The Reparations Movement cannot be advanced without the support of African (Black) People.

FACT: African (Black) People cannot and should not expect anyone other than ourselves to provide the resources needed to win our Reparations.

FACT: If you do not keep your membership up to date, you will no longer receive the invaluable information found in this newsletter.

Do your part to move us closer to achieving Reparations. Contribute generously to NCOBRA. Renew Your NCOBRA membership each year. Encourage other Reparations supporters to join NCOBRA. Host fundraisers for NCOBRA and contribute the funds to NCOBRA projects that you feel passionately about. And remember the Power to Win Reparations is In our Hands! Reparations: Conceive It...Achieve It!

◆ Black Reparations Times ◆

Volume 2, Issue 2

April 2004

SPECIAL CONFERENCE EDITION
N'COBRA 15TH ANNUAL CONFERENCE 2004
HOWARD UNIVERSITY - WASHINGTON DC



Deadria Farmer-Paellman, Dr. Carol Swain, Johnnie Cochran, Dorothy B. Lewis, and Armstrong Williams “Slavery Reparations Town Hall meeting” premiere in January on TV One (a new national cable network)

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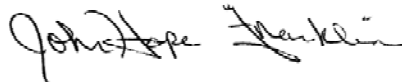
April 26, 2004

Ms. Kibibi Tyehimba
NCOBRA Legislative Committee
P.O. Box 716
Washington, D.C. 29944-0716

Dear Ms. Tyehimba:

I am certain that I speak for my colleagues and fellow-sufferers of the Tulsa Riot when I say that the recent decision of the federal court merely emboldens us to render our fight for justice. The Tulsa Terrorists of 1921 have no right to be relieved of their guilt by the passage of time. A vulgar offense such as the one they perpetrated is timeless; and since time cannot heal the offense, we will not rest until they have paid for their crimes.

Sincerely,



John Hope Franklin



Black Reparations Times®

A Quarterly N'COBRA Publication of the Information & Media Commission

DEDICATED TO BRINGING YOU REPARATIONS INFORMATION IN ALL ITS VARIED FORMS AND APPROACHES

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MISSION

The Commission will serve as the official organizational link for the dissemination and exchange of information on N'COBRA policies, Reparations issues, strategies and actions important to winning Reparations for African descendants in the U.S. and the Diaspora; assist in educating N'COBRA members and the general public about our just demands; and assist in the development of mass based support for Reparations.

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Publications: REPARATIONS NOW!
{Quarterly Membership Newsletter}
BLACK REPARATIONS TIMES
{Quarterly news publication}

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We encourage public discussions, led by the injured, to determine an equitable remedy for the African Holocaust of Enslavement. All African descendants have a right and responsibility to work towards defining and achieving Reparations. *The opinions and actions reported in Black Reparations Times are those of the person(s) representing them and in no way should be viewed as N'COBRA's unless clearly stated.* © 2003 all rights reserved

Unjust Laws: Another Reparations Issue

Dorothy Benton Lewis,

N'COBRA National Co-Chair

North American Representative, Global Afrikan Congress

How do agreements crafted by criminals and for the sole benefit of criminals get accepted, codified, and defended as “the law?”

This question weighed heavily on my mind during my recent trip to Brussels, Belgium, and the Netherlands, also known as Holland, the land of the Dutch people. I visited historical sites on the slave route, and a number of museums. For I knew that along with the gold, diamonds, rubber, etc., many of Africa’s artifacts had been looted by European colonizers and could be found in museums throughout Europe. Whether in the US or some other country, I use my travels to find other pieces of the puzzle, called my story (still a mystery) and his story (history).

Two other areas of interest for me are the issues of drugs and AIDS. While in Amsterdam, I visited the red light district in the heart of the city. I wanted to see for myself how legalized drugs, prostitution, and porn were actually integrated into the city and the culture.

I saw, for example a MacDonaldis (which I associate with children and adolescents) right next door to a store with a huge sign on it that said “SEXSHOP,” next door to a souvenir shop, around the corner from live sex shows on stage, next to a shop with MJ plants displayed in the window, near an alley where nearly naked women stand in windows and market themselves as merchandise for hire. It seemed to me like ancient Babylon, and prompted me to reflect on the nature and purpose of Laws. While non-prescription drugs, including marijuana, and prostitution are illegal in the US, it would be rather unseemly for agents of the US government to fly seven hours, thousands of miles, overseas to impose US laws on the citizens of Amsterdam, rounding up men and women in the red light district and hauling them off to prison, night after night. It would be equally unseemly for agents of the Netherlands government to travel thousands of miles to overthrow the US government for rounding up and enslaving millions of its own citizens for doing what is perfectly legal in Amsterdam, by their *LAW*.

Under normal circumstances, most of us would agree that each Tribe has its own laws to govern its own citizens. The laws of the Netherlands’s Tribe are for the citizens of the Netherlands. Similarly, the Tribes of

Britain, France, Belgium, Spain, Portugal, etc. each have laws to govern their citizens. Such laws are deemed legitimate, if the people make the laws in the best interest of the people who must abide by them.

It is one thing for Tribes to make laws for themselves. It is quite another when they impose their laws upon others, outside of their territory. It is likely that citizens of the USA traveling to the Netherlands could get away with behaviors there that would be illegal here. If the citizens of the Netherlands visited the USA, they had best leave certain aspects of their culture at home because it would cause them a lot of grief here.

It isn’t unusual for Tribes to impose their laws and customs on each other; it is just unacceptable, as reflected in the number of Tribal wars we have had from antiquity to the present. Not only have Tribes sought to dominate each other; they have warred with each other while vying to assert their dominance over other Tribes’ land, labor, and resources. You might call it highly organized crime committed by individual entrepreneurs and corporations (backed by their government’s military force), vying for riches, recognition, and superior status.

We see the European Tribes throughout the world each stealing from and selling to the other what belonged to neither; and taking by force or fraud countries, continents, people and resources...leaving a bloody trail of death, destruction, and misery from one continent to another.

Some Tribes even signed agreements with each other to minimize the fighting over territory and people targeted for stealing. One early agreement came in 1494 between Spain and Portugal. The Kingpins there decided that they were not going to war with each other over the new Real estate that Columbus had staked out for the taking; so they drew up an agreement called the Treaty of Tordesillas. The deal was that Spain would take one half and Portugal would take the other half. Even though the agreement was inspired and blessed by the Catholic Pope, it only lasted a while. Other European Tribes moved in and warred with each other, at different times, over various countries in the world that was new to them.

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If Indigenous Tribes succeeded in repelling the invaders, another European Tribe would take up where the other had left off. Like a chain of international gang-bangers, pimps, and drug pushers, they fought for control over land, people, and resources belonging to African, North American, South American, Central American, Asian, and Australian Tribes who had their own laws, customs, language, culture, and worldview.

We see European Tribes in North America slaughtering indigenous peoples, warring with each other over the stolen land, cutting deals to minimize the warring, taking, then selling land in the name of the King, Queen, or Pope who had absolutely no rights that they could claim or laws that they could legitimately impose on others.

We see the Dutch, Portuguese, and Spanish Tribes in Brazil; the British, Dutch, and French in South Africa. The Tribes of France, Spain, and Britain in North America and the Caribbean; Spain in the Dominican, Cuba, Puerto Rico; France in Haiti and Vietnam; Britain in India, China, Australia; the USA in Mexico, Hawaii, and Vietnam; Russia selling Alaska to the USA.

After four centuries of raping and plundering the world and Africa of its human and material wealth, all but a few European Tribes united long enough to attend a conference in Berlin, Germany in 1894 (just 29 years after chattel slavery had ended in the USA). The purpose of the meeting was to develop an agreement on how they would divide African continent (with the African Tribes still on it) among themselves without fighting each other over it. Not a single African was invited to that Berlin conference.

It should be clear that neither slavery nor colonialism are domestic issues. When you have Tribes from one continent, kidnapping Tribal members from a second continent to transport them to a third, stolen, continent, we have international crimes of the highest order: 1) genocide, 2) war crimes, and 3) crimes against humanity.

Sponsors of a criminal enterprise usually mark their stolen goods with their Tribal names: Dutch Guyana, Dutch Antilles. French Guyana, French Surinam, British Guyana. The Belgium Congo, French Morocco, French Canada, British Canada, British West Indies, British West Africa, British East Africa, Francophone Africa. Some Tribes have come and gone, but have left incriminating evidence, such Tribal markings as their language, mixed-tribe offspring, and in most cases, a puppet or proxy government to serve their financial interests.

In effect, the world we live in today, and for the past several centuries, has been shaped by organized crime, international gangs of highly organized, highly paid criminals, superior thugs, supported and protected by governments that invade countries under noble pretexts, committing murder and mayhem, destroying everything in their path for glory and greed. Their terror tactics to control, subdue, and hold in bondage their prey, would shame a nation of demons, not to mention one that purports to be civilized, Christian, and democratic.

It is interesting to note that after the United Nations World Conference against Racism, the world was pretty much denied the information that slavery, especially the transatlantic slave trade was finally declared a crime against humanity, and should always have been so. It was surreal. Imagine criminals being able to vote on whether or not their raping, plundering, genocidal deeds were in fact crimes against humanity.

Again, I ask: How do agreements crafted by and for the sole benefit of criminals get accepted, codified, and defended as “the law?”

Imagine our local thugs, gang-bangers, traffickers in people, rapist, drug pushers, pedophiles, dead beat dads, making agreements among themselves, for the benefit of themselves and have the recipients of their criminal behavior, and other people, ostensibly without such criminal tendencies, abide by those agreements and accept them as legitimate, as “the law?”

Such laws as:

“Whatever I do is right and acceptable, I am God.” Sovereignty

“Even if I am wrong, I know I’m wrong and you know I’m wrong, and the whole world knows that I am wrong, you can’t sue me unless I allow you to sue me.” Sovereign Immunity

“If I am forced by public or world opinion, or some other compelling interest, you may sue me in my court, with judges I appoint, under rules that I make, and you must do it in a certain amount of time. I will decide what amount of time is sufficient.” Statute of Limitations

Even so, this isn’t done even handedly. We also know that law in the hands of criminals, either in domestic or international law, will attempt to twist it to meet their purpose.

For example, when it comes to the issue of “time” for African people 138 years is too long ago. However, when it comes to European people, 2500 years ago is a reparational issue. The Bible is dragged in to justify the disparate treatment.

But, we wouldn't stop there, we would build huge monuments with our tax dollars, write about these criminals in glowing terms in our text books, make up interesting stories to tell our children about them, create holidays and even induce our children to admire and celebrate them.

We have moved from plantation slavery to prison and wage slavery.

We have moved from colonialism to neo-colonialism: A black face to carry out the will of the colonial masters who occupy the stolen land and maintain a death grip on the resources, while still grabbing for more.

We have moved from can't read to can't think: The text-books are full of lies. Scientists, researchers, academics for hire serve the colonial masters in their attempt to cover-up and promote lies to hide the truth.

We have moved from White Criminal Supremacy with-



Photo by Greg Blakey

Deadria Farmer-Paellman, Dr. Carol Swain, Johnnie Cochran, Dorothy B. Lewis, and Armstrong Williams
TV One's Town Hall meeting on Slavery Reparations, at the George Washington University's Jack Morton Auditorium in Washington, DC

So today, we continue to struggle out from under the burden of White Criminal Supremacy, of which slavery and colonialism reflect only two its many tentacles. The Reparations demand is just one step in our effort to take control of our lives, of our future and our sanity. As we try to make sense out of the insane, we find that the more things look like they have changed the more they are really the same:

out the sheets to White Criminal Supremacy all dressed up in three-piece suits, black robes, and governmental uniforms, with a license to kill.

In the name of Democracy and Manifest Destiny, we have moved from genocide and an agricultural slaveocracy to genocide and a military and prison slaveocracy: Our husbands, wives, daughters, and sons still give their lives to liberate countries and resources for corporate

(Continued on page 9)

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(Continued from page 7)

gain under the pretext of liberating people.

These Transnational corporations move millions of jobs out of this country in search of new slaves. They have no allegiance to any flag until they need the services of our youthful military to assist them in an international hijacking of another nation for slaves, markets, and resources. It is a wonder that our child soldiers don't demand their fair share of the loot directly from the corporations. Instead, we subsidize the robbery with our tax dollars and the lives of our loved ones, in the name of freedom and democracy that we don't enjoy.

In the name of Freedom, we have given up the Freedoms we said we had, even though a good number of us were afraid to exercise those freedoms in the first place, before the Patriot Act.

Some often say that we are a nation of Laws not men. I say that a nation built on injustice and inhumanity, and a foundation of agreements made by criminals to regulate their criminal behavior. Some of what we call "laws," are a legacy of our Holocaust of Enslavement and remain tools of oppression and the continuing war against us. These tools/"laws" must join the long list of harms and damage in need of repair.

We live with a White Criminal Supremacy mind-set that project onto others, its own criminal tendencies: The stolen are projected as the thieves. The terrorized are projected as the terrorist. The survivors are projected as the murders and must be jailed and/or killed. The resource rich countries are projected as the impoverished as their gold, diamonds, oil, rubber, and other wealth are airlifted to pad the coffers of European countries. These thieves are projected as the saviors.

The criminal attempts to justify slavery and the inhuman treatment of African people, have left us a legacy of lies and omissions in our textbooks that still render the majority of Americans ignorant of US history.

We have a US congress that has for the past 138 years suppressed an honest discussion on America's history and the impact of slavery on subsequent generations. This too is a criminal cover up and a legacy of slavery.

Not only is it time for reparations, it is time to end the African Holocaust, the Maafa. We know the war isn't over, that we are still in danger because the criminals' descendants still have a criminal mind-set. They don't want to confess, apologize, or repair the damage. They seem to want to pretend that It Never Happened. We know that reparations alone, isn't the issue because repa-

rations have been paid to and demanded for others.

What do criminals, who pretend to be paragons of virtue, do with prisoners of unjust wars, and laws made, by criminals for criminals? What do criminals do with, kidnap victims, people held in bondage?

Do they try to kill them off, and institute laws to silence them until they die off? Do they convince the captives that they are now a part of the family and entitled to all of the responsibilities of family members, but none of the wealth? Ask not what your family can do for you, but what you can do for your family/country.

Do they teach them the same lies that they have taught their own Tribal members when they were trying to convince the Tribe that the captive Africans were inferior, less than human and had no human rights that the White Tribe was bound to respect?

When the gig is up, why don't they just come clean, tell the truth, pay reparations, and move on? Why do they continue to lie, make excuses, blame the victim, try to convince them that they did them a favor, their captivity was really a rescue mission, forgive and forget, let by-gones be by-gones, while they continue to shackle, re-enslave, and destroy them in so many other ways?

**The
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Salutes N'COBRA
for advancing the
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REPARATIONS AND RESTITUTION

Broadening the Discussion, Self Transformation And Compensation

By Wautella ibn Yusuf

How do we, the victims of human history's most diabolic tragedy, shape the discussion about Black Reparations and Restitution in a way that captures the hearts and minds of African peoples at home and abroad? First and foremost there must be an understanding and acceptance that our demand for Reparations is a sacred and moral issue, and the African Holocaust of Enslavement was a crime against Africans, humanity and God. Many sacred texts teach us that the human person is sacred, therefore to injure or murder one human being is a violation of the sacred. We should not forget, nor should we let others forget that ten to one hundred million innocent souls were tortured and destroyed during the Trans-Atlantic enslavement of Africans. Our quest to gain Reparations must be viewed as a duty, placed upon us by the Creator, our Ancestors, our children and ourselves, to repair, heal and restore our People (minds, culture, history, families, communities, nationhood, etc.).

Our approach to the issue of "Reparations" should never be viewed as something "White folks" must "do" for us, or "approve" for us. Rather, it is our demand for justice, and what is rightfully ours, and a necessary step to acquire the resources necessary to heal, repair and restore us as a people. Ultimately Reparations is a process that only "Black folks" can and must do for ourselves. Only we can address the spiritual and psychological effects of 300 years of slavery, 100 years of lynching and segregation, and more than 35 years of racism and discrimination that is clearly evident in our families and communities.

As activists and liberation theorists speaking on behalf of our people's needs, we must struggle to use language and a system of logic that enables us to reach all our people in a manner that encourages their involvement in the healing and repair process whether they acknowledge it or not. If we can help our people to see that the crimes that we've suffered and the duration of those crimes are unlike any experiences of other peoples, then they will understand our approach to the issue of Reparations must also be different from those of other peoples. The way that "reparations" is understood in national and international law does not and cannot carry the same weight for us. Malcolm X.

taught us that the language and logic of the oppressor cannot be the language and logic of the oppressed. Lawyers, politicians, and international representatives may feel obligated to use the definitions that are commonly accepted in the arenas in which they fight, but the Reparations activists must never be confined to those narrow parameters. It is our job to name and define our reality and cause others to accept our definitions. This is an expression of power and self-determination.

The Reparations Movement has the potential to address all our problems, if we define it as a movement to develop and liberate African people, rather than a quest to receive a paycheck. Today the issue of restitution (compensation) raises the most questions for African descendants and European descendants (the perpetrators). However, considering the scope of the damages, perhaps the issue of reparations should receive more of our attention rather than restitution at this time. African People must first clearly define the injury, and then understand and accept that there is a need for healing, repairing and restoring our people before getting bogged down in discussions about who should pay (individuals, companies, churches, or governments); what we want (money, land, health-care, education, political power, repatriation, etc); how much and how long various forms of compensation should be provided; who should receive it (individuals, organizations or governments acting in our behalf), and how the compensation should be used. This is required for at least two reasons: a) we can't change (repair) our condition if we don't understand the cause (injury) and b) if our people don't fully comprehend the full extent of the injuries they can be tricked into settling for token reparations.

Every Black person is a potential member of the growing International African Reparations Movement. We must create and sustain a mass Reparations Movement that enable the worldwide struggles of African peoples to be linked in ways not witnessed since the era of Marcus Garvey's Universal Negro Improvement Association.

STRATEGIES FOR WINNING REPARATIONS

Grassroots and Popular Support :

Methods – creating and distributing brochures, flyers, and books; public forums e.g. town hall meetings, conference and conventions; accessing popular media with our message; marches, demonstrations and boycotts.

Rationale - Winning the hearts and minds of the people is most important and makes the other three fronts possible. There is cross-fertilization between all four, but educating the people to support the movement is the corner stone of the movement.

Legislative Strategies:

Methods – lobbying and passing Reparations proclamations, resolutions, bills and laws on all levels (organizations, city, county, state, US Congress, etc.).

Rationale – legislative actions elevate the discussion and create a national dialog that educates African descendants (and others) about their injury and rights to redress, and broadens the discussion and support base. When all is said and done, it will be the US Government (US Congress) and other European governments that will pass laws to support an equitable Reparation remedy.

Legal Strategies:

Methods – filing Reparations lawsuits of all types for the African Holocaust of Enslavement and its vestiges, e.g. filing against individuals, families, corporations, US and other governments, etc

Rationale – lawsuits from the bottom up help to create the domino effect that leads to governments' acknowledging their responsibility and liability for the Holocaust of Enslavement. Also testimonies during court hearings educate the public and build support. The injured party is strengthened by confronting the criminal face to face and forcing him to answer for the crime regardless of the outcome.

International Strategies:

Methods – lobbying and petitioning international governing bodies (United Nations, World Court, African Union, etc.) for support and redress; keep the issue on the agenda of international conferences and conventions; create and sustain international boycotts for Reparations; and link up with

other African and African descendants Reparations organizations and allies for support (e.g. the International Front of Afrikans for Reparations [IFAR] formed during the Afrikan and Afrikan Descendants Conference in Barbados)

Rationale – Reparations for Africans is a global issue for Africans and African descendants that must be pursued locally and internationally. During forum such as The World Conference Against Racism which declared the “Trans-Atlantic Slavery Trade” was a crime against humanity. In light of the U.S. dominance over countries around the world, African descendants in America are in a position to give voice and support to the International African Reparations Movement. Therefore African descendants residing in the U.S. must not betray our duty to our ancestors and people.

FOUR MAJOR STAGES OF WINNING REPARATIONS FOR AFRICAN DESCENDANTS IN AMERICA

Reparations Organization: Recruit and retain a committed, capable, well informed and disciplined core membership, i.e. N'COBRA and other community based organizations.

Mass Black Support: If Reparations are due for slavery and present day injustices against Black People, Africans in America, and around the world should first recognize the injustices, the worthiness of our demand for Reparations, and be willing to give our support before expecting others to.

Gain Significant National and Global Support: America is concerned with maintaining its false, noble international image; we should challenge it, e.g. Civil Rights Movement. We should create and sustain strategic alliances.

Win Reparations!: Through the application of massive internal and external pressure, followed by well-planned attacks using litigation, legislation, and international pressure, we will win Reparations.



A NATIONALIST LIBATION RITUAL

Submitted by

BABA HANNIBAL AFRIK

(Originally recited in February 1972,

SHULE TA WATOTO)

Opening:

“Because we are an Afrikan people, whenever we come together on no matter how large or small the occasion, it is imperative that we ask our Ancestors for their blessings. For our Ancestors are a fundamental part of everything that we do. They are in this room, in the air, in the earth and we believe that if we call upon them and ask for their blessings, they will hear our request and grant us success.

A libation is a liquid poured into the earth as the name of the Ancestor is called. We would ask you to acknowledge this request in your own personal way. The libation will be spoken in Kiswahili and English”

TAMBIKO (Libation)

SIFA OTE INA MUUMBA WEUSI (All praises due to our Afrikan Creator)

SIFA OTE INA MABABA WEUSI (All praises due to our Afrikan Ancestors)

SIFA OTE INA WOTE WEUSI (All praises due to Afrikan people)

SIFA OTE INA MAISHA WEUSI (All praises due to Afrikan life)

To the spiritual memory of the Honorable Marcus Mosiah Garvey, who taught us ‘One God, One Aim and One Destiny’ and who believed that we are Afrikans, ‘those at home and those abroad’;

—We say and pour Libation.

To the spiritual memory of Queen Nzingha, who led our people in Angola and never allowed the Portugese to dominate us;

—We say and pour Libation.

To the spiritual memory of the Honorable Elijah Muhammad, who gave us an example of economic self-determination;

—We say and pour Libation.

To the spiritual memory of Sister Harriet Tubman, who led our people towards the North Star and never lost a passenger on the Underground Railroad;

—We say and pour Libation.

To the spiritual memory of Brother Minister Malcolm X. El Hajj Malik, our Black Shining Prince, for his example of manhood, husbandhood, fatherhood and servant to our people;

—We say and pour Libation.

To the spiritual memory of Queen Mother Moore, who gave nearly one

hundred years of her life to the cause of sovereignty, Reparations, independence and empowerment for our people;
—We say and pour Libation.

To the spiritual memory of the five hundred million Afrikans taken from the continent during the four hundred years of the European Trans-Atlantic slave trade and the fifty million and more who were casualties and perished during the Middle Passage and whose bones lie at the bottom of the Atlantic Ocean and whose blood fertilized the soil, in the plantations of North, Central and South America. To all who suffered, bled and died in our MAAFA, Afrikan Holocaust of Enslavement;
—We say and pour Libation.

To the spiritual memory of the Ancestors of all of us here assembled, our great grandparents, grandparents, fathers, mothers, husbands, wives, sisters, brothers, aunts, uncles, nieces, nephews, cousins, those whose names we can call, those whose shoulders we now stand on, those who have built the bridge over which we are crossing today;
—We say and pour Libation.

And to the spiritual memory of those not yet born, those who will come behind us, those who will inherit our legacy of struggle, those who will ensure our goal of sovereignty, self-governance, prosperity and peace;
—We say and pour Libation.

SIFA OTE INA MUUMBA WEUSI (All praises due to our Afrikan Creator)
SIFA OTE INA MABABA WEUSI (All praises due to our Afrikan Ancestors)
SIFA OTE INA WOTE WEUSI (All praises due to Afrikan people)
SIFA OTE INA MAISHA WEUSI (All praises due to Afrikan life)

And so, if we are serious in believing with our heart that our Ancestors are right here with us today, then they will have heard our request, they will give us their blessings for a successful occasion. And we will go forward from this day as New Afrikan men, New Afrikan women, New Afrikan children, ‘for as long as the sun shines and the water flows.’ HOTEPI!”



**THE AYARE'SA SOCIETY
(THE HEALING)
GIVES THANKS FOR N'COBRA'S DEDICATION TO THE
AFRICAN COMMUNITY
REMEMER TO BE AFRICAN IN EVERTHING THAT YOU DO
TO SCHEDULE A HEALING CIRCLE CALL IVY SHADIAH HYLTON
301-702-0940**

C o t t o n

By Kahlil Almustafa

Cotton/is it that they think that we've forgotten,
living up in this country that's rotten,
I stay/fighting for my mule, for my plot,
they want to start/let 'em start off with the cotton.

There ain't no more hot fields,
no more chains, no whips,
but my people, we still walk crooked
from this ordeal, we still feel,
we still hurtin'.
Some try to raise the Blk nation
but it seems like it ain't working.
They portray us like we hate working,
we built this right here.
That flag full with our blood, our sweat, our tears,
it's they crime
that got us acting outta order,
Blk men, decorating the street corner.
The U.S. worries about the welfare of the Israel state,
while Afrikans here in America in a welfare state
and a welfare state of mind,
blinded by BET and the news,
all my little ghetto children confused.
We don't want a check sent to the projects,
but if we left it to them,
they wouldn't check the projects.
Check this project,
we need less housing
and more building
like more building our people up.
They try to fix the ghetto
so they open up a Starbuck?!!
Yo! What about our bucks?!!
Chips, clams, shells, cheddar, whatever,
we take it mils or dirty, one dollar bills.
Reparations is Justice
for the problems they brought to us,
we ain't bring these problems to you.
You brought us here for the nation building
and the same situation we still in,
the Blk nation is still feeling
the pain from they campaign.
Let me make it quite plain,
them sorrys don't mean a damn thang,
we seen Martin, seen Malcolm,
and everythang seem the damn same,
so get up off them damn thangs

and maybe we could see some damn change.

Cotton/is it that they think that we've forgotten,
living up in this country that's rotten,
I stay/fighting for my mule, for my plot,
they want to start/let 'em start off with the cotton.

I'm talking 'bout

cotton shirts & cotton socks,
cotton pants & cotton cots,
cotton bandanas,
cotton swabs & cotton Q-Tips,
cotton hats & cotton to lace ya' shoes
with.

Everything, cotton drawers to cotton panties,
all the cotton in this world,
even cotton candy.
Half off on cotton-polyester blends,
my people,
we should never have to pay for cotton again.
We need more than reactions,

them affirmative actions a distraction.
We need pro-action.
We need better interaction
between Blk women and the Blk men.
We need community.
We need stability.
Keep the apologies.

We'll take the property.
Your propaganda

don't bother me.

Cause we've seen
enough tokens,
enough hopin', enough prayin', enough singin',
enough beggin' you for our freedom,
seen enough Assatas, enough Mumias,

enough marchin',
enough arrests and protests
without the progress,
enough strugglin',
we've had enough hustlin' crack,
enough of you saying this, but doing that.
We've had enough racial attacks.
It's time for them to give back.
It's time for us to take Black.

Keep the apologies.

We'll take the property.

(Continued from page 14)

If you feelin' this, if you with this
pump them Blk fists,
clinched tight like cousins sleeping on a mattress,
we don't ask for this, we demand it.
But if they don't give us our cheddar,
we still gotta come together,
grow better, make our own cheddar,
show the world what could have been
of this America.

Cotton/is it that they think that we've forgotten,
living up in this country that's rotten,
I stay/fighting for my mule, for my plot,
they want to start/let 'em start off with the cotton.

Performed at the Millions for Reparations Rally at the United Nations in September 2003. kahlil almustafa is a founding member of Youth4Reparations and the 2002 Nuyorican Grand Slam Champion and a Reparations activist in Queens, New York. He is the author of two collections of poems, "Grandma's Soup," and "I'm Crying Everyone's Tears."

Free the land! Free the people! Free all political prisoners! Reparations Now!

Youth4Reparations (YFR)

<youth4reparations@yahoo.com> -is an organization that seeks to educate young people about Reparations and to engender the future leaders of the Reparations movement.

YFR believes Reparations offers a unique and timely response to the multitude of challenges facing our communities, including: bridging the divide between groups of Afrikan people internationally, lack of infrastructure, criminalization of our youth, prison industrial complex, assassination of our leaders, poorly funded public education, gentrification, inadequate healthcare and housing, AIDS, unemployment, etc. It is a youth organization that trains young people in community organizing and advocacy, and creates tangible Reparations solutions.

Youth4Reparations understands that the question of Reparations for Blacks in America short-circuits this system. Since it was the black bodies of our ancestors that served as the start-up capital in this capitalistic system, and the maintenance of that system has depended heavily on the continued oppression of our people, to

demand that this nation redress their crime against humanity would require eliminating national holidays, re-naming landmarks, bankrupting institutions, and revealing the so-called "founding fathers" and their successors to be tyrants and worse.

Reparations is not: A check in the mail. Based on black & white. An extension of welfare or affirmative action. An attempt by lawyers to make money. An impossible notion.

If you would like to get materials from Youth4Reparations, please e-mail us at youth4reparations@yahoo.com, write at Post Office Box 569, Jamaica, NY, 1411, or call 917-517-9006.



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THE N'COBRA NE REGION HONORS ROB PENNY

By Ajamu Sankofa
N'COBRA NE Regional Representative

On November 25, 2003, the N'COBRA NE Region held its winter meeting. The ambitious focus of the meeting



Gilda Sherrod-Ali and Mama Timamu Penny

was not only to celebrate the life and work of our esteemed ancestor and seven year active member of the N'COBRA Pittsburgh Chapter, the poet, novelist, playwright, scholar, and African liberation activist, Rob Penny; but also to strengthen the N'COBRA chapters and their organizing strategies such that Brother Penny's bright ancestral light would shine throughout our deliberations, giving us guidance for the reparations road that lies ahead. We met the challenge.

The N'COBRA NE Regional meeting was co-sponsored by the Black students of the University of Pittsburgh Africana Studies Department and held in an impressive room at the University of Pittsburgh. Over 40 people registered for the meeting and throughout the day over 70 people participated in the rich organizing sessions.

Adjoa Aiyetoro, chair of N'COBRA's Legal Strategies Commission, moderated a solid workshop on sustaining and growing N'COBRA chapters through enhanced programmatic and administrative activities and procedures. Six NE region chapters were represented as panelists on this very needed workshop. Among the key recommendations were, 1. Chapters must recognize that the timely completion of chapter level administrative tasks is absolutely vital to ensuring the institutional integrity of both the local chapter and the national organization; 2. The region recommends that the national office develop a system of reminders to ensure chapter compliance with

its administrative responsibilities such as chapter recertification, quarterly budget reports, and annual financial pledges; 3. Each chapter must maintain a visible political presence in the Black community and place reparations community education efforts as a central thrust in all of its work; 4. The Region recommends that each chapter creates a 3-year calendar that will chart its programmatic target dates and administrative task target dates and commits to keeping these dates; and 5. The Region committed to a plan of action to assist the N'COBRA Rochdale Village Chapter to bounce back from the demoralization that set in due to its inability to attend the historic Reparations Rally of 2002 in Washington, DC.

Nellie Hester Bailey, N'COBRA member and Executive Director of the Harlem Tenant's Council (HTC), led a spirited interactive discussion on the art and practice of grassroots organizing and coalition building to expand the reparations movement. She used the example of the HTC joining the N'COBRA Metro Area Chapter in a



Ajama Sankofa, N'COBRA NE Regional Representative

coalition building effort that put on a successful community Teach-in that explained the housing crisis in the Black community as a vestige of chattel slavery. Sister Bailey stressed the need of reparations activists not to be

(Continued on page 40)

N'COBRA SOUTHWEST REGION ON THE MOVE

By James Rodgers III
N'COBRA Southwest Regional Representative

Here is a synopsis of the recent activities of the Dallas Chapter of NCOBRA.

Starting with the events of Kwanzaa:

December 26, 2003 elder chapter member Irene Moorhead (NANA) and Bro James Rodgers III (SWR REP) participated in the annual community Kwanzaa parade and rally. During the parade Bro James drove his truck while queen Mother Moorhead, from the window, passed out NCOBRA membership applications and other community news articles. During the rally, separately they addressed the rally on the principle of umoja, reparations, and the mission of NCOBRA.

December 29, 2003 the chapter hosted an open public discussion on the principle of ujamma, and Reparations vs. Pan Africanism at the Pan African Connection Books and Resource Center in Dallas (Oak Cliff), TX. Bro James Rodgers III (SWR REP. NCOBRA) and Bro. Tige of the United States of Africa group spoke on the merits of each approach to liberation for Africa and the Africans. We also discussed the need for Africans to gain self - determination and control of economic resources. The Dallas Chapter presented the NCOBRA campaign of Black Friday, which is based on the principle of ujamma.

January 1, 2004 chapter co chair Diana Kimble presented the demand for reparations and the mission of NCOBRA in a PUBLIC discussion, covered by the local media, at the Pan African Connection Books and Resources Center. The subject of the discussion was the Kwanzaa principle of IMAMI (Faith).

January 3, 2004 Brother Odinga Kambui represented NCOBRA, in a rally for reparations, in Fort Worth, Texas hosted by the local Nation of Islam (NOI). Brother Odinga was one of many politician and community activist/speakers rallying the cities African America. Community. The rally was held in support of a state resolution introduced by Representative Glenn Lewis of Forth Worth, TX, in support U. S Congress bill - HR 40. Bro. Odinga talked about the mission of NCOBRA and its leadership role in the movement for a legal remedy to reparations. He also spoke on the status of political prisoners and the need for support of legal action for release of all po-

litical prisoners.

January 4, 2004 chapter member meet at the home of queen mother Irene Moorhead for the weekly political education session host by former member of the Black Panther Party member and chapter treasurer Bro. Odinga Kambui.

January 5, 2004 chapter co- chairs Bro. Cranston Alkebulan and Diana Kimble meet with the Dallas Chapter of the NOI, and others community activist to plan the Saviors Day event for NOI, and the Reparations Awareness Day event for the chapter.

January 7, 2004 the chapter youth commission held a planning meeting for hosting a conference and rally, to be held in March 2004; aimed at bringing more youth into the movement for reparations, and in observance of March 21, 2004, the U N International Day Against Racism

January 7, 2004 the Regional Rep. Bro. James Rodgers III, meet with regional conference coordinator Sis. Helene Reese of the Dallas Chapter to begin the dissemination of a notice to the region of the upcoming SWR regional conference to be held on May 29-30 2004 in Tulsa, OK. For more information contact SWR Rep. James Rodgers III at 972 231 9114 or e-mail brorodgers3@ev1.net.

TEXAS REPARATIONS LEADERS SPEAK ON CHURCH RESOLUTION

By Omowale <exodusn@hotpop.com>

“Slavery Reparation activists call for more than an apology to heal Texas past”

On Wednesday, January 14, 2004 @ 10:30 am at Greater St. Stephen First Church located at 3728 E. Berry Street. A statewide coalition of black reparation activists will host a press conference to respond to the Texas Baptist Association's call of an apology for Texas role in black slavery. Over 50 members of the Baptist group unanimously approved the apology resolution at a meeting held recently in Fort Worth. The group requested State Representative Glenn O. Lewis

(Continued on page 39)



For more information on the NPVM or to obtain a copy of this booklet call (323) 296-4383 or go to our Website at: NPVM@globalpanther.com

THE NEW PANTHER VANGUARD MOVEMENT SALUTES N'COBRA'S 15TH ANNUAL CONFERENCE

"The unforgivable sin of the Slave Trade in Afrikan people, and the Anglo-American enslavement of Afrikans, is not that it simply denied Afrikans any real chance of becoming economically productive; its major evil was the social and economic system it fueled and originated.

This so-called Capitalistic System has caused the untold suffering of Afrikans in America, and today it has left a living legacy of deformed and inherently unfair, and racist, governmental and economic institutions. It has also left a living legacy in the form of 'racism' or 'social prejudice' of White people against Afrikans and other people of color.

To justify their highly profitable, but inhuman, exploitation of Afrikan peoples, the promoters and defenders of Capitalism, systematically and historically imbued White people, primarily but not exclusively, with the racist belief that Afrikan people, and other people of color were inferior, physically and culturally.

Who can deny that historically the majority of Afrikans living in America have been, and still are, socially ostracized and segregated from the wealth of American society? Who can deny that our Afrikan ancestors were murdered with impunity, systematically exploited economically, and treated customarily less than human, not for a day, not for a week, or a few months, but for hundreds of years."

B. Kwaku Duren, Esq., Chair, NPVM

LET US MOVE FORWARD TOGETHER! BACKWARD NEVER!

Hear This Powerful Message By The Minister Of Washington DC & East Coast Representative Of The

Honorable Minister Louis

FARRAKHAN

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Mission Statement

To obtain justice and equality for the emancipation and economic development of Afrika, Afrikans, and Afrikan descendants. To eliminate all forms of exploitation, servitude, degradation, discrimination and all its ramifications.

Thanks to the government and people of Suriname for supporting the GAC conference.
Art & Design by Hans Poppe | portfolios.com/hanspoppe

Uhuru Tribunal on Reparations

November 14-15, 2003 Testimony
by Bonnie Kerness

Since 1975, I have been a human rights advocate on behalf of prisoners throughout the country. I coordinate the Prison Watch Project for the American Friends Service Committee. Having been an activist, community organizer and human rights advocate for over 40 years, I see a glaring connection between the broken promise of reparations and prison cages filled to bursting with young oppressed people who are denied the kind of start in life that youngsters of other nationalities have.

I work with Black and Puerto Rican youth in Newark who tell me that the police feel like an occupation army as if inner cities were militarized zones. They speak about the school system being the feeder to filter young people of oppressed nationalities into youth detention, jails and prisons where those bodies are suddenly worth a fortune. People say that the criminal justice system doesn't work. I've come to believe exactly the opposite – that it works perfectly, just as slavery did, as a matter of economic and political policy.

I don't believe that it is an accident that people who are perceived of as economic liabilities have suddenly been turned into a major economic asset. That young oppressed child who this country labels worthless to the economy suddenly generates 30 thousand dollars a year once trapped in the criminal justice system. The expansion of prisons, parole, probation, the court and police systems has resulted in an enormous bureaucracy which has been a boon to everyone from architects, plumbers, and electricians to food and medical vendors – all with one thing in common – a pay check earned by keeping human beings in cages. The criminal justice system is a lucrative business with a large and growing middle class of all nationalities being paid a lot of money for containing mostly poor people in cages in human warehouses. Not unlike the era of chattel slavery, there is a class of people dependent on bodies of color as a source for income.

In the US criminal justice system, the politics of the police, the politics of the courts, the politics of the prison system and the politics of the death penalty are a manifestation of the racism and classism which governs the lives of all of us. Every part of the criminal justice system falls most heavily on the poor and people of op-

pressed nationalities, including the fact that slavery is mandated in prisons by the 13th Amendment of the US constitution. Prison slavery in the form of involuntary labor is real. Any discussion of reparations has to include revision of that Amendment.

I'd like to share with you some of the voices that I hear during my day. The first two are from youngsters who have spent time in juvenile detention. These babies describe a system in which parents have no say so over what happens to their children and a system which prepares them for a future of imprisonment.

"I went in when I was 14. They have what they call an MCU there, and it's like the "hole" in a regular prison. Kids that fight go in there. If you refuse they come and get you. You get a shower once a week and they even bring the food to you. It was so cold."

"I heard people scream, yell and holler. I saw boys get strung out on meds. The food is mostly Sloppy Joe's and one cup of water. They make you take sleeping stuff in the needles. They used pepper spray on this girl who was fighting one time. They sprayed her directly in her mouth and she couldn't breathe. They kept hitting her. We kept telling them that she had asthma, but they wouldn't listen".

On Mothers Day in Elizabeth, NJ, Eddie Sinclair, Jr. hung himself in the Union County Youth detention facility; Eddie was 17 and had stolen a bicycle. He had missed an appointment with his parole officer, was picked up and locked in isolation. It is not irrelevant that Eddie's father is African and his mother is Puerto Rican.

The treatment of imprisoned juveniles in this country violates international human rights law. The US has been cited by the World Organization Against Torture as violating UN Convention on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination and the UN Convention Against Torture. Any discussion of reparations has to include the reversal of youth being tried and punished as adults. We must also reverse "zero tolerance" policies where children are concerned. Children often learn by making mistakes. If their mistakes are punished with permanent sanctions – no room is left for them to change or grow. We can't escape the similarities with chattel slavery here as well. Not only are these children taken from their families,

(Continued from page 19)

they lose their chance at an equitable future.

I also want to share the voices of adult prisoners, which are haunting testimonies of torture being committed in US prisons:

From Utah State Prison: “John was directed to leave the strip cell and a urine soaked pillow case was placed over his head like a hood. He was walked, shackled and hooded to a different cell where he was placed in a device called “the chair”....he was kept in the chair for over 30 hours resulting in extreme physical and emotional suffering.”

From Florida, “during the struggle jailers shocked the prisoner multiple times with stun guns. Inmates who witnessed his death estimate that he was shocked between eight and twenty times. The medical examiner put it at 22 times....”

A woman in Texas writes “the guard sprayed me with pepper spray because I wouldn’t take my clothes off in front of five male guards. Then they carried me to a cell, laid me down on a steel bed and took my clothes off. They left me in that cell with that pepper spray in my face and nothing to wash my face with. I didn’t give them any reason to do that. I just didn’t want to take my clothes off.

Some of the most poignant letters I get are from prisoners writing on behalf of the mentally ill – like the man in California who spread feces over his body. The guards’ response to this was to put him in a bath so hot it boiled 30% of the skin off him. Practices such as the indefinite use of shackles and other mechanical restraints, and the administration of dangerous chemical treatments, or the practice of extended isolation puts the US in violation of United Nations Treaties and Covenants. These past years have been full of thousands of calls and complaints from prisoners and their families, describing inhumane conditions including cold, filth, callous medical care, extended isolation sometimes lasting over a decade, use of devices of torture, harassment, brutality and racism. I have received vivid descriptions of four point restraints, restraint hoods, restraint belts, restraint beds, stun grenades, stun guns, stun belts, tethers, waist and leg chains.

The use of extended isolation has been a growing concern for many prison activists, on both sides of the walls. The reports coming in about the use of devices of torture have largely been from isolation units, which are called control units or supermax prisons, where there are few witnesses. In New Jersey, New Afrikan prisoner Ojore Lutalo was

held in the Management Control Unit at New Jersey State Prison in total isolation from February 1986 through January 2000. One of the first people placed in that Unit in the 1970’s was Sundiata Acoli. Ruchel Magee has lived under these conditions in California for more than 30 years. Both Russell Shoats and Mumia have been living in Pennsylvania isolation units for over 20 years. There are thousands of others as well.

Many of us trace the development of control units to the tumultuous years of the civil rights movement when many activists found themselves in US prisons. Sensory deprivation was used extensively with imprisoned members of the Black Panther Party, Black Liberation Army formations, Puerto Rican independentistas, member of the American Indian Movement (AIM), and white radicals. In later years we found jailhouse lawyers, Islamic militants and prisoner activists placed in extended isolation. In 1978, Andrew Young who was the US Ambassador to the United Nations noted the existence of US political prisoners. Too many of those elders are still in prisons throughout the country over 25 years later and their release is imperative as part of reparations.

Right now, the latest explosion filling the isolation cages include youth of oppressed nationalities imprisoned as a result of the racist crack-cocaine laws. Current efforts to expand the solitary confinement population involve the alleged spread of gang problems in US prisons. This trend is being repeated throughout the country, resulting in the increased building of supermax prisons. In these gang prisons called Security Threat Group Management Units, prisoners are called upon to renounce their “gang” membership – which is reminiscent of the witch-hunts during the McCarthy investigations in the 1950’s and FBI Counter Intelligence Program.

If you are a youngster of an oppressed nationality in this country, and you are poor, should you get arrested which is a likely occurrence, bail will be set so high you become an economic hostage and the “phrase innocent until proven guilty” has no meaning. You will certainly not get a trial by a jury of your peers. You will be defended by a public defender who has a caseload so vast you cannot be a priority. You will serve a sentence which is 30 per cent longer than a Caucasian would receive for the same crime. If you have seen the same thing happen to your father, your uncles, your cousins – if you look around at the broader picture of what is happening to men, women, youth and children of your nationality, it is not hard to conclude that an economic and physical genocide is being committed.

(Continued on page 26)

The Honorable Silis Muhammad & The Lost-Found Nation Of Islam

Pharoah Bush uses enchanters to block reparations for Blacks

by Minister Malik Al-Arkam

A few prominent African-Americans have indeed sold their souls to the oppressive Caucasian government and power structure. The most influential and visible of these at this time are Secretary of State Colin Powell and National Security Advisor Condoleezza Rice. When these misguided Blacks oppose Reparations for Afro-Descendants and justify U.S. imperialism worldwide, they are fulfilling the role of Pharoah's enchanters in the Scriptures.

When Moses demanded that Pharoah let the long-enslaved Seed of Abraham go, after four centuries of bitter bondage, Pharoah counter-attacked on several levels. He contemptuously denied the slaves' demand for freedom and justice, saying in effect that there was no power on Earth or in Heaven that could force him to release them. After all, he viewed them as his property and he and his forefathers had dictated the terms of their existence for centuries.

He also increased the burden upon the slaves, ordering them to "make bricks without straw." In addition, he called for "enchanters" from the ranks of the enslaved, and offered them great riches and nearness to him - provided they would mislead their own people into remaining under Pharoah's control instead of following Moses' advice to separate and return to their original homeland.

We, the Muslims who follow the Honorable Silis Muhammad, the consistent champion of Reparations for all Afro-Descendants in the Western Hemisphere, have been blessed by Master Fard Muhammad, the Honorable Elijah Muhammad and their Spiritual Son to grow into the knowledge that the Biblical and Quranic stories about Moses vs. Pharoah are not historical accounts, but prophecies which have come to pass and are still being actualized in the 20th and early 21st century right here in the United States of America.

It is an actual historical fact that Black people in America are the only people in history who have been in bondage for 400 years in a land which is not ours and who have been robbed of our own language, religion and culture. It is also well documented that, like Moses in the Bible and Quran, the Honorable Elijah Muhammad demanded for 40 years that Pharoah's government "let my people go." He also repeatedly said that Allah God would plague America with terrible weather events

to force Pharoah to release us.

In recent years we have seen some of the worst floods, droughts, tornadoes and insect plagues manifested in the USA. Since 1998, the Honorable Silis Muhammad, whom we revere as the Prophet like Moses, has repeatedly testified before diverse U.N. bodies, including the Human Rights Commission, concerning the fact that the U.S. government has been blatantly violating U.N. covenants ever since it joined the U.N. by practicing imposing ethnocide and forced assimilation upon African-Americans as a people.

In March of 2002, Mr. Muhammad and his wife, the Honorable Misshaki Muhammad, the attorney general of the Lost-Found Nation of Islam, participated in a U.N. sponsored conference in La Ceiba, Honduras, in which Black delegates from North, Central and South America and the Caribbean chose the name "Afro-Descendants" to identify ourselves in our quest for Reparations in the international legal arena. And the U.N. accepted that designation.

However, there was no mention whatsoever of this historic event in the white mass media, including NBC, CBS, ABC, CNN, BBC, the New York Times, the Washington Post, the Boston Globe and others which do Pharoah's bidding. That should not surprise us in the least. Moses taught us that our open adversaries can only exist by making true appear false and false appear true.

In one of history's supreme ironies, Mr. George W. Bush stole the presidency of the white world's greatest bastion of power by denying the descendants of slaves their right to vote in a state controlled by his crooked brother. After ascending to Pharoah's throne, he then appointed the first Blacks in U.S. history to serve in the lofty positions of secretary of state and national security advisor.

Pharoah Bush's goal was to trick Blacks both inside and outside of the country into thinking that he is fair and wants to see our people elevated. However, the trick is doomed to fail.

When Blacks in South Africa denounced Mr. Powell as an Uncle Tom, when Mr. Harry Belafonte correctly identified him as a house Negro, and when Dr. Condoleezza

(Continued on page 38)

New Panther Vanguard Movement's Intercommunal Reparations Campaign
and

THE QUESTION OF A BLACK PLEBISCITE

By Kwaku Duren

<http://www.globalpanther.com/>

In the tradition of the BPP we have actually defined this "USA Imperialist State" as a "reactionary intercommunalist" new-World -Order. Whereas the concept of a "world order" is acceptable as an appropriate term referring to the "new" socio-economic, political and cultural state of the world, and is often popularly applied without much difficulty to the practical reach of the entirely negative impacts of the daily operations of the major multi-national corporations, the concept of Intercommunalism was created as a way to begin developing a more exact definition, and analysis, of this "new world order," in which the USA happens, not by chance, to play an all encompassing and the predominant role; the beginnings of this "new world order" can be traced directly to the widespread destruction of most of Western and Eastern Europe, and the continued "looting" of the labor and wealth of the "indigenous populations" following the ending of World II. Walter Rodney, in his book, *How Europe Undeveloped Africa*, gives a brilliant analysis of this process.

In any event, after this second "world war," the "nation" that was born in 1776, in particular, ceased to exist! One can say, and recognize, that the American "nation" only continues to exist in the minds of those who do not really see, or who choose not to see the reality, that we do really live in a "world order" that has been fundamentally altered [i.e., "qualitatively" changed]. And when "things" change qualitatively, the "scientific method" [which is not exactly foreign to our ancestral roots] dictates that they be distinguished, or, in other words, we should recognize the necessity of the requirement for "redefinition," or the formulation of a "new name." Like all things, "Intercommunalism," has its basic characteristics, and its positive and negative manifestations. However, it was never intended to define a "people." It is simply a effort to properly define the "world order," so as to be better prepared to change it. "New Afrikans" is a term that i respect, but i doubt that more than a few percent of "Africans living in the USA" would consciously apply the term to themselves, individually or collectively. As had been discussed previously, Africans residing in the USA [i.e., in its contiguous 48 states or within its "territorial boundaries," which literally cover no less than a "global" geography] have "ancestral roots" among nu-

merous [perhaps considerably more than a hundred separate] "tribes" and/or "nations" of peoples who have resided on the African continent for thousands, if not millions, of years. However, over the past 400 years we have, i think, been transformed also as a "people." i don't have a problem with identifying myself, or "us," as "indigenous" or "autochthonous" peoples; but are the "majority" of "us" conscious enough right now to do likewise? Clearly, one of the characteristics we lost between "slavery" and so-called "freedom in the USA" is our very "tribal" or "nationalist" identities or consciousness. In other words, we lost our cultural, historical, and "indigenous roots."

Unfortunately, at this particular time in history, collectively we don't even know, or claim, these roots. This reality [or "state of mind"] poses a real challenge to "reparationists" among Africans living in the USA. As a long-time "reparationist," and a scientifically-oriented revolutionist, I think that if we "wily-nilly" held a "plebiscite" tomorrow, nearly 85% of, "us" would "choose" to be just "good-ole Black Americans."

Nonetheless, we believe that the demand for "reparations" by "Africans living in the USA" and by the world's dispossessed peoples ["indigenous peoples" and "neo-colonized nations"] is entirely just, righteous, and, many would add, "divine." But while those qualities are absolutely necessary for waging a protracted struggle, to achieve ultimately a political "demand," they are not sufficient in themselves for achieving reparations. In the NPVM we think that our challenge as "reparationists" and/or "revolutionists" [I don't believe the roles are mutually exclusive] is to both provide "liberatory" education, mass advocacy [and other tactics designed to promote the participation of the people], combined with lots of "revolutionary inspiration." Our primary objective is to develop, and promote, a sufficient majority of those "New Afrikans" [or "Black Americans"] to carry out their historical destiny [which we believe is to "lead" a global assault or "revolution" on the existing "world order"]. I might add, in such a manner that will result in minimal loss of life, the actual transfer, or "redistribution," of the wealth of the world, and ultimately, the conditions for "all power to the people" to become the reality.

Lenin pointed out, and correctly so, that without a

(Continued on page 38)

Voices From The Past

Support For Reparations

Sojourner Truth

“We have been a source of wealth to this republic. Our labor supplied the country with cotton, until villages and cities dotted the enterprising north for its manufacture, and furnished employment and support for a multitude, thereby bringing a revenue to the government. Beneath a burning southern sun have we toiled, in the canebrake and the rice swamp; urged on by the merciless driver's lash, earning millions; and so highly we were valued there, that should one poor wretch venture to escape from this hell of slavery, no exertion of man or trained bloodhound was spared to seize and return him to his field of unrequited labor.

The overseer's horn awoke us at the dawning of day from our half-finished slumbers to pick the disgusting worm from the tobacco plant, which was an added source of wealth. Our tears and blood have been sacrificed on the altar of this nation's avarice. Our unpaid labor has been a stepping stone to its financial success. Some of its dividends must surely be ours.

Our nation will yet be obliged to pay; sigh for sigh, groan for groan, and dollar for dollar, to this wronged and outraged race. What an awful debt when we consider that interest will surely be added. Does this nation not realise that the debt is still unpaid, the note not taken up yet?”

quotation from 'The Book of Life' by Sojourner Truth, written in around 1850

President Taft

“(The) government and the people of the United States are eternally indebted (to Black People)... They brought that race into this country against its will. They planted it here irretrievably. They first put it in bondage, and then they kept it in the ignorance that that bondage seemed to make necessary, under the system then in vogue. Then they freed it, and put upon it the responsibilities of citizenship. Now some sort of obligation follows that chain of facts with reference to the people who are responsible for what that government did.”

Howard University, Washington, D.C., May 1909

Malcolm X.

“If you are the son of a man who had a wealthy estate and you inherit your father's estate, you have to pay off the debts that your father incurred before he died.

The only reason that the present generation of white Americans are in a position of economic strength... is because their fathers worked our fathers for over 400 years with no pay... We were sold from plantation to plantation like you sell a horse, or a cow, or a chicken, or a bushel of wheat... All that money... is what gives the present generation of American whites the ability to walk around the earth with their chest out... like they have some kind of economic ingenuity.

Your father isn't here to pay. My father isn't here to collect

But I'm here to collect and you're here to pay.”

November 23, 1964, Paris, France

President Lyndon Johnson

"Negro poverty is not white poverty. Many of its causes and many of its cures are the same. But there are differences -- deep, corrosive, obstinate differences -- radiating painful roots into the community, and into the family, and the nature of the individual.

"These differences are not racial differences. They are solely and simply the consequence of ancient brutality, past injustice, and present prejudice. They are anguishing to observe. For the Negro they are a constant reminder of oppression."

1965 Howard University

Martin Luther King, Jr.

"It is impossible to create a formula for the future which does not take into account that our society has been doing something special *against* the Negro for hundreds of years. How then can he be absorbed into the mainstream of American life if we do not do something special *for* him now, in order to balance the equation and

(Continued from page 23)

equip him to compete on a just and equal basis? What will it profit him to be able to send his children to an integrated school if the family income is insufficient to buy them school clothes? What will he gain by being permitted to move into an integrated neighborhood if he cannot afford to do so because he is unemployed or has a low-paying job with no future? In asking for something special, the Negro is not seeking charity. He does not want to languish on welfare rolls any more than the next man. He does not want to be given a job he cannot handle. Neither, however, does he want to be told that there is no place where he can be trained to handle it. Few people consider the fact that, in addition to being enslaved for two centuries, the Negro was, during all those years, robbed of the wages of his toil. No amount of gold could provide an adequate compensation for the exploitation and humiliation of the Negro in America down through the centuries. Not all the wealth of this affluent society could meet the bill. Yet a price can be placed on unpaid wages." (pp. 30 - 31)

"Justice for black people will not flow into society merely from court decisions nor from fountains of political oratory. Nor will a few token change quell all the tempestuous yearning of millions of disadvantaged black people. White America must recognize that justice for black people cannot be achieved without radical changes in the structure of our society. The comfortable, the entrenched, the privileged cannot continue to tremble at the prospect of change in the status quo. When millions of people have been cheated for centuries, restitution is a costly process. Inferior education, poor housing, unemployment, inadequate health care--each is a bitter component of the oppression that has been our heritage. Each will require billions of dollars to correct. Justice so long deferred has accumulated interest and its cost for this society will be substantial in financial as well as human terms. This fact has not been fully grasped, because most of the gains of the past decade were obtained at bargain rates. The desegregation of public facilities cost nothing; neither did the election and appointment of a few black public officials." (p. 41)

King, Coretta Scott and Jean Highland (1987) *The Words of Martin Luther King, Jr*

I CAN'T HEAR YOU

By Turban A. Shabazz

**You can talk about Legislation talk about Education.
You can talk about Grade School, High School and College.
You can talk about degrees; B.As., Masters, P.H.Ds.
About people who have mountains full of knowledge.
You can talk about Integration, talk about Desegregation.
You can even talk about Democracy.
But, If your conversation doesn't mention Reparations,
you ain't talkin about a doggone thing to me.
I've been here, I've been through that American bull-crap too.
I've been "educated", I've been well-bred and well-read.
They did not give me the tools in these classrooms, or these schools,
to keep me from utterly goin out of my head.
The things that I have learned only helped to get me burned.
They didn't help me when I got out of school.
That is why I want to say that this system has to pay.
I want my forty acres and my mule.
For over three hundred years, of pain, blood, sweat and tears,
they worked my folks and never gave them one thin dime.
Yet, I have always paid for every mistake that I have made.
Either by paying fines, or by serving out my time.
My people struggled, worked and died; stripped of dignity and pride.
While pickin tobacco, soy beans, rice, sugar cane and cotton.
What makes me mad today, is since they've passed away,
all of their work and labor seems to be forgotten.
They were brought here on sad trips; on galleons and slave ships.
How many who died has not been summed up yet.
I want you all to know that there's a debt that these folks owe.
And, I'm gonna make sure that they do not forget.
You can keep on telling me that I'm American and I'm free;
that all of my troubles very soon will pass.
How can that ever be when you keep provin unto me
that all I'll ever be is Second-class?
Now, I don't care about Integration. What I want is Compensation.
I don't care if you don't want me to live near you.
I will say this loud and strong. You can keep talkin all day long.
But, If you ain't talkin about Reparations.....I can't hear you.**

6-15-2000

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for pushing the important issue of REPARATIONS into the light



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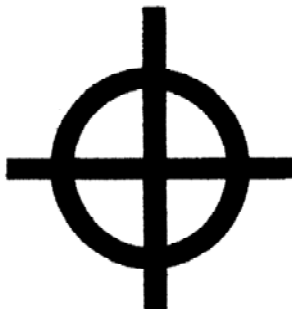
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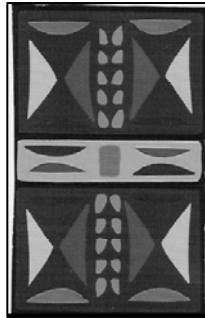
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(Continued from page 20)

The United Nations definition of genocide is a) the killing of members of a racial or religious group b) the causing of serious bodily harm to members of a particular group c) deliberately inflicting on a group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction d) imposing measures intended to prevent births within that group and e) forcibly transferring children of that group to another group.

If we use this definition, it isn't hard to see how the mass imprisonment that is occurring fits that definition. Coupled with data on high infant mortality, early death of the elderly, lack of the same medical treatment, opportunities and education that is afforded to whites, and the realization becomes even more compelling.

Oppression is a condition common to all of us who are without the power to make the decisions that govern the political, economic and social life of this country. We are victims of an ideology of inhumanity on which this country was built. If we dig deeper into the US practices that I've talked about, the political function that they serve is inescapable. Police, the courts, the prison system and the death penalty all serve as social control mechanisms. The economic function they serve is equally as chilling. Many people with whom I work believe that prisons are a form of neo-slavery and economic slavery. The US prison system echoes the dynamics of chattel slavery with economic gain and social control being a priority.

There is no question in my mind that reparations are due to peoples of Native and African decent. Our move forward with reparations will take many forms and address many levels of what is due African people, and how this should be delivered. As we succeed in gaining money and land reparations, there remains a need for social change that is revolutionary in nature. We have to alter the core of every system that slavery, racism and poverty

(Continued on page 39)

N'COBRA

National Coalition Of Blacks For Reparations In America
National Office

CO-CHAIRPERSONS:

Dorothy B. Lewis
Baba Hannibal T. Afrik

December 2, 2003

Sister Mashariki N. Jywanza, Co-Chair
N'COBRA International Affairs
Indianapolis, Indiana 46205

Jambo (hello) Sister Mashariki,

It is with great pleasure and pride that we congratulate you on being installed as Queen Mother of Fiare-Kpotame, Tefle, Volta Region, Ghana on December 17, 2003.

Your dedication and service to Pan Africanism over the years has made an indelible impression on African people, those at home and abroad.

As co-chairperson of NCOBRA's International Affairs Commission, you have demonstrated organizational solidarity with Reparations advocates in the Motherland and throughout the diaspora.

We look forward to joining your extended family in a dynamic and righteous celebration upon your return to Indianapolis. May the ancestors continue to guide and bless your noble mission for our birth-right of African Redemption and economic justice.

In unity,



Baba Hannibal Afrik

Sister Dorothy . Lewis

N'COBRA National Co chairpersons

Some News From Around The Reparations Movement

N'COBRA New Officer Reception and Open House - Atlanta

Atlanta Chapter of N'COBRA; 906 Ralph D. Abernathy Blvd. S.W. Atlanta, Georgia 30310; (866) 225-7351; email:ncobraatlanta@onebox.com

The Atlanta Local Reparations Organization hosted a Community Open House and New Officer's Reception on Friday, January 16, 2004 from 6:00 pm to 9:00 pm at N'COBRA's local office located at 906 Ralph David Abernathy Blvd, 2nd Floor Office Suite.

The N'COBRA local office is housed in "Our House", the home of Aid to Children of Imprisoned Mothers (AIM) founded by attorney Sandra Barnhill. Our house also houses SistaSpace Inc., a non-profit created to help African American girls mature into confident African American women. "AIM has a history of service to our people in general, and to our children in particular. So to be welcomed into a space that has been created to help heal our community further reinforces our resolve to obtain the resources needed in our community for repair, reparations," stated N'COBRA-Atlanta's newly elected co-chair, Attorney Mawuli Mel Davis.

The Community Open House and New Officer Reception was hosted by the Chris Askew of WAOK 1380's morning show, Unwrapped. The event included a number of community activists, artists, business people, political and civic leaders. Invited guests included Dr. Reverend Aaron Parker of Zion Hill Baptist Church, Minister Ray Muhammad of the Nation of Islam, Cathy Harris of CEADA, Dr. Akinyele Umoja of the Malcolm X Grassroots Movement Atlanta Chapter, Minister Ishmael Abdul-Salaam of Lost Found Nation of Islam, spoken word artist Tommy Bottoms, vocalist Katina Barnes, N'COBRA's Southeast Regional Representative Njere Alghanee and many others. Food was prepared by culinary artist Sundiata and music by Mausiki Scales and the Common Ground Collective. The events activities included a Silent Auction of donated items and services provided by businesses and individuals. Members of N'COBRA's new executive committee shared the meaning and vision of the chapter's message:

"Reparations: Resources for Repair. Our work is to repair our community by connecting our community organizations, grassroots groups, and businesses into a collective and organized voice for the Reparations

Movement. Let us make no mistake, we will get reparations in our lifetime" states N'COBRA-Atlanta's secretary, Warren Green.

"From sharing space with AIM and SistaSpace to being based in the West End, we want to be a part of the day-to-day 'repair work' in our community. We want people to understand that our current struggles are directly related to our historic and continued oppression, which reparations seeks to address," added N'COBRA- Atlanta's other co-chair, Librarian Akilah Nosakhere.

"We want to not only work with community organizations in the West End, we also want to continue to be involved with organizing students in the Atlanta University Center around the issue of reparations. For me the fight for reparations is about continuing the legacy of struggle that I was exposed to as a student at Morehouse and by grandmother who was involved in the Civil Rights Movement. It's our time, it's our turn," concluded one of N'COBRA's youth commission organizers, Shaka T. Barrett.

For more information on N'COBRA and the Atlanta Chapter call 1(866) 225-7351 or send an email to ncobraatlanta@onebox.com.

BOB BROWN FILE REPARATIONS LAWSUIT

Landmark Reparations Lawsuit Filed in Chicago at the U.S. Northern District Court of Illinois, 219 South Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill., on Wed., Jan. 7, 2004

Vatican, Governments, Industries, Colleges Are Charged with Conspiracy and Crimes Against Humanity

(Chicago --- Jan. 5, 2004) Bob Brown, co-director of Pan-African Roots, filed a private attorney general class action lawsuit on behalf of all descendants of enslaved Africans in Africa and the African Diaspora, who were and are victims of the MAAFA (from 1435 to 2003) i.e. the Trans-Atlantic slave trade, slavery, slave-like practices and conditions, colonialism, segregation and apartheid. Chicago-based and other entities that have not complied with the Chicago Slavery Era Disclosure Act passed by the Chicago City Council in October 2002 were named in the lawsuit. The media was invited to attend Mr. Brown's press conference after he filed his federal lawsuit. According to Mr. Brown, "This lawsuit is only the tip of a

massive storm that is yet to come! African People worldwide, demand remedy, relief, reparations and repatriation. Victory is inevitable!" Bob Brown, Plaintiff, is an organizer and researcher for 40 years in the student, human rights, Black Power, national liberation, Pan African, and peace movements.

Defendants include: The Vatican, the Society of Jesus and the Catholic Church worldwide; the United States, British, French and Spanish Governments; the Shipping, Gun, Sugar, Tobacco, Cotton and Textile, Mining; Banking, Insurance, and other Industries and Companies; and several Colleges and Universities.

For more information, please contact:
Maurice Weaver

773.750.0817 or paroots02@yahoo.com

Pan-African Roots

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THE BIG SIT-DOWN – REPARATIONS

NDABA III Comes To Houston

On Saturday, March 20, 2004 the Local Action Committee for Reparations (LAC) and the Society for the Study, Preservation and Dissemination of the History of Texas Southern University will host the BIG SIT-DOWN (NDABA III) for REPARATIONS at Texas Southern University Health and Physical Education Arena (corner of Wheeler & Ennis, Houston, Texas) at 7:00pm (Doors Open 5:00pm). The National Town Hall Meeting and Report to the People is FREE and open to the public. The NDABA or Big Sit-Down is a process designed to bring people of African descent together in unity around the demand for full and complete reparations. A series of NDABA gatherings in other cities have focused on unification and information sharing of many formations pushing the reparations demand. People will get a full understanding of reparations and the many different tactics being employed to press this righteous call.

For More Information Contact: NBUF (713) 942-0365

MEMORIAL COMMEMORATION FOR THE COLFAX MASSACRE VICTIMS

On Easter Sunday April 13, 1873 in Colfax, Louisiana, hundreds of Black People (Afrikans) were slain on the Grant Parish courthouse grounds and surrounding area by various elements of the Ku Klux Klan and Confederate veterans in order to maintain "white supremacy", according to an inscription on an obelisk in the cemetery a few blocks from the courthouse which honors three of the culprits.

THE COMMITTEE TO COMMEMORATE THE COLFAX MASSACRE VICTIMS

are sponsoring a weekend of activity to honor the memory of these ancestors on the 131st anniversary of this most tragic event.

Saturday April 10, 2004

Community Awareness Day & Celebration!

3:30-7pm@ Venue to be announced

Sunday April 11, 2004

Special Memorial Tribute

1:30pm@Grant Parish Courthouse....main st. & hwy 8.

For more information:

Contact: Ms. Diana Kimble..318-627-2759 or Odinga Kambui..214-421-9828.

Email: dianamae11@netzero.com odinga@juno.com



African Diaspora Ancestor Commemoration
Institute (ADACI) sponsored N'COBRA
Sunrise Spiritual Service. Thanks

Some News From Around The Reparations Movement

REPARATIONS AND EMPOWERMENT FOR AFRICAN AMERICANS

By Jihad Abdul-Mumit

The "Reparations and Empowerment for African Americans" program held on Saturday, December 6, 2003 at the Virginia Commonwealth University was sponsored by FOR OUR CHILDREN PRODUCTIONS (a Muslim owned and operated production company that sponsors such events, and also plays and film/documentary on the condition and lives of Africans, Muslims and African Americans) and the MSA of VCU. The program was directed toward the African American community of Richmond, Virginia to courageously break ground in introducing and explaining the need for reparations. Guest speakers included Brother Hodari Abdul-Ali (Owner of Dar Es Salaam Bookstore in Hyattsville, Maryland and Executive Director of the Imam Jamil Al-Amin Action Network, Washington, DC), Muhammad Sharif (historian, author and Amir of the Sankore Institute, Pittsburgh, Pa.), and Jihad Abdul-Mumit (playwright, author and former Black Panther/BLA political prisoner).

Although the attendance in the home of the Confederacy was small the program had tremendous ground breaking repercussion, opening the door for dialogue, more programs and organizing and mobilizing around this most serious issue. Count Richmond in!

Quiet as it may be kept, Richmond already holds an esteemed mark in the struggle reparations for African Americans made by Richmond's Randall Robinson's best-selling book, "The Debt: What America Owes To Blacks," released in January 2000. The Muslims and concerned sisters and brothers from Richmond now open their arms in solidarity with all other sisters and brothers working in this righteous endeavor.

SLAVERY LAWSUIT DISMISSED: DESCENDANTS PROMISE IT'S ONLY ROUND ONE

Greetings All,

By now you may have heard that our reparations lawsuit was dismissed in court this Monday "without prejudice". What this means is that this battle is not

over --the court will allow us to file an amended complaint. Below is an article that gives a great status update.

In spite of the Court's miscarriage of justice, our team -- plaintiffs, lawyers, and the grassroots community -- are all in good spirits and remain optimistic about our chances of winning this battle against tainted corporations.

Thank you to those of you who have been showing your support for this effort, and those of you who are keeping the public educated about the case. You are truly appreciated!

Be well,
Deadria Farmer-Paellman
917-365-3007

Please visit the Reparations Now! petition at: <http://www.ipetitions.com/campaigns/ReparationsNow/>

THE NATIONAL REPARATIONS CONGRESS

WHEN: May 28-30, 2004

WHAT: A gathering of reparations activists—those doing the work and getting the reparations work done

WHY: To meet and debate, discuss, and dialogue among and between ourselves about what is and is not working in our active pursuit of reparations for Blacks in the U.S.A.; to share successful strategies; to agree on accepted guidelines and principles for the Reparations Movement; to establish a communications network for accurate, up-to-date information on the progress of the Movement; and to join forces nationwide to win this struggle.

WHERE: Compton College, 11111 East Artesia Boulevard, Los Angeles/Compton, California

WHO: African and African descendant delegates of reparations oriented organizations, and individual reparations activists

(Continued on page 38)

Caucasians United for Reparations and Emancipation

by Rachel Naba

Caucasians United for Reparations and Emancipation (CURE), founded and incorporated in 1992, gives a voice to white activists for reparations. Founded by Ida Hakim, CURE was formed largely on the recommendation from Black reparations leader Mr. Silis Muhammad. Ms. Hakim had written to Mr. Muhammad asking what white people could do to make amends for the unspeakable acts that were forced upon enslaved Africans. Mr. Muhammad responded that white people could support the movement for reparations for slavery and its lingering effects, and support him in his work to bring the arguments for reparations to the United Nations. After receiving Mr. Muhammad's instruction, Ms. Hakim began to locate white people who were connected in some way with the Black community, and soon CURE was formed.

One of its primary goals is to back Black-led initiatives for reparations and to work within white communities to win support for the movement. "CURE is comprised of white Americans who have a passionate conviction that during the enslavement - and afterwards - our people committed a horrendous crime against people of African descent, and that we owe reparations. We also know that slavery and the lingering effects of slavery are so far reaching that there will never be a way we can fully make up for it. As Whites, we do not see ourselves as deciding in any way what justice would look like," writes Donna Lamb, CURE member.

Many CURE members see themselves as continuing the work of the Abolitionists and are fighting not only to change how this society feels about reparations, but the very basis on which society is functioning. Members recognize that the Black Holocaust has not yet ended and that they have a duty and obligation to do whatever they can to ensure its death. CURE members are of different ages, from different backgrounds, and hold varied political and religious views, but they have all come together to call for both reparations and emancipation.

At a reparations rally in Washington DC, CURE founder Ida Hakim led the organization and encouraged members to voice their remorse about what Whites did. "The reparations movement is creating a spiritual revolution. Our race of people, especially here in America, seems to have a very peculiar illness. Whites committed unspeakably savage and inhumane acts against Black people during slavery, and these acts were justified with a belief in white superiority. Reparations forces us to

examine whether we still feel this way deep within, and it offers us an opportunity to right ourselves while we work to right the wrong," she told another activist during the rally.

Why Reparations?

Because it is just. Because it is right. Because this country was built on the labor, sweat and blood of slaves who were forced into a land, religion, culture and system that was not theirs. Perhaps these people say it best:

"How unified and elevated can a people be when they have been thoroughly alienated from their own natural language and culture? Today, although 40 million African-Americans earn \$400 billion or more per year, millions of us live in slums, millions of us are addicted to drugs, millions of us are mal-educated and depressed, and, as a people we do not own one major airline, one major automobile producer or one major grocery chain. Sometimes our people wonder about why it is that relatively newly arrived brown and yellow immigrant groups have been able to make much more progress than Blacks in certain areas of business (even though we have been here for centuries and even though we were allegedly freed in 1865). One of the pivotal reasons is that these groups (e.g. Chinese, Vietnamese, Arabs) are still in possession of their mother tongues and still see their primary allegiance as something that is due not to America, but to their own nations and cultures. How can we as a people regain true freedom, justice and equality? How can we once again become a powerful and independent people? The Honorable Elijah Muhammad said: Accept your own and be yourself! Today Mr. Silis Muhammad is spearheading the legal battle for Reparations for all Black descendants of slaves in America. Inside of that he has emphasized that the focus of Reparations is our restoration as a people. We will only achieve enduring progress when everything which was unjustly stolen from us is regained: our land, our government, our religion, our language and our culture. Hence, Reparations means much more than just money." Malik Al-Arkam, Boston

"For 250 years we robbed millions of enslaved Africans of the wealth their labor created. The wealth that was rightfully theirs, which they should have been able to pass down to their descendants, went instead into our pockets to be passed down generation after generation to our heirs, doubling and tripling in value all the way. That

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is the root cause of the huge economic disparity between Blacks and whites that exists in this nation today. We also committed indescribable mental, physical, and spiritual brutality against these enslaved Africans in order to coerce them into submitting to our exploitation. We robbed them of their identity as a people as we stripped from them their mother tongues, their traditional religions and original cultures, and forced upon them instead European language, religion and culture. We destabilized their social structures, relations between men and women, the family, and did everything we could to break their spirit, set one against another, and demoralize them as human beings. The heart-wrenching, far-reaching results of this, too, are very much with us now. What we did was truly a crime against humanity, and the massive damage it caused has to be repaired. In other words, reparations must be made!" Donna Lamb, New York City

We were able to connect with CURE's founder, Ida Hakim, and she graciously granted us a moment of her time and energy to answer a few questions.

TRF: What has been the response from the Black community to CURE?

Hakim: Almost unanimously positive. There was disbelief sometimes that CURE was intending to do good, as whites have a long history of interfering with Black movements. One of the reasons that we were looked upon favorably is that the leader who inspired the formation of CURE is highly regarded, and not known as being a sell-out to whites.

TRF: What has been the response from the white community to CURE?

Hakim: Initially there was very little positive response from the white community. Today we have much more of a positive, receptive response. Yet a large number of responses have been laced with anger and arguments against reparations.

TRF: How successful has CURE been in opening the eyes of white people?

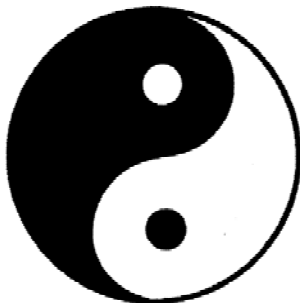
Hakim: CURE has been a very keen and clear voice. We allow white people to speak their mind, and we respond truthfully and with consideration. If it is

The Holistic Health Practitioners' Alliance

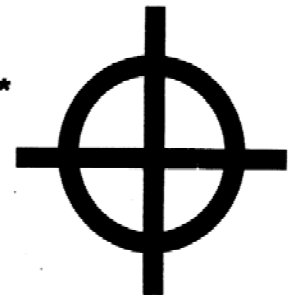
Dr. Cleeretta Henderson Smiley, Founder and President, HHPA

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INTERNATIONAL AFRICAN REPARATIONS MOVEMENT

Haiti Makes Its Case for Reparations -

The meter is running at \$34 per second.

By J.Damu

You've got to hand it to Haiti. Not only was it the world's first country of enslaved workers to stand up and demand their freedom and independence; now they are the world's first country to stand up to their former slavery-era master, France and demand the return of its stolen wealth. Everyone say "Amen."

Haiti's president and other government officials claim their country was held-up at gunpoint in broad daylight in 1825 and now they want the admitted thief, France, to replace the stolen wealth to the tune of \$21.7 billion. This, despite massive attempts, well documented elsewhere, by the United States and world lending institutions to destabilize and overthrow the democratically elected government of Jean Bertrand Aristide.

Government officials also say due to forced efforts to hand over its wealth in a timely manner to France, the coerced payments so distorted and stunted the economy Haiti feels the effects this day. They also say due to those efforts, Haiti became saddled with a form of class oppression that resembles racism.

In a soon to be published booklet provided to a U.S. reporter by the foreign press liaison to President Jean Bertrand Aristide, Haitian government officials dissect the 1825 "agreement" that initially forced Haiti to pay to France 150 million francs in exchange for liberty.

The booklet, as is Haiti's restitution claim, is based largely on the research of Dr. Francis St. Hubert, a member of the government's Haiti Restitution Commission.

"I did most of my research in New York at the Columbia University Library and the Schomburg Center," Dr. Hubert said by phone from Port au Prince.

"We are pursuing this case from three different angles. We are doing publicity and educational campaigns. We are pursuing our claims through the diplomatic community and we are preparing a legal case," he said.

"Haiti's claim is not really for reparations for slavery," said Ira Kurzban, Miami immigration attorney and Haiti's chief counsel in the U.S "but for restitution specifically that happened in 1825. It is based on the

French government's efforts to extract 150 million French francs (which is equal to \$21 billion today) from an economy the French knew couldn't afford it, through the use of force. This is impermissible under international law."

"I can't tell you how we plan to proceed legally," he said by telephone. The Haitians will make their own announcement when they are ready he said.

According to the booklet, which will soon be published under the name of the Haiti Restitution Commission, following the 1804 revolution that expelled France, Haiti was divided into two districts, northern and southern, but was re-united following the death of Henri Christophe in 1820. Under the new president, Jean Pierre Boyer, diplomatic notes began to be exchanged with various French functionaries on the diplomatic recognition of Haiti.

Finally in 1825, France, which was being encouraged by former plantation owners to invade Haiti and re-enslave the Blacks, issued the Royal Ordinance of 1825, which called for the massive indemnity payments. In addition to the 150 million franc payment, France decreed that French ships and commercial goods entering and leaving Haiti would be discounted at 50 percent, thereby further weakening Haiti's ability to pay.

According to French officials at the time, the terms of the edict were non-negotiable and to impress the seriousness of the situation upon the Haitians France delivered the demands by 12 warships armed with 500 canons.

The 150 million franc indemnity was based on profits earned by the colonists, according to a memorandum prepared by their lawyers. In 1789, Saint Domingue (all of Haiti and Santo Domingo) exported 150 million francs worth of products to France. In 1823 Haitian exports to France totaled 8.5 million francs, exports to England totaled 8.4 million francs, and exports to the United States totaled 13.1 million francs, for a total of 30 million francs.

The lawyers then claimed that one half of the 30 million francs went toward the costs of production, leaving 15 million francs as profit. The 15 million franc balance

INTERNATIONAL AFRICAN REPARATIONS MOVEMENT

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was multiplied by ten (ten years of lost revenues for the French colonists due to the war for liberation) which coincidentally totals 150 million francs, the value of exports in 1789.

To make matters worse for Haiti the French anticipated and planned for Haiti to secure a loan to pay the first installment on the indemnity. Haiti was forced to borrow the 30 million francs from a French bank that then deducted the management fees from the face value of the loan and charged interest rates so exorbitant that after the payment was completed, Haiti was still 6 million francs short.

The 150 million franc indemnity represented France's annual budget and ten years of revenue for Haiti. One study estimates the indemnity was 55 million more francs than was needed to restore the 793 sugar plantations, 3117 coffee estates and 3,906 indigo, cotton and other crop plantations destroyed during the war for independence.

By contrast, when it became clear France would no longer be in a position to capitalize on further westward expansion in the Western hemisphere, they agreed to sell the Louisiana Territory, an area 74 times the surface area of Haiti, to the U.S. for just 60 million francs, less than half the Haitian indemnity.

Even though France later lowered the indemnity payment to 90 million francs, the cycle of forcing Haiti to borrow from French banks to make the payments, chained the Black nation to perpetual poverty. Haiti did not finish paying her indemnity debt until 1947!

According to the Haitian government's reparations booklet the immediate consequence of the debt payment on the Haitian population was greater misery. The first thing President Boyer did to help pay the debt was to increase from 12 to 16 percent all tariffs on imports to offset the French discount.

The next step Boyer took was to declare the indemnity to be a national debt to be paid by all the citizens of Haiti. Then he immediately brought into being the Rural Code.

By Haitian First Lady Mildred Aristede's account in her book "Child Domestic Service in Haiti and its His-

torical Underpinnings," the Rural Code laid the basis for the legal apartheid between rural and urban society in Haiti. With the Rural Code, the economically dominant class of merchants, government officials and military officers who lived in the cities legally established themselves as Haiti's ruling class.

Under the Rural Code agricultural workers were chained to the land and allowed little or no opportunity to move from place to place. Socializing was made illegal after midnight and the Haitian farmer who did not own property was obligated to sign a 3, 6 or 9 year labor contract with a large property owner. The Code also banned small-scale commerce so that agricultural workers would produce crops strictly for export.

The Haitian Rural Code was all embracing, governing the lives not only of farmers but of children as well.

The Rural Code was specifically designed to regulate rural life in order to more efficiently produce export crops with which to pay the indemnity. The taxes levied on production were also used predominantly to pay the indemnity and not to build schools nor to provide other social services to the generators of this great wealth, the peasants.

Leading Haitian activists in the U.S. claim between 1804 and 1990, when President Aristide was first elected, a grand total of 32 high schools were built in Haiti, all within urban settings. Since then more than 200 have been built, they say, most in the countryside.

To this day the discrimination between rural and urban areas takes the form of color discrimination by light skinned blacks toward darker skinned blacks and it remains intense.

St. Hubert and the national bank compute the exact amount Haiti is demanding from France as \$21,685,135,571.48 at 5 percent annual interest.

"France is getting off easy," St Hubert told a U.S. newspaper. If Haiti charged 7.5 percent interest on the money, "France would owe \$4 trillion today and much more tomorrow.

"The French can debate whether they want to pay as long as they like," he said, "but at 5 percent interest it will cost them \$34 per second."

INTERNATIONAL AFRICAN REPARATIONS MOVEMENT

Reparations In Repairing The Damage

By Ras Tyehimba December 25, 2003

All across the world, from Latin America, to the US, to Europe, to the Caribbean, to Africa and Asia, the roll call of Globalisation echoes, heralding the growing wealth of developed countries and the increasing economic strain and exploitation faced by developing and underdeveloped countries. The overwhelming debt faced by a lot of developing places them deeper in servitude to the IMF, the World Bank, and imperialistic 'developed countries'. Big Multi-national Corporations are the order of the day, siphoning resources including raw materials and cheap labour from the cash-strapped developing countries. It has been a little more than 500 years since the first slave ship sailed from Afrika, and now Afrikans all across the globe are becoming more explicit and proactive in their struggle to obtain reparations for the past injustices that have been meted out to Afrikan people

Reactionary elements even within the black community often jeer and scathingly ask: why should reparations be paid. To those that choose to overlook and ignore the Afrikan Holocaust, I have this to say: the enslavement of Afrikans was a crime against humanity and international law recognizes the moral and legal obligations of those who commit crimes against humanity to pay reparations. Slavery and colonialism has wreaked havoc across the globe especially in Afrika which is the richest continent in the world. This twin force has been responsible for the mass material wealth of Europe and America. Their wealth and Industrialization has been gotten from the inhumane exploitation of Afrika's resources, both natural and human; it has been gotten from the blood, sweat and tears of millions and millions of Afrikans. Colonialism has wreaked havoc on the social structure of continental Afrika, stealing and killing skilled craftsmen, leaders, farmers, healers, making Afrikan villages unable to cope with the challenges of day to day life. Precious Minerals, mines, fabulous treasures, breathtaking artifacts, rich land has all been dispossessed from the indigenous Afrikans who have been existing in their high cultures for thousands and thousands of years before the coming of the Europeans

The process of colonialism which included chattel slavery and the slave trade, uprooted indigenous Afrikans from their homes and transplanted them in the

new world, forcing them to undergo deliberate and brutal processes of dehumanisation and brainwashing. As a result, Afrikans both on the Continent and in the Diaspora have become disconnected from their true self, forced to function in systems rampant with racism, gender discrimination, poverty, self-hate, drugs, crime, mis-education and white supremacy. Bombarded by a conglomeration of the aforementioned forces, many have grabbed (or in many cases forced to grab) onto a very Eurocentric form of Christianity, and indeed a very Eurocentric way of life that has transformed many many individuals into ignorant house-slaves, burying their heads in the dregs of Western civilization. It is a fact that Afrikan enslavement was sanctioned in the name of 'converting the heathens to Christ' and the very first slave ship was even named the S.S. Jesus Christ.

Reparation is not solely about money, not at all, it's about transferring technological resources and expertise to those that have been downtrodden by the technologically minded countries that have sought to rule the world with their superior armaments. Reparation is about putting mechanisms in place to provide equal opportunities to those that have laboured long and hard (without just reward) to build up what is known today as Western Civilization. In recent times, the Maori people, survivors of the Jewish Holocaust Native Americans, Aboriginal peoples, Japanese Americans, Korean sex-slaves, have all received some sort of Reparation for grave injustices that have been meted out to them. The Afrikan Holocaust on the other hand, despite being far more damaging, brutal and long lasting has yet to receive any favorable redress from the countries that are responsible for these atrocities against humanity. In fact most countries haven't even recognized the Afrikan Holocaust as being a crime against humanity. Is it because Afrikan people are not seen as being part of humanity?

No amount of money could ever quantify the damage that was done, and no amount of compensation will be able to fully repair the trauma that has resulted. However, Reparations will help to provide new opportunities for growth and help bridge the disparate gap between rich developed countries and poor Afrikan countries that have suffered immensely because of the underdevelopment forced upon them by European power. If for

INTERNATIONAL AFRICAN REPARATIONS MOVEMENT

DO WE HAVE THE RIGHT TO DUAL CITIZENSHIP IN GHANA?

By Garadina Gamba

Afrikan United Action Front – Reparation Committee

The concept of reparations is one much misunderstood, most people think of money or some form of making good of the wrongs done to us. On the continent of Africa the main thought is of debt cancellation.

The real question is how do we put right that which was broken. In the crime that is called the “Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade,” the first crime was murder and the second was the theft of people. As we cannot bring back the dead, the people who were stolen and displaced should be allowed to reconstruct their lives, this would mean the right to choose whether or not they wanted to be citizens of the country they found themselves in. In effect this means no reparations without the right of repatriation. Repatriation is the right of every Diasporan African who has not chosen to give up their right of citizenship of an African country. To deny this is to continue the crime and to become an accessory to the crime.

For me the question has always been do those in the motherland understand our wish to return home. Before I arrived in Ghana I like so many others had been lead to believe that we had the right of dual nationality. It seems that it has been under consideration from the first day of Ghana’s in-dependence. It is sad to see that no African leader has had the courage to truly abolish slavery in all its forms, and to once again practice the culture that lead us to create the first civilisations of the world. To once again see our self as God, to see that all things are done by our will. To be able to see beyond the short term, beyond self, beyond a bank account, beyond the dictates of the IMF, World Bank, UN, US or EU. To be able to see its people and the wealth of knowledge and experience we have gained in a five hundred year war of survival in the west. To welcome home the children of the stolen to understand that our futures are tied together by bonds of blood that can never be broken.

Or should African leaders just be selfish and do what is in the best interest of African nations and their people as the return of African from the Diaspora would boost the knowledge base and also solve the financial problems of the first country to make the move.

I don’t wish to sound as if there is no hope as there are signs that the so-called educated classes are beginning to see the writing on the wall. I have added an article from the Daily Graphic to show that while the children of the stolen are fighting the never ending war there are those who hear the call of the drums. Nana Kwadwo O Akpan we hope Ghana listens. The article is quoted here in full.

“In 2001 following the successful conclusion of the marking the fifth anniversary of the fourth republic, parliament, the legislative arm of government, was faced with a number of contentious, yet crucial issues.

Among these were whether to propose an amendment to the earlier enacted law on citizenship to include Africans of the Diaspora, thereby enabling them to acquire citizenship of Ghana in addition to maintaining the nationality of the country of their birth.

Dual nationality, for descendants of Africans born in the Diaspora as the direct result of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade, is an issue, which has long consumed the attention of many persons from this historically unique group.

The issue of African citizenship comprised part of the complex set of motivating factors, which led Henry Sylvester Williams, W.E.B Du-Bois and George Padmore to the worldwide pan-African movement. Indeed, dual nationality was at the base of the dreams of many Africans in Diaspora as they lend their human and financial resources to help defeat colonialism throughout Africa, for they felt their citizenship had never been legally revoked.

It must also be stated that during the period immediately prior to the year 2000, many statements by African government officials had given encouragement to Diasporan who believed that such statements demonstrated that at long last African leaders had recognised the cultural and economic benefits to be derived from granting citizenship to Africans of the Diaspora.

Despite the foregoing, to fully understand the plea of African of the Diaspora to once again be recognised as citizens of Africa and of Ghana, and consequently to be extended the status of dual citizenship, one must first under-

INTERNATIONAL AFRICAN REPARATIONS MOVEMENT

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stand the significance and impact of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade. Therefore in part II of this paper provides a working summary of experiences and insight that lead to and result from that most unholy trade.

It is a rarely disputed fact, that over a period of three and a half centuries, millions of Africans were captured, enslaved and forcibly expatriated from the shores of West Africa to countries in the north and western hemispheres.

Historians have conservatively put the number of Africans victimised by this slave trade at between 100 million and 150 million. This forced expatriation is the largest ever recorded and began around the year 1500 and was not officially abolished in Europe until 1815. Although this trans Atlantic traffic in human beings was originally conceived and promoted as an economic venture by various European governments and their agents, the potential profit from this trade attracted participation of American settler business interest and eventually gained the full support of its political establishment as well.

By the first half of the 18th century, the evolution of liberal philosophy in Europe persuaded countries on that continent to abolish the slave trade. Notwithstanding this belated European awakening to the horrors of chattel slavery, the countries of North and Central America as well as the white ruled island nations of the Caribbean and Antilles maintained their commitment to the slave trade well into the later half of the century.

The land now known as Ghana, played a pivotal role during this period this fact has caused some historians to conclude that a sizable percentage of the Africans enslaved during this period were either Ghanaian or were transited through Ghana.

In summary therefore, the principal lesson to be gained from this historical brief are:

* That centuries ago countless Africans were denied their freedom, were forcibly enslaved and then expatriated from the land of their birth and;

* That profits gained from this trade were used by the Europeans and Americans to strengthen their economies and expand their power, to the extent that they now dictate the terms of world trade and are increasingly defin-

ing the conditions of culture for the majority of the people of the world, including those of Africa. Observe the effects of the promotion of globalization, and;

* Since being freed of colonial rule, the economies of African countries, with only a few exceptions, have declined in terms of real growth in virtually all sectors relative to other economic regions of the world.

Though the reasons for this decline are varied and numerous, it is primarily a result of the colonial "self-limiting vision" which Africans inherited and have not yet agreed to reject. It is an unflattering vision, which portrays Africa as follower rather than leader and as beggar instead of provider."

In this vision Africa is seen meekly accepting the definitions and development priorities given to it by international funding agencies while refusing to question whether such pre-packaged images are indeed in Africa's long-term development interest. It is vision of Africa estranged from itself, its people scattered throughout the world, and superficially divided into antagonistic, ethnic, geographic, linguist and historical groups. This vision is manufactured, packaged and marketed from outside Africa. Far too many of Africa's leaders have both enticed and then consumed by this vision, so much so that Africa's development policies have become as indistinguishable from this vision as their economies have become indistinguishable from the many "white papers" promoted by foreign governments that seek to ensure Africa's continued dependency.

The Garveytown project

The Garveytown project is in the process of setting up a living shrine to all the Africans who died during the Maafa and those who survived.

We are appealing to all of the sons and daughters of the stolen Afrikans to send any item that represent the survivals of the Afrikan family. The calls for memorialising have now been answered. Now do your part.

Garveytown can be contacted on 00233 (0) 27 7446596 or 00233 (0) 24 851 427

Email garadina@garveytown.com or

niikojo@garveytown.com

Address P.O. Box ml 359

Mallam, Accra, Ghana West Africa

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Rice rejected the concept of Reparations for her people on national television, it became more apparent that President Bush is only interested in elevating a few descendants of slaves if they are willing to help keep the masses of their brothers and sisters in a state of subjugation. While Mr. Bush spends \$1 billion per month on the war against terrorism, millions of Blacks are unemployed and, with deep cuts in social services, are being told in effect to "make bricks without straw."

In conclusion, let me emphasize this: Pharoah Bush's greatest fear is not the forces who are supporting Osama bin Laden or President Saddam Hussein. What he dreads most is the masses of Black people in the United States of America and throughout the Western Hemisphere mobilizing politically, spiritually and financially to legally and peacefully obtain massive Reparations inside the United Nations.

Email Minister Malik Al-Arkam at alarkam@webtv.net.

**Black Law Students files brief:
TULSA REPARATIONS LAWSUIT**

Hotep,

I am proud to announce that the National Black Law Student Association and the University of Oklahoma Ada Lois Sipeul-Fisher Chapter of the Black Law Student Association filed a brief today (12/14/03) in support of the lawsuit.

Our time is coming!!!!

Damario Solomon-Simmons, National Reparations
Director

(Continued from page 30)

The National Reparations Congress

CONTACT: www.reparationunitedfront.org
[info@reparationunitedfront](mailto:info@reparationunitedfront.org)
(310) 967-5871

(Continued from page 22)

"revolutionary theory," there would, and could, not be a successful revolution. How many present day reparationists recognize that without a "political theory" for causing the radical transformation of the "world order," i.e., the "actual redistribution" of the wealth of the world, the attainment of reparations in the trillions of dollars required for "meaningful" reparations for the wrongs perpetrated, without the inevitably bankruptcy of the USA Empire, and its multinational corporations, and that without the development of new, truly global financial institutions, and, i might add, the demise of the USA as we know it, "genuine reparations" cannot, and will not, become a "reality."

As we have stated in numerous forums, the NPVM predicates its "theory of revolution" on both the existence of this global movement "demanding" reparations, in conjunction with a consciously determined process for achieving "genuine reconciliation" among and between the world's peoples. As a certainly "distinct" people, Africans [Afrikans] living in the USA, who are in reality resident and "citizens" of this "make-believe nation," we, among all of the world's peoples, have the virtually unique distinction of not really having a real consciousness of "nationhood," or for that matter "tribal consciousness." But what better quality to lead a global movement based on the obsolescence of "nation-building" and even "nationalist sentiments."

Whether we refer to this new world order as "reactionary intercommunalism," or "global USA dominance," the fact of the matter is that we don't even know [or have agreed upon collectively] how to even "identify" ourselves [i.e., or we "Maroons," "Afrikans," "African Americans," "Blacks," "Black Israelites," "Bilalian," etc.]. But, this too, is not a new debate.

We say whatever we decide to do, let's not just, right now, "call for a vote" until we are absolutely, or at best reasonably, certain that a majority of "us" still have our "wits about us," and, most importantly, are crystal clear in our vision of the destiny of those whom we prefer to refer to as "Africans living in the USA."

Also, let us all remember; however defined, the "powers that be" are not prepared now, and do not even want, to discuss the possibility that the various reparations demands by African-descended peoples, and other Indigenous Peoples, are just and proper. The Third Decade UN World Conference Against Racism, etc., showed that to be, in fact, the situation we face. That is why "they" are very much aware of the "revolutionary" significance of

(Continued on page 39)

(Continued from page 38)

the "demand for reparations," which they, in the hardest of their hearts, know all too well that it actually symbolizes that which they fear most, but have nevertheless been forced to consider its ramifications. When the people of the world finally achieve reparations, and they will, on that day the obsolescence of "national boundaries" will be popularly acknowledged, and widely practiced, along with the formal and equally widespread recognition of "new forms" of organizing "diverse communities" of the world's people.

(Continued from page 17)

(D-FW) to carry the resolution in Austin.

Months before the Baptist group made their request the coalition of black reparation leaders under the leadership of Africans & African Americans for Enslavement Reparations had requested that Rep. Lewis sponsor a reparation bill on their behalf.

That bill, House Resolution HCR-28, is currently awaiting passage before the State Affairs Committee where Rep. Lewis is a member. The bill calls on the Texas Legislature to support US Congressional Bill HR-40 sponsored by Congressman John Conyers, Jr. (D-Mich) in Washington, DC.

HR-40 calls on the US government to create a commission to study slavery and its affects on today's blacks in America and to compensate blacks for centuries of suffering.

Last year in Austin at the State Capital about 15 members of thereparation coalition spoke in support of HCR-28 before the State Affairs Committee chaired by Rep. Kenny Merchant (R-Coppell).

Representative Glenn Lewis is carrying both bills and will be available during the press conference to explain his support of both resolutions.

Cities of Fort Worth, Houston, Dallas, Waco, Austin and San Antonio will have representatives attending the press meeting.

Including Rev. S. C. Nash, President of the Statewide Interdenominational Ministerial Alliance (IMA). Rev. Nash and his organization have been long time supporters of black slavery compensation and the reparation movement on behalf of the church community. The IMA represents over 3500 churches in the state of Texas.

For more information please call Dr. Michael Bell, Senior Pastor of Greater St. Stephens First Church at 817-929-6111 or Thomas Muhammad, Founder of Africans & African Americans for Enslavement Reparations (A-AAER).

Statement From National Black United Front (NBUF) and the Local Action Committee for Reparations (LAC) Houston, Texas Tuesday, January 13, 2004

"As we in Houston prepare for a national gathering on the issue of reparations in March of 2004, it appears that the Texas Baptist Association has failed to fully grasp the scope and magnitude of the great and mighty demand for full and complete reparations. It is clear that resolution HCR-28 captures accurately what the Texas State Legislature should pass at this stage. NOTHING less with do! We remain steadfast in our resolve to force the State of Texas to face truthfully it's past and present. THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES"

(Continued from page 26)

gave birth to, particularly the criminal justice system.

We must stop violating the human rights of children. We must alter the 13th Amendment. We have to place a moratorium on prison construction and change the racial and economic profiling of arrest and sentencing practices. Reparations have to include a focus on penal abolition, which challenges the violence of the entire legal apparatus. We need to decriminalize poverty and mental illness. We must eliminate solitary confinement, torture and the use of devices of torture. We must support a vigorous monitoring of the police, court and prison systems with a citizen review process. We need to ensure voting rights for prisoners and ex-prisoners, and enhanced use of international law. Part of the dialogue on reparations has to include opposition to all of this on a more serious level. Until this happens, neither prison administrators nor local, state or government officials has to respond. Each of us needs to understand deeply and speak loudly about the connections between slavery and the criminal justice system.

No real racial healing can take place until the US government takes responsibility for what it owes people of African decent. Reparations are not only about paying decedents of slaves for damage done but also a way for the country to humble itself before a great people whose sweat, blood, flesh and tears gave birth to so much of the wealth that exists in this country today.

(Continued from page 16)

elitist, to learn to speak the language of the grassroots community, and to join the grassroots directly in their community struggles to improve education, health care, housing, employment, voting rights, the release of political prisoners...etc. Many in the audience gave additional examples of how this coalition building work can and must be done if we are to mobilize the masses for reparations.

Kibibi Tyehimba, co-chair of the N'COBRA Legislative Commission and Milt McGriff, N'COBRA National Coordinator of AYBP presented concrete plans for the further development of N'COBRA's impressive flagship effort to lobby the US Congress relentlessly for the passage of HR40, the Reparations Study Bill introduced by the Hon. John Conyers of Detroit, Michigan. Further, in response to the advocacy of N'COBRA at-large national Board member, Herman Ferguson, the NE Region unanimously recognized the need of N'COBRA to work harder and more strategically for the release of our political prisoners and the region firmly committed to making the work to release political prisoners a high priority of its programmatic work.

The regional meeting ended as it began with honor and praises to Rob Penny. Brother Penny came to the University of Pittsburgh as a direct result of the take over of the University of Pittsburgh by Black Students in the early 1970's who demanded Black Studies. When Brother Penny made his transition last year, he was a tenured Professor of Africana Studies at the University. He had co-founded with August Wilson, the Kuntu Repertoire Theater Workshop of Pittsburgh and was its artist in residence. In November 2003, he was inducted into the Gwendolyn Brooks National Literary Hall of Fame for Writers of African Descent. His last play *Difficult Days Ahead in Blaze* was directed by Dr. Lilly and played at Kuntu. His esteemed queen Timamu Penny, the noted poet and Univ. of Pitts. professor, Dennis Brutus, and a long list of faculty members as well as Prof. Penny's most beloved current and former students offered powerful words of honor and praise for Brother Penny's life of unconditional sacrifice to educate and liberate the African mind, body, and spirit.

Accordingly, Mama Timamu Penny, Dr. Brutus, the students of the Africana Studies Department, and the N'COBRA NE Region are committed to building on Brother Penny's legacy as we now start to create the first N'COBRA student chapter at the University of Pittsburgh.

(Continued from page 35)

example the digital divide is left to increase at the present alarming rate, then the force of globalisation will have an even worse disastrous impact on the Afrikan economies.

A proper understanding of history will reveal that Western countries will not pay Reparations to Afrikans unless their survival utterly depends upon it. In fact a lot of whites claim that since it was their ancestors that perpetuated the crimes against humanity, they (the present White population) cannot be held accountable for compensating those disadvantaged... In making this outrageous claim they ignore one fundamental fact; that



Dr. Dennis Brutus

Western countries and their white populations has and is still benefiting from the ill gotten gains of slavery and colonialism. Reparations is a moral issue related intimately with a wider movement for equal rights and justice, and Western countries have shown time and time again that

they are not motivated by morality, truth and justice, but rather by money and power.

The US, one of the most racist countries in the world walked out of the World Conference against Racism because they were not prepared to deal expeditiously with the issues at hand. With this in mind, the Reparations movement must not take place within a vacuum; it must not be the main thrust of the Pan Afrikan Movement. Allocation of scarce resources has to be a major concern of both Afrikans on the continent and those in the Diaspora. The main thrust of the movement and where the most resources should be allocated is in terms of the re-education of ourselves in the interest of reclaiming our divine identity. In reclaiming our identity and becoming more aware of ourselves, we will be

My 40 Acres & My Mule

There are some issues need addressing
 some sins that need confessing
 it seems I've been used like a tool
 For all these years I've worked
 yet I'm still being jerked
 Where's my 40 acres and my mule

The Pope confessed his dirt
 to the millions the Vatican hurt
 To the Jews who lost their lives in the holocaust
 but not once has he mentioned
 it's slave-trading dimension
 or the 100 million African souls were lost

Tell me how long can these nations
 continue their starvation
 of those on whose backs they were built
 How long will white lies
 flourish while a black dies
 Tell me, how much more blood must be spilt

I'm tired of playing the fool.
 What happened to the golden rule
 Tell me, where are my 40 acres and my mule?
 Where's my 40 acres and my mule?

Ty Gray-EL April 2000

(Continued from page 32)

C.U.R.E.

possible to open the eyes of white America, CURE is one of the best organizations to help bring it about.

TRF: What are some ways people can get involved?

Hakim: We invite participation through our website, and in other ways depending upon the person and the community in which they live. Persons should contact Ida Hakim at Hakimida@aol.com in order to get started.

For more information on this organization, visit their website at www.reparationsthecure.org. But don't stop there. Enlist your support. Become an activist and inspire real change within this society. Stand up to the powers that be and make sure that they know that we demand justice and change.

Black Reparations Times

In response to the growing momentum of the Reparations movement, the Information and Media Commission is committed to disseminating timely information on issues related to our struggle for Reparations. Our new publication, "BLACK REPARATIONS TIMES" © 2003 will report news and information not only about N'COBRA's work, but also the efforts of other Reparations advocates, nationally and internationally. Your comments and suggestions are always welcome.

You can also help by:

1) providing items for possible publication such as articles, photos, etc; 2) volunteering professional skills (graphic arts, managing subscriptions & distribution, fundraising, etc.); 3) donating generously to this project, and 4) identifying potential sponsors.

Email: InformationMedia@aol.com

Phone: 202.466.1622

(Continued from page 40)

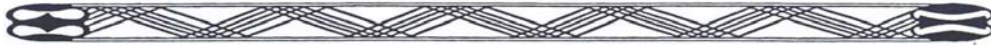
in a better position to do what needs to be done in the interest of equal rights and justice. Where are the Afrikan schools teaching Afrikan history and the diverse range of culture that has been practiced on the continent for thousands of years? Re-educating ourselves will put us in a better position to utilize the vast resources that we have already at our disposal and also the face the global challenge of surviving as an Afrikan people in these perilous times. Reparations must not become an excuse to forget our spirituality that has kept us alive throughout challenging situations. We must remind the world that no peace will ever be possible unless the injustices that have been perpetuated have been addressed in a meaningful manner.

(Continued from page 34)

For more information about Haiti or to learn what you can do to support Haiti please contact the Haiti Action Committee (510) 483-7481, write them at HAC, P.O. Box 2218, Berkeley, CA, 94702 or visit their website at www.haitiaction.org.

J.Damu is the acting Western Regional Representative for N'COBRA-National Coalition of Blacks for Reparations in America. He can be contacted at jdamu@sbcglobal.net.

National Coalition Of Blacks for Reparations in America



PRINCIPLES OF UNITY

As a collective of various organizations and philosophies, we will respect each other's autonomy in organization and philosophy. The central principles we unify and agree upon are:

1. Our primary goal is to achieve Reparations for Africans in America;
2. The so-called Trans-Atlantic "slave trade" was not trade but was in fact a Holocaust of Enslavement. It was morally wrong and a crime against humanity;
3. We define Reparations as a process of repairing, healing and restoring our people; therefore we continue our ancestors efforts to liberate us by focusing on repairing, healing and restoring the personal, family, and community damages that we suffered during the Holocaust of African Enslavement;
4. Africans in America are due Restitution for the Holocaust of African Enslavement and its vestiges; and
5. We support and work for the passage of HR-40, sponsored by Congressman John Conyers and other state and local legislative initiatives.

Reparations United Front

1. Functioning as a "Reparations United Front," is critical to maintaining a unified public posture. Members of the Collective (organizations and individuals) agree not to attack each other, especially regarding Reparations.
2. In instances where there may be differences of opinion, members will emphasize their commitment to Reparations, to minimize attempts to divide and neutralize the effectiveness of the Collective.
3. The Collective may elect not to recognize those who fail to abide by the aforementioned principles of unity. Everyone is encouraged to support the work of the Collective in ways most suitable for them, whether inside or outside the Collective.

We Believe

We believe the Reparations Movement can empower African Americans to continue our task of gaining social, economic, and cultural parity and liberation for individuals, families and communities. The movement provides an opportunity to address all issues impacting the Black Community by:

1. Creating a path for self, family and community development and liberation;
2. Providing a cause strong enough to unite Black People across socio-economic, and education barriers;
3. Recognizing and assisting with restoring the dignity of over 100 million Africans lost and sacrificed during the Holocaust of Enslavement and one hundred years of lynching that followed;
4. Providing an opportunity to expose the perpetrator of the Holocaust and educate the victims by creating dialogue locally and nationally that thoroughly examines our collective oppression (and mistakes), and exposes the perpetrator's responsibility in creating our past and current social condition;
5. Providing compensation for Black People locally and nationally;
6. We believe our people are ultimately responsible for our collective achievement of social, economic, and cultural parity and liberation. Restitution will only assist in our recovery and building process. The struggle for Reparations is a sacred responsibility that must be assumed by African descendants in the Americas; and
7. We believe there can be no Reparations without mass participation. Mass participation is essential to achieving Reparations (repairing, healing and restoring Black People) and Restitution (receiving compensation for the Holocaust and its vestiges).

Issued by N^oCOBRA National Office June 29, 2002

BLACK FRIDAYS CAMPAIGN



CONGRATULATIONS to the TRAIL BLAZERS

HATS OFF to the forward thinking businesses that were the first to register with N'COBRA's commitment to support the black community, justice, and the Reparations movement. These are the first group of members supporting the BLACK FRIDAY MOVEMENT. Be sure to buy from them. Join the BUY BLACK on FRIDAY campaign. Get your Black Friday Palm Cards from one of these businesses and buy black every day.

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Brooklyn, NY 11217
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Brooklyn, NY 11217
Gwen Lewis

Doe's Antiques
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Ph. 718/ 875. 6500
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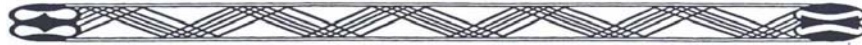
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Contact Person: Zimbabwe Sankofa

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Contact Person: Kamau Jywanza

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Contact Person: Joe Epps

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Contact Person: Beverly Velasque

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Contact Person: Rochelle Webster

N'COBRA, the National Coalition of Blacks for Reparations in America, has launched a nationwide campaign based on the Kwanzaa principle of "cooperative economics." N'COBRA's goal is to be a key mover in the powerful process of enabling the Black community to gain more economic control of our community.

Contact: BuyBlack4Friday@aol.com

202.291.8400

N'COBRA, the National Coalition of Blacks for Reparations in America, has launched a nationwide campaign based on the Kwanzaa principle of "cooperative economics." Our goal is to be a key mover in the powerful process of enabling the Black community to gain more economic control of our community.

The Black Fridays Pledge

We shall build and maintain our own business-street vending, retailing, wholesaling, and distributing, and profit from them together;

We shall believe and act on the principle that our businesses are a service to the Black community;

We shall affirmatively support meaningful efforts to uplift the Black community-spiritually, socially, culturally, economically and politically;

We shall strive to offer the highest quality service and professionalism to our customers;

We shall dismantle the myth that their ice is colder;

We shall support Black people's demand for full Reparations for chattel enslavement, systemic racism/white supremacy, and the continuing present-day injuries to black people that have resulted.

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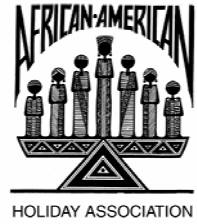
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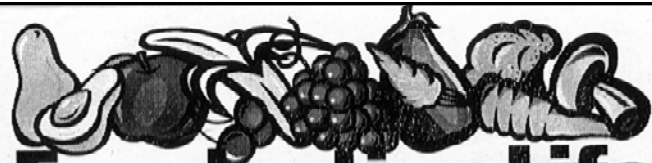
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“REPARATIONS AIN’T FREE”

N’COBRA’s National Donation Drive

FROM: Dorothy Benton Lewis/Oravouche, National Co-Chair and
N’COBRA National Fund Development Committee

TO: All People Supporting Justice and Reparations

An Urgent Call for Support

The Reparations Movement needs you and your financial support. “Reparations Ain’t Free.” Our ancestors paid the ultimate price of suffering through 265 years of slavery, and now those who have benefited from their sacrifices must pay us reparations. We, the descendants of enslaved Africans, MUST now sacrifice our time, talent and money for the work that must be done to get complete and full Reparations for ourselves and future generations.

This year, at our 14th Annual Conference, the National Coalitions of Blacks for Reparations in America (N’COBRA) unveil its 5-Year Action Plan, which outlines the various programs that have been implemented to achieve Reparations. We need your help with executing this Plan. There are so many critical requirements that must be funded: printing, postage, regular conference calls, travel, vehicle rental, advertising, Website development and expansion, e-group support, supplies and equipment, just to name a few.

N’COBRA also has a number of commissions that are tackling critical issues in each of the following areas: **Legislative** (HR 40 Lobbying, Reparations Resolution Campaign); **Legal** (legal injury research, filing briefs) **International** (WCAR, Global African Congress, UN Lobbying); **Economic Development** (Black Friday Buying Campaign, Congress of Economic Development); **Information & Media** (“Black Reparations Times,” “ENCOBRA magazine,” NCOBRA.org website, “REPARATIONS NOW!”); **Grassroots Organizing** (Town Hall Meetings, Direct Action, National Membership Drive), etc. Each of these areas supports the other. All are necessary to achieve Reparations, and all require people and money to make them work.

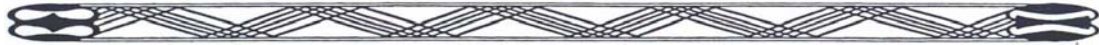
For the past 14 years, N’COBRA has been an organization of volunteers, who have funded the movement with their own resources, in order to supplement annual membership dues, which fall short of the Coalition’s actual needs. It is now time to take the Reparations movement to another level. It is now time for all of us to pool our resources, creativity, and our genius.

Please contribute generously to N’COBRA. The form on the next page establishes a number of different patron participation levels. Each level acknowledges Africans and African Descendants who have played an important role in our struggle for civil and human rights. While you’re selecting the patron level that’s most appropriate for you, be sure to tell us which commissions you’d most like to support. And remember, no amount is too great or too small!

The Reparations movement is not for N’COBRA members alone—it is for all African Descendants and our allies. Encourage your church, sorority, fraternity, family reunion, and other community based organizations to send a donation to N’COBRA to support this very spiritual work that we are doing in honor of the sacrifices of all our Ancestors.

In Unity,

National Coalition Of Blacks for Reparations in America



Please send your contributions (check/money order only) payable to:

N'COBRA
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Yes! I pledge my support for the Reparations Movement struggle for Justice, Restitution and Reparations for the African Holocaust of Enslavement and Its Vestiges.

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These noble ancestors contributions to our liberation and development are priceless.
 We lift up their names in chronological order to honor them.

National Coalition of Blacks for Reparations in America *N 'COBRA*

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PURPOSE

We believe that the descendants of Africans, who were captured, taken from our homeland (Africa), enslaved, colonized and held captive for hundreds of years in the Americas and throughout the diaspora, believe that we should be compensated for the injustices, cruelties, brutalities, inhumanities and exploitations of racism, white supremacy, economic discrimination and oppression imposed upon our people past and present.

DEFINITION

REPARATIONS: Payment for a debt owed; the act of repairing a wrong or injury; to atone for wrongdoings; to make amends; to make one whole again; the payment of damages to repair a nation; compensation in money, land, or materials for damages. In the Ancient African, Kemetic sense, Reparations means to rise up. Repair and restore the ruined and damaged, develop the underdeveloped, and create a just society.

INVITATION

Please help continue the organizing and expansion efforts of N'COBRA in building our National & International Movements for Reparations. Reparations are obtainable in our lifetime. A committed people with a righteous cause is a force that cannot be denied.

Mail this bottom portion to the National Office N'COBRA,
P.O. Box 90604, Washington, DC 20090-0604
Tel: 202. 291. 8400 * Fax: 202. 291. 4600 * Website: <http://www.ncobra.org>

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Reparations =



**Payment For
Enslavement**

**NATIONAL COALITION OF BLACKS FOR REPARATIONS
IN AMERICA**

N'COBRA 15th ANNUAL CONFERENCE 2004
Juneteenth 2004

Theme

“COALITION BUILDING AND OPERATIONAL UNITY”



CONFERENCE LOGO

*Ghanaian Mythical Twin Crocodiles sharing one stomach expresses “Operational Unity.”
Though both are complete with head, legs, and tail, they share the same
destiny and must work together to survive.*

JUNE 17 - 20, 2004

HOWARD UNIVERSITY - WASHINGTON DC

The Abuja Proclamation

A declaration of the first Abuja Pan-African Conference on Reparations For African Enslavement, Colonization And Neo-Colonization, sponsored by The Organization Of African Unity and its Reparations Commission April 27-29, 1993, Abuja, Nigeria

This First Pan-African Conference on Reparations held in Abuja, Nigeria, April 27-29, 1993, sponsored by the Group of Eminent Persons (GEP) and the Commission for Reparations of the Organization of African Unity, and the Federal Government of the Republic of Nigeria.

Recalling the Organization of African Unity's establishment of a machinery the Group of Eminent Persons for appraising the issue of reparations in relation to the damage done to Africa and its Diaspora by enslavement, colonization, and neo-colonialism.

Convinced that the issue of reparations is an important question requiring the united action of Africa and its Diaspora and worthy of the active support of the rest of the international community.

Fully persuaded that the damage sustained by the African peoples is not a "thing of the past" but is Painfully manifest in the damaged lives of contemporary Africans from Harlem to Harare, in the damaged economies of the Black World from Guinea to Guyana, from Somalia to Surinam.

Respectfully aware of historic precedents in reparations, ranging from German Payment of restitution to the Jews for the enormous tragedy of the Nazi Holocaust to the question of compensating Japanese-Americans for injustice of internment by Roosevelt Administration in the United States during the World War II.

Cognizant of the fact that compensation for injustice need not necessarily be paid only in capital transfer but could include service to the victims or other forms of restitution and readjustment of the relationship agreeable to both parties.

Emphatically convinced that what matters is not the guilt but the responsibility of those states and nations whose economic evolution once depended on slave labor and colonialism, and whose forebears participated either in selling and buying Africans, or in owning them, or in colonizing them.

Convinced that the pursuit of reparations by the African peoples in the continent and in the Diaspora will itself be a learning experience in self-discovery and in uniting experience politically and psychologically. Convinced that numerous looting, theft and larceny have been committed on the African People calls upon those in Possession of their stolen goods artifacts and other traditional treasuries to restore them to their rightful owners the African People.

Calls upon the international community to recognize that there is a unique and unprecedented moral debt owed to the African peoples which has Yet to be paid - the debt of compensation to the Africans as the most humiliated and exploited people of the last four centuries of modern history.

Calls upon Heads of States and Governments in Africa and the Diaspora itself to set up National Committees for the purpose of studying the damaged Black experience, disseminating information and encouraging educational courses on the impact of Enslavement, colonization and neo-colonialism on present-day Africa and its Diaspora.

Urges the Organization of African Unity to grant observer status to select organizations from the African Diaspora in order to facilitate consultations between Africa and its Diaspora on reparations and related issues.

Further urges the OAU to call for full monetary payment of repayments through capital transfer and debt cancellation.

Convinced that the claim for reparations is well grounded in International Law.

Urges on the OAU to establish a legal Committee on the issue of Reparations.

Also calls upon African and Diaspora groups already working on reparations to communicate with the Organization of African Unity and establish continuing liaison;

Encourages such groups to send this declaration to various countries to obtain their official support for the movement

Serves notice on all states in Europe and the Americas which had participated in the enslavement and colonization of the African peoples, and which may still be engaged in racism and neo-colonialism, to desist from any further damage and start building bridges of conciliation, co-operation, and through reparation.

Exhorts all African states to grant entrance as of right to all persons of African descent and right to obtain residence in those African states, if there is no disqualifying element on the African claiming the "right to return" to his ancestral home, Africa.

Urges those countries which were enriched by slavery and the slave trade to give total relief from Foreign Debt, and allow the debtor countries of the Diaspora to become free for self-development and from immediate and direct economic domination.

Calls upon the countries largely characterized as profiteers from the slave trade to support proper and reasonable representation of African peoples in the Political and economic areas of the highest decision-making bodies.

Requests the OAU to intensify its efforts in restructuring the international system in pursuit of justice with special reference to a permanent African seat on the Security Council of the U.N.

Reparations and A New Global Order: A Comparative Overview

by Professor Chinweizu

A paper read at the second Plenary Session
of the First Pan-African Conference on
Reparations, Abuja, Nigeria, April 27, 1993.

Contemplating the condition of the Black World is vexatious to the spirit: that is probably the strongest impetus which has brought us all here today.

For many centuries, and especially in the last five, the black skin has been a badge of contempt. For instance, it used to be said in Brazil that if you are white and running down the street, you are an athlete; but if you are black and running down the street, you are a thief! And in most parts of the world today, if you are white and rich, you are honored and celebrated, and all doors fly open as you approach; but if you are black and rich, you are under suspicion, and handcuffs and guard dogs stand ready to take you away.

Yes, the black skin is still the badge of contempt in the world today, as it has been for nearly 2,000 years. To make sure it does not remain so in the 21st century is perhaps the overall purpose of our search for reparations.

We are gathered here today, thinkers and activists who want to change Black People's condition in the world. What things do we need to change, both in the world and in ourselves, if we are to accomplish the mission of reparations? What changes must we make in structures, in psychology, in historical consciousness and much else?

We might begin by noting that Blacks are not the only people in the world who are seeking, or who have sought, reparations. In fact, by only now pressing our claim for reparations, we are latecomers to a varied company of peoples in the Americas, in Asia, and in Europe. Here is a partial catalogue of reparations, paid and pending, which are 20th century precedents for reparations to the Black World.

In the Americas, from Southern Chile to the Arctic north of Canada, reparations are being sought and being made. The Mapuche, an aboriginal people of Southern Chile, are pressing for the return of their lands, some 30 million hectares of which were, bit by bit, taken away and given to European immigrants since 1540. The Inuit of Arctic Canada, more commonly known as the Eskimo, were in 1992 offered restitution of some 850,000 sq. miles of their ancestral lands, their home range for millennia before European invaders arrived there.

In the USA, claims by the Sioux to the Black Lands of South Dakota are now in the courts. And the US Government is attempting to give some 400,000 acres of grazing land to the Navaho, and some other lands to the Hopi in the south-west of the USA.

In 1988, the US Government admitted wrongdoing in interning some 120,000 Japanese-Americans under Executive Order 9066 of 1942, during WWII, and awarded each internee \$20,000.

Earlier on, and further afield, under the Thompson-Urrutia Treaty of 1921, the USA paid Colombia reparations, including the sum of \$25 million, for excising the territory of Panama from Colombia for the purpose of building the Panama Canal.

In Asia, following WWII, Japan paid reparations, mostly to the Asian countries it had occupied. By May 1949, \$39 million had been paid from Japanese assets in Japan, and another unspecified amount had been paid from Japanese assets held outside Japan. And Japan was obliged to sign treaties of reparations with Burma (1954), the Philippines (1956), and Indonesia (1958). More recently, the Emperor of Japan has apologized to Korea for atrocities committed there by the Japanese, and North Korea is asking for \$5 billion in reparations for damages sustained during 35 years of Japanese colonization.

In Europe, after WWII, the victors demanded reparations from Germany for all damages to civilians and their dependants, for losses caused by the maltreatment of prisoners of war, and for all non-military property that was destroyed in the war. In 1921, Germany's reparations liability was fixed at 132 billion gold marks. After WWII, the victorious Allies filed reparations claims against Germany for \$320 billion. Reparations were also levied on Italy and Finland. The items for which these claims were made included bodily loss, loss of liberty, loss of property, injury to professional careers, dislocation and forced emigration time, spent in concentration camps because of racial, religious and political persecution. Others were the social cost of war, as represented by the burden from loss of life, social disorder, and institutional disorder; and the economic cost of war, as represented by the capital destroyed and the value of civilian goods and services foregone to make war goods. Payments were made in cash and kind -- goods, services, capital equipment, land, farm and forest products; and penalties were added for late deliveries.

Perhaps the most famous case of reparations was that paid by Germany to the Jews. These were paid by West Germany to Israel for crimes against Jews in territories controlled by Hitler's Germany, and to individuals to indemnify them for persecution. In the initial phase, these included \$2 billion to make amends to victims of Nazi persecution; \$952 million in personal indemnities; \$35.70 per month per inmate of concentration camps; pensions for the survivors of victims; \$820 million to Israel to resettle 50,000 Jewish emigrants from lands formerly controlled by Hitler. All that was just the beginning. Other, and largely undisclosed, payments followed. And even in 1992, the World Jewish Congress in New York announced that the newly unified Germany would pay compensation, totalling \$63 million for 1993, to 50,000 Jews who suffered Nazi persecution but had not been paid reparations because they lived in East Germany.

With such precedents of reparations to non-Black peoples in four continents, it would be sheer racism for the world to discountenance reparations claims from the Black World.

But our own search for reparations must, of necessity, be tailored to our peculiar condition, to our peculiar experience. Some others may need only that their ancestral home range be returned to them; some others that they be compensated for the indignities of internment and the loss of citizen rights; some others that acts of genocide and other atrocities against their people be atoned or and

paid for; some others that lands excised from their territory be paid for. We, however, who have experienced all of the above and more, and experienced them for much longer than most, and therefore suffer chronically from their effects -- we must take a more comprehensive view of what reparations must mean for us. We must ask not only that reparations be made for specific acts, or that restitution be made of specific properties; we who have been such monumental victims are obliged to also ask: What sorts of system, capitalist as well as pre-capitalist, with their values and world outlook, made this long holocaust possible; and what must be done to transform these systems into some other kind where holocaust could not be inflicted on us? Unless we address and effectively answer that question, our quest for reparations would be flawed and incomplete. We must therefore look into the nature of the old existing global order and see what needs to be done to change it for the better.

The hallmarks of the old global order, which was initiated by the voyage by Columbus may be summarized as a propensity for perpetrating holocaust, a devotion to exploitation, and a passion for necrophobia. It has inflicted holocaust, through genocide and culturecide -- but not only on the Black World; it has visited exploitation, through slavery and colonialism -- but not only on the Black World; but it has reserved for the Black World a special scourge: that virulent strain of racism known as Negrophobia!

That old global order just described is not a thing of the past; it is still very much with us. In different parts of the world today, in 1993, even as we sit here in this hall, Blacks are still being subjected to the holocaust of genocide and culturecide (as in the Sudan); to the exploitations of slavery (as in Mauritania), and of colonialism and neo-colonialism (as in every part of the Black World); and to negrophobia, in all its forms and degrees, throughout the entire globe. To end this dreadful condition and to make all the appropriate repairs, i.e. reparations, we need to move from this old global order, where holocaust happened to us, to a different global order where holocaust will never happen to us. We need to move from this old global order, which sucks resources out of our veins and piles debt upon our heads, to a different global order in which our enormous resources shall serve our own prosperity. We need to move from this old global order, which is permeated with negrophobia, to a new global order that is cleansed of negrophobia, one where we would live in dignity and equality with all the other races of humanity.

Now, what are we, the Black World, going to contribute to the making of these changes?

Let me begin by noting that reparation is not just about money: it is not even mostly about money; in fact, money is not even one percent of what reparation is about. Reparation is mostly about making repairs. self-made repairs, on ourselves: mental repairs, psychological repairs, cultural repairs, organizational repairs, social repairs, institutional repairs, technological repairs, economic repairs, political repairs, educational repairs, repairs of every type that we need in order to recreate and sustainable black societies. For the sad truth is that five centuries of holocaust have made our societies brittle and unviable. And as the great Marcus Garvey warned over 50 years ago, if we continue as we are, we are heading for extinction.

More important than any monies to be received; more fundamental than any lands to be recovered, is the opportunity the reparations campaign offers us for the rehabilitation of Black people, by Black people, for Black people; opportunities for the rehabilitation of our minds, our material

condition, our collective reputation, our cultures, our memories, our self-respect, our religious, our political traditions and our family institutions; but first and foremost for the rehabilitation of our minds.

Let me repeat that the most important aspect of reparation is not the money the campaign may or may not bring: the most important part of reparation is our self-repair; the change it will bring about in our understanding of our history, of ourselves, and of our destiny; the chance it will bring about in our place in the world.

Now, we who are campaigning for reparations cannot hope to change the world without changing ourselves. We cannot hope to change the world without changing our ways of seeing the world, our ways of thinking about the world, our ways of organizing our world, our ways of working and dreaming in our world. All these, and more, must change for the better. The type of Black Man and Black woman that was made by the holocaust -- that was made to feel inferior by slavery and then was steeped in colonial attitudes and values -- that type of Black will not be able to bring the post-reparation global order into being without changing profoundly in the process that has begun; that type of Black will not be even appropriate for the post-reparation global order unless thoroughly and suitably reconstructed. So, reparation, like charity, must begin with ourselves, with the making of the new Black person, with the making of a new Black World. How?

We must begin by asking ourselves: What weaknesses on our side made the holocaust possible? Weaknesses of organization? Weakness of solidarity? Weaknesses of identity? Weaknesses of mentality? Weaknesses of behavior? If we do not correct such weaknesses, even if we got billions of billions of dollars in reparations money, even if we got back all our expropriated land, we would fritter it all away yet again, and recycle it all back into alien hands.

We must therefore find out what deficiencies in our sense of identity what quirks in our mentality, what faults in our feelings solidarity made it possible for some of us to sell some of us into bondage; still make it possible for us to succumb to the divide and conquer tactics of our exploiters; make it possible for all too many of us to be afflicted with Negro necrophobia -- our counterpart of the self-hating disease of the anti-Semitic Semite. Twenty years ago, when I was writing The West and the Rest of Us, I gave it a subtitle: "White Predators, Black Slavers and the African Elite." That was to serve notice that we cannot overlook our complicity, as Black Slavers and as the African Elite, in what happened, and is still happening to us. We must, therefore, change ourselves in order to end our criminal complicity in perpetuating our lamentable condition.

Beyond all that, we must discover where we now are in our history. We must recognize that in 36 years of independence, reckoning from Ghana's in 1957 (just four years short of the 40 years the Israelites spent in the wilderness!), we have been blundering about in the neo-colonial wilderness. And we must ask: Why did Moses lead his people into the wilderness and keep them wandering about for two generations? I do not believe that he, a learned man raised in the pharaoh's court, did not know the direct route to his people's Promised Land. I believe it was a dilatory sojourn whose tribulations were calculated to cure his people of the legacy of slavery. You can't make a free people out of slaves without first putting them through experiences that would purge them of the slave mentality. We, in our own wilderness years, need to take conscious steps to purge ourselves of the legacy of a 500-year holocaust of slavery and colonialism. In that way, when we finally

arrive at our own Promised Land -- a Black World cured of the holocaust legacy -- we would be ready for the new liberated phase of our long adventure on this Earth.

To help us get our bearings in this wilderness phase, I would suggest four main measures:

1. The creation of Holocaust Monuments in all parts of the Black World, as reminders of what we have been through and are determined never again to go through. Efforts already being made in this area should continue and be added to. I am thinking, for instance, of the Goree Island Project in Senegal, and the Slave Route Project in Benin Republic. But let me recommend a major monument here in Abuja, this new capital rising in a zone that, in the past, witnessed intensive slave raiding for the trans-Saharan slave trade. We should erect here a monument complex that portrays scenes from the Black Holocaust, scenes taken from all parts of the world; a great Black Holocaust Monument that shall serve as the Black World's counterpart of the Wailing Wall of the Jews in Jerusalem.
2. The institution of a Holocaust Memorial Day, to be observed each year throughout the Black World, as a day of mourning and remembrance, with solemn ceremonies at local holocaust monuments. Perhaps this date, April 27, on which we have assembled here, should be designated the Holocaust Memorial Day of the Black World.
3. The creation of a Black Heritage Education Curriculum, to teach us our true history, and thereby restore our self-worth as descendants of the pioneers of world civilization, and supply us with the antidote to the White Supremacist Ideology and its damaging effects. This would produce a post-holocaust Black personality, one cured of the debilities inflicted by the holocaust experience.
4. The creation of a Black World League of Nations, with its complex of institutions, to take care of our collective security, to foster solidarity and prosperity among us, and to prevent the infliction of any future damage on any part of the Black World.

These measures, and others like them, would teach us who we are what we have been and ought to become, and would promote and concretize Black World solidarity. Having made such internal changes in ourselves and in our world, we would be better able to foster in the entire global order two key changes:

- a. A different view of global history, particularly of the last 500 year and of the millennia before 525 BC -- that calamitous year when Black Egypt fell permanently to white invaders, leaving all of Africa open for incursions from West Eurasia; and
- b. structural changes that would block the possibility of future damage of the sorts for which we now seek reparations.

To conclude, let me note that, for us, no global order would be truly new without apologies for ancient wrongs, without an end to continuing wrongs, without reparations, without restitutions, without the creation of systems and mechanisms that would ensure that the holocaust we have been through never happens again. Our crusade for reparations would be completed only when we achieve a global order without necrophobia, without alien hegemony over any part of the Black World, and without the possibility of holocaust. From our perspective, a global order which failed

to meet such conditions would not really be new or adequate: It would be an order serving us the same old bitter wine in some new bottle.

From here today, I foresee a day when we too shall get back our expropriated lands; I foresee a day when we too shall get compensation for our losses and our pains; I foresee a day when negrophobia and the conditions which foster it shall have vanished from the earth. But between now and that day, much work waits to be done. The most serious part of that work is the work of self rehabilitation. And so I say: "Black Soul, Heal Thyself, and all shall be restored to you".

I thank you all.

**CORPORATE RESTITUTION FOR SLAVERY:
PLAINTIFF AND DEFENDANT INFORMATION**

Compilation by Deadria C. Farmer-Paellmann

CORPORATE RESTITUTION FOR SLAVERY: PLAINTIFF AND DEFENDANT INFORMATION

This compilation comprises materials on landmark class action lawsuits brought on behalf of 35 million descendants of enslaved Africans for slavery reparations. The actions were filed by plaintiffs in six different states (New York, New Jersey, Illinois, California, Louisiana, and Texas) against a total of seventeen defendant corporations that allegedly profited from slavery and the transatlantic slave trade. The cases have been consolidated in the U.S. District Court, Northern District of Illinois, Eastern Division, before Judge Charles R. Norgle.

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WESTPOINT STEVENS

PLAINTIFF/DEFENDANT CHART

PLAINTIFFS	DEFENDANTS	STATE FILE DATE	MDL-1491 CASE No
Deadria Farmer-Paellmann	FleetBoston Financial Corporation Aetna Inc. CSX	New York 3/26/02	02-C-7766
Andre' Carrington	FleetBoston Financial Corporation Aetna Inc. CSX	New York 3/26/02	02-C-7767
Mary Lacey Madison	FleetBoston Financial Corporation Aetna Inc. CSX	New York 3/26/02	02-C-7768
Richard Barber	Brown Brothers Harriman New York Life Insurance Company Norfolk Southern	New Jersey 5/1/02	02-C-7765
Marcelle Porter Hannah Jane Hurdle-Toomey	Lloyd's of London Lehman Brothers Union Pacific	Illinois 8/29/02	02-C-6180
Eddlee Bankhead c/o John Bankhead	Lloyd's of London Lehman Brothers Norfolk Southern Westpoint Stevens R.J. Reynolds Tobacco Company Brown and Williamson Liggett Group, Inc. Loews Corporation	New York 9/3/02	02-C-9181
Timothy Hurdle Chester Hurdle	FleetBoston Financial Corporation Aetna Inc. Lloyd's of London New York Life Insurance Company Westpoint Stevens R.J. Reynolds Tobacco Company Brown and Williamson Liggett Group, Inc. Loews Corporation Canadian National AFSA Data Corp	California <i>State Court</i> 9/10/02	Pending
Raymond Johnson Antoinette Harrell-Miller, et al.	Aetna Inc. Lloyd's of London Brown Brothers Harriman R.J. Reynolds Tobacco Company Brown and Williamson Liggett Group, Inc. Loews Corporation CSX Corp Norfolk Southern Union Pacific Canadian National	Louisiana 9/3/02	02-C-9180
Julie Mae Wyatt-Kervin Ina Daniels Hurdle-McGee	J.P. Morgan Chase Westpoint Stevens Union Pacific	Texas 1/21/03	Pending

DEFENDANT CORPORATIONS

INSURANCE INDUSTRY

AETNA

AETNA INC. (“AETNA”) is a corporation with its principal place of business located at 151 Farmington Avenue, Hartford, Connecticut 06156. Upon information and belief, AETNA’s predecessor in interest, actually insured slave owners against the loss of their human chattel. AETNA knew the horrors of slave life as is evident in a rider through which the company declined to pay the premiums for slaves who were lynched or worked to death or who committed suicide. Additionally, AETNA insured enslaved Africans who worked in the agricultural industry of which Plaintiff’s enslaved. AETNA, therefore, unjustly profited from the institution of slavery.

LLOYD'S OF LONDON

LLOYD’S OF LONDON is an underwriting company with its principal places of business located at 1 Lime Street, London EC3M 7HA and at 590 5th Avenue, 17th Floor, New York, New York 10036. It was involved in insuring ships utilized for the Trans-Atlantic slave trade. The writing of such policies was an unfair business practice designed to help finance the international slave trade, to provide states with human chattel that were subjected to the immoral practices of slavery as set forth by the cruel and inhumane Slave Codes created and enforced by states.

Furthermore, upon information and belief LLOYD’S OF LONDON, failed to comply with California Slavery Era Policy Law, *Insurance Code* sections 13810 *et seq.* and its reporting requirement.

NEW YORK LIFE

NEW YORK LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY (“NEW YORK LIFE”) is a corporation with its general office located at 2 New York Plaza, 7th Floor, New York, New York 10004. NEW YORK LIFE’s predecessor-in-interest, Nautilus Insurance, earned premiums from its sale of life insurance to slave owners. It insured slaves in the agricultural industry.

FINANCE INDUSTRY

FLEETBOSTON

FLEETBOSTON is a Delaware corporation with its principal place of business located at 100 Federal Street, Boston, Massachusetts 02110. FLEETBOSTON is a successor in interest to the Providence Bank of Rhode Island that was founded by Rhode Island businessman John Brown. Brown owned ships that embarked on several transatlantic slave trading voyages when such trading was illegal according to Rhode Island Law. Brown was prosecuted in federal court for participating in such trading in violation of a 1794 federal law that prohibited certain types of slave trading.¹ Upon information and belief, the Providence Bank of Rhode Island lent substantial sums of money to Brown, thus financing and profiting from the founder's illegal slave trading.

Upon information and belief, FLEETBOSTON, through its predecessor bank, also collected custom duties and fees due on ships transporting enslaved Africans in violation of Rhode Island and federal law, thus profiting from the illegal slave trade

Upon information and belief, over 41,369 Africans were enslaved during the time that FLEETBOSTON, through its predecessor bank, collected custom duties and fees on ships engaged in the illegal slave trade.² Providing loans to slave traders to engage in illegal slave trading, and the regular collection of duties and fees, earned in the illegal enslavement of Africans constituted aiding and abetting in the illegal slave trade.

AFSA DATA CORP

AFSA DATA CORPORATION (AFSA) is a Delaware corporation with its principal place of business located at 1 World Trade Center, Suite 2200, Long Beach, California. AFSA is the education service unit of defendant FLEETBOSTON FINANCIAL CORPORATION. Upon information and belief, AFSA has benefited directly from the fraudulent activities of FLEETBOSTON related to slavery through, and among other things, its management of about 8.1 million student loans taken out by members of the general public worth approximately \$85 billion. In addition, AFSA may have benefited from FLEETBOSTON'S historical unlawful business acts.

BROWN BROTHERS HARRIMAN

BROWN BROTHERS HARRIMAN & COMPANY is a corporation with its principal place of business located at 59 Wall Street, New York, New York. It is the successor corporation to Brown Brothers & Co. The bank founders, James and William Brown, built their merchant bank by lending to Southern planters, brokering slave-grown

¹ The laws violated include Rhode Island's *1787 Act to prevent the Slave-Trade and Encourage the Abolition of Slavery*, and the Federal government's *1794 Act to Prohibit the Carrying on of the Slave Trade from the United States to Any Foreign Place of Country*.

² Jay Coughtry, *The Notorious Triangle: Rhode Island and the African Slave Trade 1700 to 1807*, at 267-285.

cotton and acting as a clearinghouse for the South's complex financial system. The firm earned commissions arranging cotton shipments from Southern ports to mills in New England and Britain. It also loaned millions directly to planters, merchants and cotton brokers throughout the South. Company records also reveal that Brown Brothers owed to plantation owners who told the firm that they needed the cash to buy slaves. When those planters or their banks failed, it used its local agents to run repossessed plantations and manage the enslaved Africans working there.

JP MORGAN CHASE

JP MORGAN CHASE is a corporation with its principal place of business at 270 Park Avenue, New York, New York 10017. Two of its predecessor banks that merged to become JP Morgan Chase were behind a consortium to raise money to insure slavery.

LEHMAN BROTHERS

LEHMAN BROTHERS is a corporation with its principal business at c/o King and Spalding, 1185 Avenue of the Americas, 30th Floor, New York, NY 10036. LEHMAN BROTHERS founder Henry Lehman began as a peddler in 1844, but shortly thereafter when his two brothers, Mayer and Emanuel joined him, they soon grew rich as middlemen in the slave-grown cotton trade. After Henry Lehman's death in 1856 and after the war, the remaining two brothers moved north and continued trading in cotton, oil, sugar and coffee, and then took a seat on the New York Stock Exchange in 1887.

TOBACCO INDUSTRY

RJ REYNOLDS TOBACCO COMPANY

R.J. REYNOLDS TOBACCO COMPANY is a corporation with its principal place of business located at 401 North Main Street, Winston-Salem, North Carolina 27102. R.J. REYNOLDS TOBACCO COMPANY is the beneficiary of assets acquired through the forced uncompensated labors of enslaved African Americans. Hardin Reynolds, father of R.J. Reynolds owned and operated a tobacco factory at the plantation called “Rock Spring Plantation” – the present day Reynolds Homestead in Critz, Virginia.³

Just before the Civil war, Hardin Reynolds owned at least 88 slaves who provided labor on the plantation, including in the Rock Spring tobacco factory.⁴ Operating information on the Rock Spring factory shows that slave labor was used to produce tobacco and other goods for the tobacco factory.⁵ Hardin Reynolds continued operation of his tobacco factory during and after the Civil war, and was not broken by the war.⁶ Amongst other enterprises, he often engaged in business partnerships with his children.⁷

Hardin Reynolds’ son, Richard Joshua Reynolds, founder of R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company, worked at the Rock Spring tobacco factory⁸ after the Civil War, and later formed a business partnership with his father at the factory. The partnership was called “Hardin Reynolds and Son.”⁹ In the fall of 1874, R.J. Reynolds sold his interest in the Rock Spring Factory¹⁰ and purchased land in North Carolina in October 1874 upon which he built an R.J. Reynolds Tobacco Company factory.¹¹ Records indicate that R. J. took half of two year’s profit from the Rock Spring factory to found his new company R.J. Reynolds Tobacco Company.¹²

³ Nannie M. Tilley, *The RJ Reynolds Tobacco Company*, at 8.

⁴ *Id.* at 9.

⁵ *Id.* at 13.

⁶ *Id.* at 27. Hardin Reynolds was able to raise money to pay taxes in the late 1860s and the 1870s, an indication that he was relatively well off even after the Civil War. *The Reynolds Homestead* by Nannie M. Tilley, 17-18.

⁷ *The RJ Reynolds Tobacco Company* at 14.

⁸ *Id.* at 21.

⁹ *Id.* at 24.

¹⁰ *Id.* at 26.

¹¹ *Id.* at 31.

¹² *Id.* at 48.

On April 4, 1899, R. J. Reynolds Tobacco company became a subsidiary of the American Tobacco Company¹³ through its relationship with the Continental Tobacco Company,¹⁴ a holding company of the American Tobacco Company.¹⁵ The American Tobacco Company owned controlling shares of stock in R.J. Reynolds Tobacco Company thereby benefiting from and aiding in its already profitable operations.¹⁶ This relationship existed until 1911, when the U.S. Supreme Court issued a ruling that broke the old American Tobacco Company into several large competing companies.¹⁷

Currently existing companies, once part of the American Tobacco Company, and therefore beneficiaries of the slave labor include: R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company, Brown & Williamson (formerly The American Tobacco Company via ownership of its predecessor by R.J. Reynolds Tobacco Company),¹⁸ Liggett Group Inc. (formerly Liggett & Myers Tobacco Company), and Lorillard Tobacco Company a subsidiary of Loews Corporation.¹⁹

BROWN & WILLIAMSON

BROWN AND WILLIAMSON TOBACCO CORP. (“BROWN & WILLIAMSON”) is a corporation with its principal place of business located at 200 Brown & Williamson Tower, Louisville, Kentucky 40202. BROWN AND WILLIAMSON is a successor in interest to The American Tobacco Company. BROWN AND WILLIAMSON benefited from slave labor because it was formed out of the American Tobacco Company that benefited from assets acquired by R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company from the uncompensated labor of enslaved Africans.

LIGGETT GROUP INC.

LIGGETT GROUP INC. is a corporation with its principal place of business located at 100 Maple Lane, Mebane, North Carolina. LIGGETT GROUP INC. is a successor in interest to the American Tobacco Company. LIGGETT GROUP INC. benefited from slave labor because it was formed out of the American Tobacco Company that benefited from assets acquired by R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company from the uncompensated labor of enslaved Africans. Such use of enslaved Africans was an unfair business practice set forth by Slave Codes created and enforced by states.

¹³ This “Tobacco Combination” or trust formed by James Buchanan Duke was wholly owned by Continental Tobacco Company.

¹⁴ Id. at 104

¹⁵ Id. at 95

¹⁶ Id. at 101

¹⁷ http://www.bw.com/Index_sub2.cfm?ID=10

¹⁸ Nanny M. Tilley. The RJ Reynolds Tobacco Company, at 546.

¹⁹ http://www.bw.com/Index_sub2.cfm?ID=10

LOEWS CORPORATION

LOEWS CORPORATION is the parent corporation of Lorillard Tobacco Company with its principal place of business located at 667 Madison Avenue, New York, New York 10021. LOEWS CORPORATION is a successor in interest to the American Tobacco Company due to its ownership of Lorillard Tobacco Company. LOEWS CORPORATION benefited from slave labor because its subsidiary was formed out of the American Tobacco Company that benefited from assets acquired by R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company from the uncompensated labor of enslaved Africans.

RAILROAD INDUSTRY

CANADIAN NATIONAL RAILWAY CO.

CANADIAN NATIONAL RAILWAY CO. is a corporation with its principal place of business located at 935 de La Gauchetiere St. West, Montreal, QU H3B 2, Canada. It is the successor-in—interest to seven predecessor railroad lines, that were constructed and/or run in part by slave labor.²⁰ Such use of enslaved Africans was an unfair business practice set forth by Slave Codes created and enforced by states.

Furthermore, upon information and belief, CANADIAN NATIONAL was approached by members of the general public to verify their historical connection to slavery. They denied any connection.

CSX

CSX is a Virginia corporation with its principal place of business located at 901 E. Cary Street, Richmond, VA 23219. It is a successor-in-interest to numerous predecessor railroad lines that were constructed or run, at least in part, by slave labor.

NORFOLK SOUTHERN

NORFOLK SOUTHERN is a corporation with its principal place of business located at Three Commercial Place, Norfolk Virginia 23410-9227. It is a successor-in-interest to numerous railroad lines that were constructed or run, in part, by slave labor.

UNION PACIFIC

UNION PACIFIC is a corporation with its principal place of business located at 1416 Dodge Street, Omaha, Nebraska 68179. It is a successor-in interest to numerous predecessor railroad lines that were constructed or run in part by slave labor.

²⁰ Jim Cox, *USA Today*, Feb. 21, 2002, citing Canadian National's ownership of seven rail lines built and/or operated by enslaved Africans including Mobile & Ohio which valued slaves lost to emancipation at \$199,691 in 1865 (valued today at \$2.2 million).

TEXTILE

WESTPOINT STEVENS

WESTPOINT STEVENS is a corporation with its principal place of business located at 1185 Avenue of Americas, New York, New York 10036. It is a successor-in-interest to Pepperell Manufacturing which utilized cotton from Southern planters farmed by enslaved Africans. Such use of enslaved Africans was an unfair business practice set forth by the cruel and inhumane Slave Codes created and enforced by states. Planters in turn purchased the finished product, a cheap, coarse cloth called “Negro cloth,” to clothe their human chattel. The fabric served as a reminder to enslaved Africans of their inferior status in life.²¹

²¹ Jim Cox, “Textile Firm Linked to ‘Negro Cloth’ for slaves,” *USA Today*, Feb. 21, 2002.

An Act establishing the New Jersey African-American Reconciliation Study Commission and making an appropriation.

Be It Enacted by the Senate and General Assembly of the State of New Jersey:

1. The Legislature finds and declares that:

a. The institution of slavery in America dates back to the beginning of the colonial period. Slavery was constitutionally and statutorily sanctioned by the United States government from 1789 through 1865. During that period, millions of persons of African origin were brought to this country against their will, deprived of their liberty, their property, their children and often their lives. Slavery assaulted the dignity and humanity of the persons who were enslaved, treating them as property and forced them to work under brutal physical and psychological conditions.

b. The presence of slavery in New Jersey can be dated from the beginnings of Dutch settlement, between 1625 and 1626.

c. The growing influence of the abolitionist movement in this State led to the outlawing of the importation of slaves in 1786, the progressive manumission of slaves in 1794, and legislation enacted in 1804 to abolish slavery gradually.

d. Slavery continued in New Jersey despite these laws. The State Legislature passed "Peace Resolutions" denying President Lincoln's power to emancipate slaves and later voted against the 13th Amendment to the United States Constitution. Slavery was not abolished in this State until the 1865 enactment of the 13th Amendment.

e. Emancipation was followed by over one hundred years of legal segregation and widespread discrimination against African-Americans. Core elements of our democracy were affected, including voting and other political and constitutional rights and our system of civil and criminal justice. These legacies of slavery impeded African-American efforts to protect themselves and their communities through political action.

f. Slaves and their descendants were deprived of access to real property, public accommodations, public benefits and other resources that have enabled voluntary immigrant groups to advance economically in America.

g. The legacy of slavery survives in New Jersey to this day, in the form of racial discrimination, racial profiling and social and economic segregation. These legacies affect all areas of individual and community life, including housing, education, employment, health care, spiritual life, political rights, law enforcement and justice.

h. The full effects of the institution and legacies of slavery on African-Americans living in New Jersey and their communities have never been sufficiently examined, nor has there been formal

acknowledgment of such effects, remedies for past injustice and present harm, or sufficient efforts at reconciliation.

i. Reconciliation between the African-Americans community and other communities in New Jersey would benefit all persons in this State.

j. Precedents in our country for reconciliation and remedies for past injustice have involved Native Americans, Japanese Americans, Jews, Filipino veterans and African-Americans victimized by the 1930s' syphilis experiments, and the Rosewood riots.

k. The Legislature declares that it is in the interest of the State and of the people of New Jersey for government to initiate and foster methods of improving knowledge and understanding between African-Americans and other peoples in New Jersey and adopting and initiating tested methods to foster communication and dialogue, for the purpose of achieving reconciliation and peace.

2. There is established in the Executive Branch of the State Government a commission to be known as the New Jersey African-American Reconciliation Study Commission. For the purpose of complying with the provisions of Article V, Section IV, paragraph 1 of the New Jersey Constitution, the commission is allocated within the Department of State.

3. a. The commission shall consist of 39 members, chosen to ensure ethnic diversity and broad geographic representation within New Jersey. Commission members shall be persons who are leaders in African-American organizations or communities, or have training or a verifiable interest in the history of slavery in America, New Jersey history and political science, African-American history, African-Caribbean history, labor history, penal history and law enforcement, economics, education, health, housing, human services, law, psychology, religion or sociology.

b. The Secretary of State shall be a member of the commission. The Governor shall appoint 31 public members, three shall be historians, two shall be students or members of youth organizations that support the work of the commission, two shall be members of the public, one person shall have expertise in public health administration and policies affecting the African-American community, one shall be recommended by the Director of the Division on Civil Rights in the Department of Law and Public Safety, one shall be recommended by the Director of the Office of Bias Crimes and Community Relations in the Division of Criminal Justice in the Department of Law and Public safety, one shall be recommended by Amnesty International-USA, one shall be recommended by the American Civil Liberties Union of New Jersey, one shall be recommended by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, one shall be recommended by the New Jersey Human and Civil Rights Association, one shall be recommended by the New Jersey Black Issues Convention, one shall be recommended by the National Coalition of Blacks for Reparations in America, one shall be recommended by the New Jersey Coalition for Reparations, one shall be recommended by the Coalition for Justice, one shall be recommended by the Urban League, one shall be recommended by the New Jersey Chapter of the Association of Black Psychologists; one attorney shall be recommended by the Association of Black Women Lawyers of New Jersey and one attorney shall be recommended by the New Jersey Bar Association, each of which shall have experience in reparations, the representation of African-Americans or advocacy on behalf of the interests of African-Americans; one shall be recommended by the Black Cops Against Police Brutality, one shall be recommended by the Black Minister's Council, one shall be recommended

by the Black Psychiatrists of America, one shall be recommended by the Black Trade Unionists, one shall be recommended by the Education Law Center, one shall be recommended by the Fair Share Housing Center, one shall be recommended by the New Jersey Chapter of the National Economic Association, one shall be recommended by the New Jersey Association of Black Sociologists, and one shall be recommended by the New Jersey Association on Correction. No more than 16 members appointed by the Governor shall be members of the same political party.

c. Each Senate President shall appoint one member of the Senate, each of whom shall be a member of a different political party. The Speaker of the General Assembly and the Majority Leader and the Minority Leader of the General Assembly shall each appoint one member of the General Assembly, no more than two of which shall be members of the same political party. The Senate Presidents, together with the Speaker of the General Assembly and the Minority leader thereof shall jointly appoint two additional members, each shall be recommended by the Black and Latino Caucus and each shall be members of different political parties.

d. Vacancies in the membership of the commission shall be filled in the same manner as the original appointments were made.

4. The members of the commission shall be appointed and shall hold their initial organizational meeting within 60 days after the effective date of this act. The members shall elect one of the members to serve as chair and the chair may appoint a secretary, who need not be a member of the commission. The members of the commission shall serve without compensation, but shall be eligible for reimbursement for necessary and reasonable expenses incurred in the performance of their official duties within the limits of funds appropriated or otherwise made available to the commission for its purposes. In addition, the commission shall solicit, receive and accept appropriations, gifts and donations. Legislative members shall serve during the term for which they were elected or selected.

5. The commission shall meet at least monthly and at the call of the chair. A meeting of the commission shall be called upon the request of 20 of the commission's members and 20 members of the commission shall constitute a quorum at any meeting thereof.

6. a. The commission shall hold at least five public hearings in different parts of the State, including Newark, Paterson, New Brunswick, Trenton and Camden at such times and places as the commission shall determine. The mayor of the city or municipality in which the hearing is held, the members of the board of chosen freeholds and the members of the Human Relations Committee of the county in which the city or municipality is located shall be invited to testify before the commission. All issues raised by those testifying at the hearings shall be recorded and included, together with the commission's responses if any, in the commission's report to the Governor and Legislature.

b. The commission shall publicize its mission and procedures throughout the State, through county human rights committees, the organizations recommending members of the commission and other ways. The commission shall invite public comment on the issues raised by the commission as part of its responsibilities.

7. The commission shall have the following responsibilities:

a. examine the institution of slavery and its legacies in the colony and the State between 1625 and the present;

b. examine the extent to which the State supported the institution of slavery in its Constitutional and statutory law and in its regulations, policies, practices and judicial decisions;

c. identify the State-created or supported entities that profited or attempted to profit from commercial involvement with the international and domestic trade of African slaves or from the forced labor of African slaves and their descendants;

d. examine the extent to which State laws that discriminated against freed African slaves, their decedents and other African-Americans residing in New Jersey, and to identify policies and practices, including economic, political and social discrimination by the State and State-created or supported entities, between 1865 and the present;

e. examine the extent to which the State and State-created and supported entities benefited from the institution and legacies of slavery;

f. examine the effects of the institution and legacies of slavery on African-Americans and their communities in New Jersey;

g. quantify the debt owed by the State of New Jersey, local governments and State-created and supported entities to African-Americans residing in New Jersey for wages, benefits, interest and compensation for the de jure and de facto support and protection of the institution of slavery and its legacies;

h. recommend specific remedies be offered to African-Americans residing in New Jersey and their communities for violations of the human and civil rights of African-Americans during two centuries of slavery, and the continuing suffering and harm caused by segregation, discrimination and other social, economic and political effects of slavery and its legacies;

i. determine eligibility requirements for individuals and communities to be offered such remedies;

j. research methods and materials for facilitating education, community dialogue, symbolic acknowledgment and other formal actions leading to reconciliation and a sense of justice among the peoples of this State;

k. make recommendations for local, county and Statewide actions to follow up the commission's recommendations;

l. estimate the intended benefits and costs of the commission's recommendations; and

m. consider such other matters relating to the institution and legacies of slavery in New Jersey as the members of the commission may deem appropriate.

8. a. The commission is authorized to call upon any department, office, division or agency of the State, or of any county, municipality or school district of the State, to supply such data, program reports and other information, personnel and assistance as it deems necessary to discharge its responsibilities under this act.

b. These departments, offices, divisions and agencies shall, to the extent possible and not inconsistent with any other law of this State, cooperate with the commission and shall furnish it with such information, personnel and assistance as may be necessary or helpful to accomplish the purposes of this act.

c. The commission is authorized to procure the services of such experts and consultants to assist with its work as it deems necessary.

9. The commission shall report its initial findings and recommendations to the Governor, the Legislature and the public within 16 months of its initial organizational meeting. The initial report shall be disseminated widely throughout the State, with notice given that additional comments received by the commission within 60 days after the release of the initial report shall be forwarded to the Governor and the Legislature. After the initial report is released, the commission shall provide quarterly reports of its activities and findings to the Governor and the Legislature for the duration of its existence.

10. There shall be appropriated from the General Fund to the commission the sum of \$75,000 to effectuate its provisions.

11. This act shall take effect immediately and shall expire on the day exactly five years after the commission submits its findings and recommendations to the Governor and Legislature.

STATEMENT

This bill establishes in the Department of State a 39-member New Jersey African-American Reconciliation Study Commission.

The commission has the following responsibilities:

1) examine the institution of slavery and its legacies in the colony and the State between 1625 and the present;

2) examine the extent to which the State supported the institution of slavery in its Constitutional and statutory law and in its regulations, policies, practices and judicial decisions;

3) identify the State-created or supported entities that profited or attempted to profit from commercial involvement with the international and domestic trade of African slaves or from the forced labor of African slaves and their descendants;

- 4) examine the extent to which State laws that discriminated against freed African slaves, their decedents and other African-Americans residing in New Jersey, and to identify policies and practices, including economic, political and social discrimination by the State and State-created or supported entities, between 1865 and the present;
- 5) examine the extent to which the State and State-created and supported entities benefited from the institution and legacies of slavery;
- 6) examine the effects of the institution and legacies of slavery on African-Americans and their communities in New Jersey;
- 7) quantify the debt owed by the State of New Jersey, local governments and State-created and supported entities to African-Americans residing in New Jersey for wages, benefits, interest and compensation for the de jure and de facto support and protection of the institution of slavery and its legacies;
- 8) recommend specific remedies be offered to African-Americans residing in New Jersey and their communities for violations of the human and civil rights of African-Americans during two centuries of slavery, and the continuing suffering and harm caused by segregation, discrimination and other social, economic and political effects of slavery and its legacies;
- 9) determine eligibility requirements for individuals and communities to be offered such remedies;
- 10) research methods and materials for facilitating education, community dialogue, symbolic acknowledgment and other formal actions leading to reconciliation and a sense of justice among the peoples of this State;
- 11) make recommendations for local, county and Statewide actions to follow up the commission's recommendations;
- 12) estimate the intended benefits and costs of the commission's recommendations; and
- 13) consider such other matters relating to the institution and legacies of slavery in New Jersey as the members of the commission may deem appropriate.

The commission is to include among its 39 members the Secretary of State. The Governor would appoint 31 public members, three historians, two students or members of youth organizations that support the work of the commission, two members of the public, one person with expertise in public health administration and policies affecting the African-American community, one recommended by the Director of the Division on Civil Rights in the Department of Law and Public Safety, one recommended by the Director of the Office of Bias Crimes and Community Relations in the Division of Criminal Justice in the Department of Law and Public safety, one recommended by Amnesty International-USA, one recommended by the American Civil Liberties Union of New Jersey, one recommended by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People,

one recommended by the New Jersey Human and Civil Rights Association, one recommended by the New Jersey Black Issues Convention, one recommended by the National Coalition of Blacks for Reparations in America, one recommended by the New Jersey Coalition for Reparations, one recommended by the Coalition for Justice, one recommended by the Urban League, one recommended by the New Jersey Chapter of the Association of Black Psychologists; one attorney recommended by the Association of Black Women Lawyers of New Jersey and one attorney recommended by the New Jersey Bar Association, each of which must have experience in reparations, the representation of African-Americans or advocacy on behalf of the interests of African-Americans; one recommended by the Black Cops Against Police Brutality, one recommended by the Black Minister's Council, one recommended by the Black Psychiatrists of America, one recommended by the Black Trade Unionists, one recommended by the Education Law Center, one recommended by the Fair Share Housing Center, one recommended by the New Jersey Chapter of the National Economic Association, one recommended by the New Jersey Association of Black Sociologists, and one recommended by the New Jersey Association on Correction. No more than 16 members appointed by the Governor could be members of the same political party. Each Senate President would appoint one member of the Senate, each of which must be a member of a different political party. The Speaker of the General Assembly and the Majority Leader and the Minority Leader of the General Assembly would each appoint one member of the General Assembly, no more than two of which can be members of the same political party. The Senate Presidents, together with the Speaker of the General Assembly and the Minority leader thereof would jointly appoint two additional members, each of which must be recommended by the Black and Latino Caucus and members of different political parties. Legislative members shall serve during the term for which they were elected or selected. The commission is to report its initial findings and recommendations to the Governor and Legislature within 16 months of its initial organizational meeting, which is to occur within 60 days of the date the bill becomes law. After the initial report is released, the commission is to provide quarterly reports of its activities and findings to the Governor and the Legislature for the duration of its five-year existence. Finally, the bill appropriates from the General Fund to the commission the sum of \$75,000 to effectuate its provisions.

Establishes 39-member New Jersey African-American Reconciliation Study Commission; appropriates \$75,000.

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
For The
EASTERN DISTRICT OF NEW YORK

-----X
DEADRIA FARMER-PAELLMANN,

On behalf of herself
and all other persons
similarly situated,

PLAINTIFF,

vs.

FLEETBOSTON FINANCIAL CORPORATION, AETNA:
INC., CSX, and Their predecessors, successors
and/or assigns, and CORPORATE DOES NOS. 1-1000,

DEFENDANTS.
-----X

CIVIL ACTION #
CV 02 1862
CLASS ACTION
GARAUFIS, J.
MANN, M.J.

**COMPLAINT
AND JURY TRIAL DEMAND**

FILED
IN CLERK'S OFFICE
U.S. DISTRICT COURT E.D.N.Y.
★ MAR 26 2002 ★
BROOKLYN OFFICE

(Handwritten initials: MN and SY)

Plaintiffs, on behalf of themselves and all other persons similarly situated, state, upon information and belief, as follows:

INTRODUCTION, JURISDICTION AND VENUE

Introduction

1. Over 8,000,000 Africans and their descendants were enslaved in the United States from 1619 to 1865. The practice of slavery constituted an "immoral and inhumane deprivation of Africans' life, liberty, African citizenship rights, cultural heritage" and it further deprived them of the fruits of their own labor.

(Handwritten circled number 1)

2. The first slave ship that sailed into Jamestown Harbor in Virginia in 1619 contained a handful of captive Africans, but by the end of the Atlantic slave trade, more than two centuries later, somewhere between 8 million and 12 million Africans had arrived in the New World in chains.¹

3. Historians estimate that one slave perished for every one who survived capture in the African interior and made it alive to the New World, meaning as many as 12 million perished along the way.²

4. Although, it is a common perception that the South alone received the enslaved Africans, many of them arrived in the Dutch colonial city of New Amsterdam that later became New York City. Integral to the colony from the start, slaves helped build Trinity Church, the streets of the city and the wall, from which Wall Street takes its name, that protected the colony from military strikes.³

5. These slaves in New York lived in attics, hallways and beneath porches, cheek to jowl with their master and mistresses. In death, these same slaves were banished to the Negro Burial Ground, which lay a mile outside the city limits and contained between 10,000 and 20,000 bodies by the time it was closed in 1794. Id.

6. Further research conducted by Howard University of 400 skeletons of these buried slaves revealed that 40 percent were children under the age of 15 and the most common cause of death was malnutrition. Most of the children had rickets, scurvy, anemia or related diseases. The adult skeletons show that many people died of unrelenting hard labor. Strain on

¹ Brent Staples, African Holocaust, *The Lessons of a Graveyard*.

² Ira Berlin, "Many Thousands Gone".

³ Brent Staples, African Holocaust, *The Lessons of a Graveyard*.

the muscles and ligaments was so extreme that muscle attachments were commonly ripped away from the skeleton taking chunks of bone with them-leaving the body in perpetual pain. The highest mortality rate is found among women ages 15 to 20. Investigators have concluded that some died of illnesses acquired in the holds of slave ships or from a first exposure to the cold or from the trauma of being torn from their families and shipped in chains halfway around the globe. Moreover, the research has concluded that these women were worked to death by owners who could simply go out and buy a new slave.⁴

7. But New Yorkers were not alone in the utilization of slaves, in fact, more recent research has revealed that many of our esteemed and celebrated institutions of learning had their origins in the profits derived from the slave trade. For instance, money from the slave trade financed Yale University's first endowed professorship, its first endowed scholarships and its first endowed library fund. Moreover, in the 1830's, Yale officials led the opposition that prevented the building of the first African American college, on the grounds that such an institution would have been "incompatible with the existence of Yale". Nicholas and John Brown, two of the founders of what became Brown University were slave traders. Likewise, Harvard Law School was endowed by money its founder earned selling slaves in Antigua's cane fields.⁵

8. Many early American industries were based on the cotton, sugar, rice, tobacco, and other products African labor produced. Railroads and shipping companies, the banking

⁴ Brent Staples, *African Holocaust, Lessons from a Graveyard*, quoting in part from Dr. Michael Blakey, Howard University.

⁵ Kate Zernike, "Slave Trader's in Yale's Past Fuel Debate on Restitution", *New York Times* (August 13, 2001)
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industry and many other businesses made huge profits from the commerce generated by the output of enslaved labor.

9. Slaves built the U.S. Capitol, cast and hoisted the statue of freedom on top of its dome, and cleared the forest between the Capitol and the White House.⁶

10. Slavery fueled the prosperity of the young nation. From 1790 to 1860 alone, the U.S. economy reaped the benefits of as much as \$40 million in unpaid labor.⁷ Some estimate the current value of this unpaid labor at 1.4 trillion dollars.⁸

11. Not only did the institution of slavery result in the extinguishment of millions of Africans, it eviscerated whole cultures: languages, religions, mores, and customs, it psychologically destroyed its victims. It wrenched from them their history, their memories, and their families on a scale never previously witnessed.

12. When the institution finally ended, the vestiges, racial inequalities and cultural psychic scars left a disproportionate number of American slave descendants injured and heretofore without remedy.

13. Although the institution of slavery in the United States was officially outlawed in 1865, it continued, de facto, until as recently as the 1950's. National archive records reveal that in the 1920's and 1930's, the NAACP still received letters from African-Americans claiming to still be on plantations and forced to work without pay. Several claims were investigated and

⁶ Randall Robinson, *Compensate the Forgotten Victims of America's Slavery Holocaust*.

⁷ Tim Wise, "Breaking the Cycle of White Dependency" (5/22/02).

⁸ Tamara Audi, "Payback for Slavery: Growing Push for Reparations Tries to Fulfill Broken Promise", quoting Randall Robinson (9/18/00).

were found to be legitimate. Moreover, as late as 1954, the Justice Department prosecuted the Dial brothers in Sumpter County, Alabama because they held blacks in involuntary servitude.⁹

14. Even for those who were “freed”, their lives remained locked in quasi-servitude, due to legal, economic and psychic restraints that effectively blocked their economic, political and social advancement. Id.

15. Hence, new measures called “Black Codes” guaranteed control of Blacks by white employers. As John Hope Franklin noted in From Slavery to Freedom:

the control of blacks by white employers was about as great as that which slaveholders had exercised. Blacks who quit their job could be arrested and imprisoned for breach of contract. They were not allowed to testify in court except in cases involving members of their own race; numerous fines were imposed for seditious speeches, insulting gestures or acts, absence from work, violating curfews and the possession of firearms. There was of course no enfranchisement of blacks and no indication that in the future they could look forward to full citizenship and participation in democracy.¹⁰

16. The post-Reconstruction Southern practices of peonage and sharecropping which continued well into the twentieth century were direct outgrowths of slavery that continued a system of complete control by the dominant culture. Peonage was a complex system where a black man would be arrested for “vagrancy”, ordered to pay a fine that he could not afford, and then incarcerated. A plantation owner would then pay the fine and then hire him until he could

⁹ Alistair Highet, “Will America Pay for the Sins of the Past, Slavery’s Past”. (February 14, 2002). The Hartford Advocate, quoting, Dr. Ronald Waters.

¹⁰ Franklin, John Hope. From Slavery to Freedom, New York; Knof (1947).
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afford to pay off the fine. The peon was forced to work, locked up at night and if he escaped, was chased by bloodhounds until recaptured.¹¹

17. Likewise, during the 1920's, fortunate African-Americans became sharecroppers on land leased from whites whose grandparents had owned their forebearers. These African Americans were not allowed to vote, and were socially and economically relegated to the leftovers in education, earnings, and freedoms.

18. More recently, a 1998 census report shows that 26 percent of African American people in the United States live in poverty compared to 8 percent of whites. It also showed that 14.7 percent of African Americans have four-year college degrees, compared with 25 percent of whites. The same year, African American infant-mortality rates were more than twice as high as those among whites. Federal figures also show that a Black person born in 1996 can expect to live, on average, 6.6 fewer years than a white person born the same year.

19. African-Americans are more likely to go to jail, to be there longer, and if their crime is eligible, to receive the death penalty. They lag behind whites according to every social yardstick: literacy, life expectancy, income and education. They are more likely to be murdered and less likely to have a father at home.

20. Defendants, including, but not limited to **FLEETBOSTON FINANCIAL CORPORATION, AETNA INC., CSX, through their predecessors-in-interest**, conspired with slave traders, with each other and other entities and institutions (whose identities are not yet specifically identified, but which are described herein as **CORPORATE DOES # 1-100**) and

¹¹ Yuval Taylor, I Was Born a Slave.
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other un-named entities and/or financial institutions to commit and/or knowingly facilitate crimes against humanity, and to further illicitly profit from slave labor.

21. Plaintiffs and the plaintiff class are slave descendents whose ancestors were forced into slavery from which the defendants unjustly profited. Plaintiffs seek an accounting, constructive trust, restitution, disgorgement and compensatory and punitive damages arising out of Defendants' past and continued wrongful conduct.

JURISDICTION AND VENUE

22. This Court has jurisdiction over this matter pursuant to 28 U.S.C. 1332(a) since the amount in controversy exceeds \$75,000 per plaintiff exclusive of interests and costs and there is diversity of citizenship.

23. The Court has personal jurisdiction over the parties in that the defendants conduct systematic and continuous business within the State of New York.

24. Venue is proper in this Court since the Defendants do business and may be found in the District within the meaning of 28 U.S.C. 1391(a).

25. Plaintiffs and the plaintiff class are African-American slave descendents.

26. Plaintiff is a New York resident whose ancestors were enslaved in the agricultural industry.

DEFENDANTS

27. Defendants and the other known and unknown defendants used and/or profited from slave labor and have retained the benefits and use of those profits and products derived from that slave labor. Defendants knew that the plaintiff class was subject to physical and mental abuse and inhuman treatment.

28. Defendants conspired with each other with intentions to violate Plaintiffs' ancestors' basic human rights from slavery in that and by so doing to profit from these violations.

29. Defendant **FLEETBOSTON** is a Delaware corporation with its principal place of business located at 100 Federal Street, Boston, Massachusetts 02110. It does continuous and systematic business in New York. **FLEETBOSTON** is the successor in interest to Providence Bank who was founded by Rhode Island businessman John Brown. Brown owned ships that embarked on several slaving voyages and Brown was prosecuted in federal court for participating in the international slave trade after it had become illegal under federal law. Upon information and belief, Providence Bank lent substantial sums to Brown, thus financing and profiting from the founder's illegal slave trading. Upon information and belief, **FLEETBOSTON** also collected custom fees due from ships transporting slaves, thus, further profiting from the slave trade.

30. Defendant **CSX** is a Virginia corporation with its principal place of business located at 901 E. Cary Street, Richmond, VA 23219. It is a successor-in-interest to numerous predecessor railroad lines that were constructed or run, at least in part, by slave labor.¹²

31. Defendant **AETNA INC.** (“**AETNA**”) is a corporation with its principal place of business located at 151 Farmington Avenue, Hartford, Connecticut 06156. Upon information and belief, **AETNA**’s predecessor in interest, actually insured slave owners against the loss of their human chattel. **AETNA** knew the horrors of slave life as is evident in a rider through which the company declined to pay the premiums for slaves who were lynched or worked to death or who committed suicide. Additionally, **AETNA** insured enslaved Africans who worked in the agricultural industry of which Plaintiff’s enslaved. **AETNA**, therefore, unjustly profited from the institution of slavery.

32. Defendants **CORPORATE DOES NOS. 1-100** are other companies, industrial, manufacturing, financial and other enterprises that, like the named Defendants, its/their predecessors, affiliates and/or assigns unjustly profited from slave labor. The designation **CORPORATE DOES NOS. # 1-100** is used until such time as the specific identity of such additional companies, as they relate to this action, is ascertained through discovery and/or other means.

¹² Jim Cox, “Rail Networks Own Lines Bult with Slave Labor” USA TODAY (02/21/02)

CLASS ALLEGATIONS

33. This action is brought and may properly be maintained as a class action pursuant to the provision of the Federal Rules of Civil Procedure 23(a), 23(b)(2) and 23(b)(3). Plaintiffs seek certification of the following class: all African-American slave descendants.

34. The exact number of Plaintiff class members is not known. Plaintiffs estimate that the class includes millions of African-American slave descendants and the Plaintiffs estimate that the class is so numerous that joinders of individual members is impracticable. The number and identities of the class members can only be ascertained through appropriate investigation and discovery.

35. Questions of fact and law are common with respect to each class member. Common questions of fact and law include:

- a. Whether Defendants knowingly, intentionally and systematically benefited from the use of enslaved laborers;
 - b. Whether Defendants wrongly converted to their own use and for their own benefit, the slave labor and services of the Plaintiffs' forebearers, as well as, the products and profits from such slave labor;
 - c. Whether the Defendants knew or should have known that they were assisting and acting as accomplices in immoral and inhuman deprivation of life and liberty;
 - d. Whether Defendants have been unjustly enriched by their wrongful conduct;
- and

- e. Whether, as a result of this horrific and wrongful conduct by the Defendants, the Plaintiff class is entitled to restitution or other equitable relief, or to compensatory or punitive damages.

36. The claims of the individually named Plaintiffs are typical of the claims of the Plaintiff Class Members. Plaintiffs and all members of the Plaintiff Class have been similarly affected by the Defendants common course of conduct and the members of each class have similar claims against the Defendants. The claims of all class members depend on a showing of the Defendants' common course of conduct, as described herein, which gives Plaintiffs, individually and as class representative, the right to the relief sought herein.

37. There is no conflict as between Plaintiffs and the other members of the class with respect to this action or the claims for relief. Plaintiffs know and understand their asserted rights and their roles as class representatives.

38. Plaintiffs and their attorneys are able to and will fairly, and adequately, protect the interest of the Class. Several of Plaintiffs' attorneys are experienced class action litigators who are or will be able to conduct the proposed litigation. Plaintiffs' attorneys can vigorously prosecute the rights of the proposed class members.

39. Prosecution of separate actions by individual Plaintiffs will create the risk of inconsistent and varying adjudications and will establish incompatible standards of conduct for Defendants in that different Courts may order Defendants to provide different types of accounting or take other inconsistent actions.

40. Prosecutions of separate actions by individual plaintiffs of other proposed class members not party to the adjudications will substantially impair or impede their ability to protect their interest in that, for example, Defendants may exhaust their available funds in satisfying the claims of earlier plaintiffs to the detriment of later plaintiffs.

41. Defendants have acted and/or refused to act on grounds generally applicable to the proposed class, making final injunctive relief and correspondent declaratory relief appropriate with respect to the class as a whole in that Defendants have been unjustly enriched by participation in acts that were known to be immoral and inhumane, and Defendants: (a) prevented and or refused restitution to the proposed class members, (b) prevented and/or refused to disgorge wrongfully gained and/or earned profits and benefits, or (c) refused to provide a full and complete accounting and disclosure of the extent of their aforesaid actions.

42. Common questions of law and fact predominate in the claims of all class members, including the named Plaintiff. These claims depend on proving Defendants are liable for their acts and/or omissions based, in part, on evidence of a common scheme. Plaintiffs' and the plaintiff class members; proposed evidentiary showings would be based on the same documents and testimony concerning the Defendants' actions.

43. A class action is superior to the other available methods for the fair, just and efficient adjudication of the controversy. Plaintiffs and the Plaintiff class members have no interest in individually controlling the prosecution of separate actions and, instead are on the whole incapable as practical matter of pursuing individual claims. Even if individual class members had the resources to pursue individual litigation, it would be unduly burdensome to the Courts in which the individual litigation would proceed. Individual litigation magnifies the delay

and expenses to all parties in that the Court system of resolving the controversies engendered by Defendants/individual and/or common course of conduct. The class action device allows a single court to provide the benefits of unitary adjudication, judicial economy and the fair and equitable handling of all plaintiffs; claims in a single forum. The conduct of this action as a class action conserves the resources of the parties and of the judicial system, and reserves the rights of each class member. Furthermore, for most class members, a class action is the only feasible mechanism that allows them an opportunity for legal redress and justice. A large concentration of proposed class members is estimated to reside in this District and nearby states. The management of the litigation as a class would pose few problems for this Court.

44. Certification of the Plaintiff class is appropriate under Fed. R. Civ. P. 23(a) and also under 23(b)(2), 23(b)(3).

EQUITABLE TOLLING

45. The plaintiffs have been unable to secure records with regards to their ancestors due to the failure of most to be able to reliably access ship manifestos, or human cargo lists that directly connect them to their descendants. Moreover, family names were changed once the Africans arrived in America making it nearly impossible to accurately trace records. Recent advances in Internet and computer databases have made these records more accessible to the average African-American.

46. Likewise, corporate histories and records have also been extremely difficult and inaccessible to most people. Hence, research tracing the monetary benefit derived by American

corporations from the slave trade has only been accessible and discussed by prominent researches within the last year.

47. Moreover, efforts to attempt to raise the issue of reparations for African-Americans in an attempt to secure easier access to information have stalled in Congress. Representative John Conyers from Michigan has for the last 11 years attempted to propose a resolution, No. 40, seeking to set aside \$8 million dollars to study the effects of slavery and come up with a formula for reparations. His resolution has died in committee for each of these past eleven years.

48. Moreover, with the advent of litigation related to reparations for holocaust victims from government entities and corporations, more emphasis has been placed on the viability of lawsuits for reparations for human rights violations.

49. Finally, the action of each of the Defendants by their failure to provide an accounting to the plaintiff constitutes a continuing tort that tolls the statute.

COUNT I - CONSPIRACY

50. Each of the Defendants acted individually and in concert with their industry group and with each other, either expressly or tacitly, to participate in a plan that was designed in part to commit the tortious acts referred to herein.

51. For instance, each industry group was co-dependant on each other and operated as joint enterprise, designed in part, to maintain and continue a system of inhumane servitude. The shipping and railroad industry benefited and profited from the transportation of the slaves. The railroad industry utilized slave labor in the construction of rail lines. These transportation

industries were dependent upon the manufacturing and raw materials industry to utilize the slaves they shipped. The cotton, tobacco, rice and sugar industries thrived on profits generated from their use of slave labor, and relied upon financial and insurance industries to finance and insure the slaves that they utilized and owned. All industries: raw market, retail, financial, insurance, and transportation, benefited from the reduced costs of slave-produced goods.

COUNT II- DEMAND FOR AN ACCOUNTING

52. Plaintiffs on behalf of themselves and all other descendants who are similarly situated, re-allege as if fully set forth, each and every allegation contained into the preceding paragraphs.

53. The Defendants knew or should have know of the existence of corporate records that indicate their profiting from slave labor. Plaintiffs and the public have demanded that the Defendants reveal their complete corporate records regarding same and that a just and fair accounting be made for profits derived from the slave trade.

54. Defendants have failed to provide said records and have failed to comply with plaintiffs' demand.

WHEREFORE, Plaintiffs demand judgment: (a) requiring defendants make a full disclosure of all of their corporate records that reveal any evidence of slave labor or their profiting from same; (2) seeking the appointment of an independent historic commission to serve as a depository for corporate records related to slavery and; (3) directing defendants to account to plaintiffs for any profits they derived from slavery.

COUNT III - HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS

57. Plaintiffs on behalf of themselves and all other descendants who are similarly situated, re-allege as if fully set forth, each and every allegation contained into the preceding paragraphs.

58. The Defendants participated into the activities of the institution of slavery and in so doing furthered the commission of crimes against humanity, crimes against peace, slavery and forced labor, torture, rape, starvation, physical and mental abuse, summary execution. Specifically, the defendants profited from these wrongs.

59. Defendants knowingly benefited from a system that enslaved, tortured, starved and exploited human beings, so as to personally benefit them. In the process, the Defendants directly or indirectly subjected the plaintiffs' ancestors to inhumane treatment, physical abuse, torture, starvation, execution and subjected the plaintiffs to the continued effects of the original acts, including but not limited to: race discrimination, unequal opportunity, poverty, substandard health care, substandard treatment, substandard housing, substandard education, unjust incarceration, racial profiling, and inequitable pay.

60. The above referenced actions by the Defendants were in violation of international law.

61. As a result of the above referenced violations of international law, Plaintiffs and members of the Plaintiff class have suffered injury and are entitled to compensatory damages in an amount to be determined at trial.

COUNT IV - CONVERSION

62. Plaintiffs on behalf of themselves and all other slave ancestors who are similarly situated, re-allege as if fully set forth, each and every allegation contained in the preceding paragraphs.

63. As a result of Defendants' failure and refusal to account for, acknowledge and return to Plaintiffs and the members of the Plaintiff class, the value of their slave labor, Defendants have willfully and wrongfully misappropriated and converted the value of that labor and its derivative profits into Defendants' own property.

64. Defendants have never accounted for or returned the value of Plaintiffs ancestors' slave labor and the profits Defendants derived from said slave labor.

65. As a result of Defendants' wrongful acts and omissions, Plaintiffs and members of the Plaintiffs class have been injured and demand judgment against the Defendants jointly, severally and/or in the alternative on this cause of action for, amongst other things: (a) an accounting of the slave labor monies, profits and/or benefits derived by Defendants; (b) a constructive trust in the value of said monies, profits and/or benefits derived by Defendants use of slave labor; (c) full restitution in the value of all monies, profits, and/or benefits derived by Defendants' use of slave labor; (d) equitable disgorgement of all said monies, profits, and/or benefits derived by Defendants' exploitation of slave labor; and (e) other damages in an amount in excess of the jurisdictional limits of this Court and to be determined at the trial herein, together with interest, exemplary or punitive damages, attorney's fees and costs of this action.

COUNT V - UNJUST ENRICHMENT

66. Plaintiffs on behalf of themselves and all other slave descendants who are similarly situated, re-allege as if fully set forth, each and every allegation contained into the preceding paragraphs.

67. Defendants have improperly benefited from the immoral and inhumane institution of Slavery in the United States.

68. Defendants have failed to account for and or return to Plaintiffs and the Plaintiff class the value of their ancestors' slave labor and or the profits and benefits the Defendants derived therefrom and Defendants have concealed the nature and scope of their participation in the Institution.

69. As a result of the Defendants' wrongful acts and omissions as described above, Defendants have been unjustly enriched.

70. Defendants have been unjustly enriched at the expense of Plaintiffs and the Plaintiffs class. Plaintiffs and the Plaintiffs class therefore demand restitution and judgment against the Defendants jointly, severally and/or in the alternative, in an amount in excess of the jurisdictional limits of this Court and to be determined at the trial herein, together with interest, exemplary or punitive damages, attorney's fees and the costs of this action.

PRAYER FOR RELIEF

WHEREFORE Plaintiffs and the Plaintiffs' class demand a jury trial and judgment and damages against the Defendants, jointly, severally and/or in the alternative, as follows:

- (1) For an order certifying the Plaintiff class alleged herein;
- (2) For an accounting;
- (3) For the appointment of an independent historic commission;
- (4) For the imposition of a constructive trust;
- (5) For restitution of the value of their descendants' slave labor;
- (6) For restitution of the value of their unjust enrichment based upon slave labor;
- (7) For disgorgement of illicit profits;
- (8) For compensatory damages in an amount to be determined by trial together with interest;
- (9) For exemplary or punitive damages in an amount to be determined at trial;

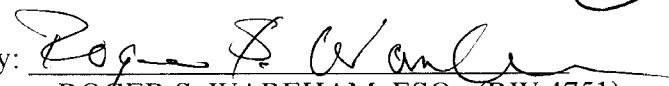
- (10) For attorneys' fees; and
(11) For the cost of this action.

Dated: March 26, 2002
New York, New York

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The Meaning of Reparation

Kimani Nehusi

The original version of this paper was presented to the Birmingham Preparatory Reparation Conference, 11 December 1993.

For the African people a full and correct understanding of the term ‘reparation’ demands that this notion be applied to the specific historical experience and the related contemporary condition of the great majority of our people across this planet. It will then be seen clearly that the meaning of this term transcends repayment for past and continuing wrong, to embrace self-rehabilitation through education, organisation and mobilisation.

Ultimately, reparation means redressing the poverty of the people of Africa and the African Diaspora. There is a vulgar contradiction in the fact that the first civilisation of this planet is now the most backward in technology and social infrastructure, that the continent richest in resources has the poorest people with the least control over our lives. All of this is a direct result of centuries of destruction, subjugation and continuing exploitation of the African people and our resources. This meaning of reparation offers an end to this condition, as well as posing some fundamental questions of self-liberation.

Etymology

The term ‘reparation’ has its origin in Latin, but reached the English language through Old French. There are a number of meanings or shades of meaning associated with this concept. Its line of development is through one of the meanings of Modern English ‘repair’: to restore to good condition, after damage or wear; to set right, or make amends for (loss, wrong, error). This has come from the Latin *reparare* via Old French *reparer*. The Late Latin noun *reparatio*, from the verb *reparare*, gives rise, via Old French *réparation*, to Modern English ‘reparation’: the act, or instance of making amends; compensation.

It is timely to mention the other meaning of Modern English ‘repair’, for it sheds light on current confusions about exactly what forms reparation might take. Ironically, in the context of twentieth century racism in Britain, the second meaning of ‘repair’ (to resort to, have recourse; go often, or in great numbers, or for a specific purpose) has a quite different etymology from the first, deriving via Old French *reparer*, from Late Latin *repatriare* - to repatriate. Originally bearing a benign association (and still recorded as such in the *Concise Oxford Dictionary*) in the intransitive mode (to return to one’s native land), and even in the transitive (to restore (a person) to his or her native land), it has come to bear a malign denotation (to force ‘unwanted’ people back to their supposed native land, whether they were born there or not). ‘Repatriation’ now has clinging to it, even

moulding its central meaning, this sort of racist wishful thinking; so this sense of forcible ousting from a country or territory is conjured up with the use of the word, but it also hides under the benign shade of the original sense, that of an altruistic act of restoring someone to their native land. How often have we heard racists claim that, if black people are not happy in this country (the UK), they should 'go back to where they came from'? It is difficult to use the word 'repatriation' today without its operating as a euphemism for this sentiment.

Discussion about reparation within the African Diaspora has tended to include the possibility of claiming payment for voluntary 'repatriation' from the nation states who have historically wronged us. However, the unfortunate visual similarity between the words 'reparation' and 'repatriation', and their coincidence in their Modern English manifestation ('repair'), should serve to remind us of the dangers of easy elision, for to include repatriation in our discussions about reparation could well open the way for a sort of slippage, or telescoping, so that reparation comes to signify, and even mean, repatriation in its malign sense.

With this caveat in mind, it is of the utmost importance for all Africans to consciously define this term in accordance with our own perceptions and practice. We have to be capable of employing the etymology of the languages of our oppressors in achieving our own ends. This means that whenever necessary we must turn around the use of these languages, which we first encountered as tools of our oppression, and deploy them as weapons for our liberation.

It is also important to enrich our understanding of this notion of reparation by employing similar concepts from African languages. But above all we must recognise very clearly that the proper role of our scholars can only be to help, educate and advise us. In the final analysis it must be the African masses, the great majority of us, who decide on the meaning of the concept of reparation for Africans.

The Great Holocaust

Africans cannot understand the meaning of reparation unless we understand why we are owed reparations, and by whom. The importance to us of this term lies both in the horrendous pain and suffering that have been inflicted upon us in the Great Holocaust, which is still continuing, and more particularly in our restoration of ourselves as a vibrant and united people who make our own history - free from the evil impositions of those who oppress us. Many reams of paper could be covered by this and undoubtedly many reams of paper need to be devoted to it, but for the moment only the outline of this case can be presented because of the need for brevity.

The term 'holocaust' means general or complete destruction, especially of a large number of persons. In modern times this term conjures up only the suffering inflicted upon the Jews by the Nazis in the period around 1930 to 1945. It is not a pleasant task to compare the suffering of peoples and highlight the differences in duration, extent, impact, restitution, and so on. However, in today's world such

comparisons have been made imperative by the continuing racism and insensitivity of the western world and their wicked and utter disregard for the African people as well as the continuing impoverishment and endangering of our people by these very interests.

So, though comparisons are usually invidious, one needs at least to question why there is seen to be only **one** holocaust. Most estimates of the number of Jews murdered by the Nazis arrive at a figure of about six million. In contrast, even Eurocentric apologists for the destruction of Africa and Africans put the figure of murdered Africans at eleven million for the European aspect of this Great Holocaust. A much more realistic estimate put this number at over two hundred million. Besides, although pogroms had been organised against the Jews for many generations, the sustained intensity of the attack upon Africa and Africans has been much greater - not witnessed in the history of this planet. No other nation has been so obliterated, save perhaps for the native American people.

Eurocentrism in particular has attempted to construct a false and demeaning identity for us. We Africans have the longest history in the world, for we are the first People, the only real *autochthones* of Mother Earth. Yet we are told that we have no history. We invented history, science, architecture, the first civilisations; and we civilised Europe. Yet this false identity tries to say that we have never developed anything. African civilisation was constructed on the principles of Humanism, Matriarchy (gender equality), Collectivism, a profound respect for the environment, and a great desire to live in harmony with it (today called environmentalism), on Spirituality and on a trajectory towards Pan-Africanism. The highest expression of these fundamental principles is in *Ma'at*, the philosophy of Kemet (Ancient Egypt). Today, our centres of learning (the first universities in the world), including great libraries, have been destroyed. Much of our civilisation, and therefore the history and achievements of the world, have been obliterated and our artefacts shipped to many parts of the European world. Our very culture is under relentless attack. Many of us have believed the lies told about us and have accepted a status inferior to that of our despoilers.

The full meaning of reparations for us rests with a complete understanding of this history by all Africans. We must come to understand ourselves - both our riches and our losses. Africans everywhere have a sacred duty to understand and put into the popular consciousness of the world the fact that we Africans are the victims of the largest holocaust which has ever been perpetrated in the history of this planet, and that we have **never** been given reparations, not even an apology.

The African holocaust has unfolded under the twin catastrophes of the Arab invasion, destruction and subjugation of Africa, and the European invasion, subjugation and destruction of Africa. This Great Holocaust has resulted in the imposition of foreign values which do not serve the interests of Africa. It has also caused consequent confusion among many generations of us about who we are and what are our real interests.

The Arabs employed warfare and the religion of Islam as their chief weapons. Two major outcomes are the enslavement of millions of Africans and an increase in the African Diaspora in the East. (Historically, there have been large migrations from Africa to the East; Africans founded many civilisations and states there.) The Europeans employed warfare and the religion of Euro-Christianity as their chief weapons. Major outcomes are the enslavement of millions of Africans, an African Diaspora in the west, and the continuing presence of settler colonialism in Africa - the most notorious example having been apartheid in Azania. The foreign attack upon Africa continues to this day. All Africans must know this history.

How Long? How Many?: Detecting and Quantifying our Injuries and Loss

Much work still needs to be devoted to detecting and quantifying all our injuries. Here are some of the questions we must be able to answer fully or in part:

- * How many Africans died as a result of the practices of enslavement and trading in enslaved Africans?
- * How many Africans died in the Great Holocaust? The figure we arrive at must include all who went to join our ancestors as a result of Arab and European activity - both directly and indirectly. It must therefore include all the murders inflicted upon us, as well as those who left this side of reality from the famines, hunger and starvation promoted by our tormentors, those who were driven to suicide, infanticide, patricide, matricide; those who died through overwork, disease, etc.
- * How many Africans were enslaved in Arab countries and in the European-controlled west? What is the total number of hours we have been labouring in these places for lashes instead of wages in the largest pogroms of forced labour in history?
- * How many of us have been overworked, underpaid, refused promotion, refused employment, under-employed, and otherwise discriminated against - and for how long?
- * How many of us have lost life or limb in the pursuit of our basic human right to resist enslavement, to be free, to associate with whomsoever we choose? How many of us were mutilated, both physically and mentally, in these places? How many of us were raped, beaten, used as studs, etc.?
- * Has there been another people whose environment was made dangerously hostile through being thrown out on our own at 'emancipation', untrained, unsupported by any programme of public assistance, ejected into this vast plantation of prejudice? Has there ever been a people who have had to climb up from these vast depths of deprivation, overcome such sustained hostility in order to enjoy basic human rights - which are still denied us?
- * How many of us were lynched in the USA, that bastion of civilisation and epitome of the 'advanced free world'?
- * How many of us have been sent to join our ancestors or maimed (physically or psychologically) in imperialist wars into which we have been forcibly deployed?
- * How many of us have been discriminated against on racial grounds? What has been the total impact of this upon us - psychologically, economically, socially?

- * How many of us have been the victims of false diagnosis, incomplete treatment, etc.?
- * How many of us have been falsely imprisoned in the mental hospitals of the west, or have been deliberately exposed to diseases, or have had our wombs wrongfully removed?
- * How many of our children have been psychologically damaged through being alienated, deliberately held back, held in low esteem by teachers, etc. in the racist education system of the west?
- * How many of our cultural artefacts were stolen, damaged or destroyed in these processes?
- * How many of our inventions were stolen or used without our permission?
- * How much of our property, including our lands, has been stolen, destroyed or abused by our oppressors?
- * What is the total sum misappropriated from us through that reprehensible notion of 'free' trade and the operation of those western institutions which serve its purpose: GATT (now WTO), IMF, 'World' Bank, the so-called charitable institutions, Aid, etc., etc.?
- * How many Africans have been rendered poorer or murdered by the 'World' Bank and IMF 'remedies', such as Structural Adjustment Programmes, Restructuring, etc.?

Assessing the Damages, Counting the Cost

The three tasks here are these:

- * Assessing how far (that is, how developed) we would have been as a people if these wrongs had not been perpetrated. This seems the same as finding out how much these atrocities have prevented and distorted our development.
- * Assessing how much (or what) it will take to restore us to where we would have been but for these injuries.
- * Assessing the **entire** cost of restoration, plus compensation for our injuries.

There are some problems which appear to arise here. For example, how do we count the cost of human lives? Our oppressors can be made to return all our artefacts, but they cannot return the creative talent, the vision and the energy lost to us with the lives they took from us. How will they pay? How do you count the cost of the generations of disconnection from our history and our culture? How does one calculate in monetary terms the loss of tongues, the retreat of learning and the word? How do you count the cost of the identity crisis, self hate, confusion and the other forms of psychological damage we have sustained as a result of the destruction and distortion of our history and our culture?

We could go on to mention a number of other things here, but also have to establish **how** those who have wronged us may correct their historical mistakes. What action must they undertake to atone for the inhumanities they have been inflicting upon us?

They must guarantee to cease these injustices totally and immediately. They must pay a sum of money, to be agreed upon by us, for all the injuries they have inflicted upon us, including the social disorganisation of Africa and the cost of the consequent disruption and the distortion of the rate of development and patterns of development we were unfolding on our continent before their wicked interventions.

This sum must include the interest which would have accrued to the time of payment if the damages were paid promptly, as well as a further sum which results from the cost of further injuries sustained as a result of the delay in compensation and the consequent deprivation of collective health. (It is perhaps useful to note here in passing that when, in the last century, the European bourgeois class recognised that it was in their interest to terminate the system of chattel enslavement, they ‘compensated’ our enslavers, who were another group of Europeans. They did not compensate us, though in the USA, they ‘promised’ each of us forty acres of land and a mule.)

This sum must also include a quantification of the negative impact on Africa of the loss of millions of our ‘most virile and productive’ sons and daughters (in the words of Walter Rodney), as well as the positive impact of the labour, both physical and mental, of the survivors among us in the Arab and European controlled lands; for it is we who built these ‘shining cities of the damned’. (The Industrial Revolution and the processes of Western development consequent upon it, were all made possible mainly because of the vast accumulation of the bourgeois class of Europe. African labour, and other resources, were by far the major factor in this accumulation.)

All the cultural artefacts stolen from us over the centuries must be returned. Damages must be paid for the deprivation of our people of the use of these items. Damages must be paid for those artefacts damaged, destroyed or otherwise lost as a result of these nefarious interventions.

The centuries of lies, misrepresentation and distortion of our history, and therefore of world history, must be corrected. This process of correction must begin immediately, must take place throughout the world, especially among Europeans, who were also the victims, but also among us. They must not be permitted to undertake this process among us. We must do it for ourselves, but they must provide the resources.

Compensation and damages must be paid for these centuries of lies and falsification and for the loss of positive self concept, for the collective amnesia, the neurosis, the psychosis and other harmful developments which arose from the conditions of captivity imposed upon us.

Beyond ‘Repayment’

It must be emphasised here that reparations mean more than ‘repayment’ and compensation for the wholesale theft, destruction and falsification visited upon Africa and all Africans. We have seen that the law dictionaries define reparation

to mean the recovery of rights to a country as though one was born in that country. This is a very important aspect of reparation which should also be well understood by all Africans. For many generations the notion of 'Back to Africa', especially as articulated in the doctrine and practice of Rastafari, has sought to concretise this very meaning of reparation.

Many Rastafari use the term 'repatriation' to express this longing for Africa, and a determination to return physically. However, when we examine the practice of Rastafari, we can see that the idea of a return to Africa goes beyond just repatriation, the physical resettlement on the continent of our ancestors. It also means a return to the values, culture and history of Africa, and a particular Africentric way of seeing the world.

Many of these ideas have also been expressed in the work of Marcus Garvey, Malcolm X, Kwame Nkrumah and other leading fighters for the rights of Africans at home and abroad. In the Diaspora, the increasing preoccupation of our youth with the history and culture of Africa amounts to a very clear statement that the idea of a return to Africa also means a return to ourselves: to our history, our values, our institutions, our culture. For it is clear that our oppressors did not only physically separate Africans from Africa. They also separated Africans from our traditions, our values, our history. Africans at home and abroad have been dispossessed of our traditional role as makers of history and dumped outside of the process of history. We have become the objects rather than the subjects of history. We cannot win our freedom if we have lost our culture. Reparation must therefore mean a return to ourselves as the makers of our own culture and history. We cannot expect to transform our reality without being willing to transform ourselves.

Africans must be equally clear about the context in which the subversion of Africa unfolded. This was the loss of African sovereignty to the Arabs and Europeans. The historical process of African underdevelopment is expressed in particular eras as enslavement, colonialism, neo-colonialism, and all their ramifications, such as racism, the creation of dependency and self hate. These are all different aspects of the same thing: the subversion and destruction of African civilisation, our loss of sovereignty and the continuing exploitation of our people and resources in a system organised by our exploiters for their own benefit. The 'International' Monetary Fund, 'World' Bank, Aid agencies and Charities are mostly successors to the terrorists who kidnapped and enslaved Africans, thereby taking away the human rights of our people.

These rights have never been returned. Today millions of Africans continue to be impoverished and our lives fundamentally endangered by Structural Adjustment Programmes and other 'medicines' of those western institutions. The western media continue to distort and misrepresent Africa and Africans, sometimes even to ourselves. These activities constitute a continuing, organised, violation of our human and people's rights, which is a violation of international law. Africans must know that, unless there is an end to the domination of our continent, its resources and the lives of our people by those foreign agencies and their African

accomplices, the notion of reparation will be incomplete and ultimately meaningless. Another meaning of reparation for us must therefore be the withdrawal of these vampires and their system so that Africans can take responsibility for our own lives and organise our own freedom.

But even all of this must not be the complete meaning of reparation. To fully realise all which this historical moment offers, we must recognise the initial meaning of reparations as return, restoration, etc., which is part of our objective, perhaps the initial, or most visible one to many of us. That is right, righteous and in total harmony with any decent and civilised notion of justice. But we must be very clear that merely to achieve the repayment for the centuries of wrong, perhaps in some form of cash, would be both an incomplete and a misleading idea of reparation. For the meaning of reparation also includes the notion of restoring our people - collectively and individually - to where we would have been had we not suffered from this Great Holocaust. This means that reparation must include the restoration of our shattered African society. We must be very clear that it is virtually impossible to remake the past, or to predict where we Africans as a people would have been today if we had not suffered from this Great Holocaust. However, after more than 500 years of destabilisation inside and outside Africa, it is equally clear that there are certain things African to which we need to return, which make the idea of return much more than just a physical journey. It is also patently clear that we are the ones who have to undertake our own rehabilitation. We cannot leave this to our oppressors. Only we can free ourselves.

Organisation: Strategies and Tactics

Once the objectives of reparation have been established, it is also then necessary to contemplate the practice which is essential for the achievement of these objectives, for it is our practice which will give the best meaning to this term.

One of the first things we can observe about practice is that it recognises the notion of process. It is not an event. We must be guided by our best minds as well as the lessons of our history. Frederick Douglas, notable fighter for African rights in the USA, and Antonio Maceo, the pre-eminent commander in the Cuban war of independence, both observed that we have to engage in struggle to achieve our ends. This is because our oppressors will not surrender their power and privileges without a fight. We must therefore be prepared for a long struggle. In some ways this has already been begun - that is why we are here.

Perhaps the worst thing our oppressors can do to us right now is to repay us, for we are in a state of unreadiness. Where is the representative organisation of all Africans on this planet? What are its objectives? What are our strategies and tactics for the way forward out of domination and impoverishment? It is important that the meaning of reparation also embodies a highly disciplined movement, supremely conscious of its historical role of self restoration.

Some features of this Reparations Movement appear self evident at this point. As our struggle develops we may see the need to modify some and implement completely new ones. It is clear, though, that the mobilisation of all Africans is necessary to achieve our goals. It is also necessary to unite all of our diverse groups into one vast community of interests governed by the principles of African self determination, collectivism and internal democracy.

W.E.B. Dubois, one of our foremost intellectuals, said that the twentieth century would be the century of the 'colour line', that we would decide on this question of segregation and racial discrimination. We stand at the close of this century now, surveying the opening of the twenty-first century. We ought to be careful to check to see if we Africans have fulfilled or failed this challenge, and why. But whatever answers we find let us ensure that the challenge of the twenty-first century is the challenge of self-organisation and self-rehabilitation offered by this issue of Reparation.

**

REMARKS

Milton McGriff

National Coordinator

A Year of Black Presence Coalition (AYBP)

National Coalition of Blacks for Reparations in America (N'COBRA)

Press Conference on Capitol Hill

January 30, 2003

We read and hear a lot about how the country has moved to the right and how so many ambitious politicians try to find the political center. The work we're doing is the beginning of moving them back from being on the right to DOING right. With the help of the Creator, we're going to show that standing in the moral center is superior to being weak-kneed in the political center. Being politically in the center with moderate views on everything when radical change is needed, is like being neutral and taking positions to try and please everybody. I believe it was Dante who said the hottest places in Hell are reserved for those who, in a time of great moral crisis, choose to maintain their neutrality.

Among our many great men and women who are with the ancestors, I have chosen the wisdom of two, Malcolm X and the Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King, to show us how to get HR 40 passed in a timely manner.

Brother Malcolm told us that, of all the disciplines, history was best suited to reward our research. For our purposes, I take that to mean that as long as we place our views in the context of history, our argument to pass HR 40 and obtain a reparations settlement is irrefutable. Brother Malcolm also said that he believed in doing anything that was intelligently directed and designed to get results. Those should be out litmus tests for action: Is it intelligently directed? Is it designed to get results?

In his brilliant work of genius, "Letter From Birmingham Jail," Brother Martin spelled out a blueprint for action that is designed to get results. There are four basic steps, he said. (1) collection of the facts to determine whether injustices are alive, (2) negotiation, (3) self-purification, and (4) direct action.

Nonviolent direct action, Dr. King explained, "seeks to create such a crisis and establish such creative tension that a community that has constantly refused to negotiate is forced to confront the issue ... the purpose of the direct action is to create a situation so crisis-packed that it will inevitably open the door to negotiation."

Today we want to talk about the possibilities of working together with our friends in Congress, and working together against our adversaries in Congress, to get a bill of monumental significance passed: HR40. HR40 has languished in the House Judiciary Committee since it was first introduced in 1989. **When** HR40 is passed, a discussion will begin with the government, for the first time in the nation's history, about reparations and

restitution for Black people. We will talk, for the first time, about a debt due because 60 to 100 million of our ancestors were snatched from their African homeland into captivity. We have indeed been strangers in a strange land. In 1865, the captors of our ancestors claimed to set them free — free without any land, free without any funds, free without any education, free without any property and, as it turned out, free without any freedom. In other words, free without reparations for irrefutable crimes against humanity that had lasted 246 years.

We're here to begin a dialogue about these issues because they are being ignored by most of the policymakers here inside the Beltway. There's a need for a Black Agenda and that's not even being discussed. Any sensible Black Agenda must discuss reparations because it must place the problems facing African-Americans within the context of history. Conservative politicians and policymakers who are currently dominating the dialogue in Washington can only make the arguments they make by ignoring or distorting history. We must not let that happen.

Some critics say, "We never enslaved anybody. You've never been enslaved. All the slaveholders and slaves are dead. Why should we pay anything?" I say to those critics, you weren't here when the Constitution and Declaration of Independence were written, and all the people who wrote them, and all the people who lived then, who benefited and suffered under them, are dead, so why should you benefit from them?

But I also tell them the country was so steeped in the racism that the United States government was incapable of doing what was right in 1865 and 1875. If the country had not ended Reconstruction with a new Reconstruction, the reconstruction of the evil ideology of white supremacy, if the country had not held white privilege and white supremacy in place with presidents like Rutherford Hayes and Woodrow Wilson and senators like Strom Thurmond and Jesse Helms (members in good standing in that all-white club known as the United States Senate), if the government had acknowledged its debt for the crimes committed against our ancestors, then we wouldn't have to be here today having this conversation about reparations.

Furthermore, the crimes didn't stop in 1865. Slavery was modernized when a racist Supreme Court provided the backbone for white supremacy with a ruling that said "separate but equal" was the law of the land, knowing full well that everything — ownership of property, jobs, education, health care, housing, the inalienable right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness — would be as unequal as they could possibly make it. So those who say it happened way back then have historical amnesia and need to check themselves with that idiotic argument.

So since we never had that discussion, we need to have it today and we are going to have it with our elected representatives. The United States needs to explain to the world why they never even considered paying restitution as reparation for the most horrendous crimes committed against an enslaved people in human history.

The man who currently sits in the White House, a house reserved throughout history for

white males, had an opportunity to tell the world and set the record right in September 2001, at the United Nations World Conference Against Racism in Durban, South Africa. But instead President Bush and Secretary of State Colin Powell, with an astonishing display of arrogance, told the world that the kidnapping, murder and rape of 60 to 100 million Africans across two and a half centuries, the unpaid labor across the same span of time, the lynching and degradation and discrimination across another century, did *not* constitute crimes against humanity. Bush told Powell he couldn't go to the conference and Powell stayed home. Neither man said whether they do not consider kidnapping, murder and rape crimes, or whether they do not consider our ancestors human. In Powell's case, they're his ancestors, too, and I feel sad that he dishonored them.

When our ancestors were snatched to the ships, slavery was not new. Enslaving people goes back almost to the dawn of recorded history. What was new was the forcible stripping of a people of virtually everything that enables a human being to know him or herself as a human being. Left spiritually naked without their identities, their names, their language, their religion, their family structure, their own laws, their culture, our forebears were then told to toil to build a new nation in which they would have no voice. Those who did have a voice in this new nation, the Washingtons and Jeffersons and Franklins and Andrew Johnsons and Robert E. Lees and Jefferson Davises, would enforce this relationship, this Holocaust of enslavement, with violence and terror, as would their successors, the Richard Russells and Ross Barnetts and George Wallaces and Strom Thurmonds and Jesse Helmses and J. Edgar Hoovers and Richard Nixons and Ronald Reagans.

HR 40 is still in committee 14 years after it was first introduced because there are policymakers, virtually all of them conservatives, who do not want the bill to see the light of day.

As I said before, most conservatives have historical amnesia. When this bill is passed, something unprecedented will happen. For the first time in the nation's history, its government would look at that history with an eye, not on white supremacy and white privilege, but with a formal acknowledgment, in the words of HR40's preamble, of "the fundamental injustice, cruelty, brutality, and inhumanity" of the Holocaust of African captivity and enslavement.

We say it's time for that acknowledgment. It's time for this government to answer some fundamental questions: Was an injury committed against our ancestors? What was the nature of that injury? Did that injury exist overtly and by illegal means up until at least 1965? Has the nature of that injury had an impact on living African-Americans?

We're here today to talk about the language of reparations. The when, where, what, who, why and how of reparations. In looking at using the right language, we can determine several things. First, we can determine where we are on the subject. We can also decide what needs to be done to move this process forward. And finally, we can decide what we can do TOGETHER to try and transform and heal the racial divisions that have existed on these shores since twenty of our ancestors were forcibly taken ashore at Jamestown in

1619.

Opponents of reparations claim that reparations for African-Americans will be divisive. The same argument was used at the dawn of the civil rights movement. The same argument was used during Reconstruction. And the ones making this argument are usually the ones who will be divisive because they defend the status quo, a status quo that already has us divided. They want to keep it that way.

Reparations can be healing to this nation. It should seem obvious that if Black communities improve, the nation will improve. If the time, money and effort spent incarcerating our young for selling drugs imported into this country by others, if this effort is spent on education instead, it will be healing and the country will be better for it.

Beginning in the 1960s, the entire world started looking and borrowing the techniques and tactics developed by African-Americans to bring progressive change. So, as we have in the past, let's be the vanguard in repairing the global damage done by racism. But even though there is unquestionably global damage, let's start here at home by establishing a dialogue between the government and the people.

The WHAT is the passage of HR 40 and, just as important, making certain that we have a voice in who sits on the Commission. The WHEN and WHERE of working on HR40 is an easy one. HERE and RIGHT NOW is where it begins. NOW, this year, is when the bill should be passed and a commission established to study the reparations issue.

The WHO is also easy. It's you, and folks like you, as N'COBRA builds a nationwide movement to tell the government it demands redress. A YEAR OF BLACK PRESENCE may have to take more than a year. If you think we worked hard to get here, I have to tell you that the hard work begins today.

The WHY is to honor our uncounted millions of ancestors whose voices still scream silently for justice and remembrance, and to use every fiber of our being to see that those not yet born will grow to adulthood in schools that we provide to teach them about their beautiful Black selves, in neighborhoods free of poisonous drugs and violence, in communities bright with infinite promise and hope, with health care available to all who need it. In the words of Dr. Maulana Karenga, when we honor our ancestors, we honor not only them but all that is good in ourselves, and when we dishonor our ancestors, we dishonor ourselves.

Finally, a word about the president who was selected, not elected. When the president took time, on the birthday of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., no less, to tell us how he was opposing affirmative action because it's discriminatory and discrimination is unconstitutional, I saw a man who was (a) insulting the intelligence of Black folks (b) pandering and doing all that he can to sustain white privilege by perversely invoking the Constitution (c) perverting attempts, however mild, to bring justice to Black people with odious phrases like "states rights" and "separate but equal," and this latest one, "reverse discrimination" or "reverse racism" or (d) all of the above. I pick (d).

During the century of Jim Crow laws that were supported by violence and terror, if any one president had been as concerned about the Constitution as George W. Bush claims he is now, then racists like Thurmond and Helms would not have ascended to power in violation of the Constitution. We wouldn't have to be talking about reparations in 2003 because the justice of reparations would have been dealt with in 1873 or 1903. I believe, if he had been alive, that George W. Bush would have pandered to the forces of white supremacy then and violated the Constitution just as he panders to white supremacy now in his urgency to claim to be the guardian of the Constitution. We hope he will overcome his historical amnesia and be a guardian of justice.

I did not forget the HOW of what we're doing to come to that day when this government will do right instead of just being on the so-called "right." We will continue to do what we started today. We will build mass support for reparations and the passage of HR40 in every Black community in the country. For anyone, Republican or Democrat, at the local, state or federal level, we will have questions: Where do you stand on reparations? What are you doing to help establish a Federal Reparations Commission, a commission that we will have a voice in establishing? Are you working to educate the American people about this issue or are you trying to poison their views about the truth of this nation's history?

If we like the answer, we will vote for that politician, regardless of his color or his political affiliation. If we don't like the answer, we will do all we can to defeat him or her. If both so-called major party candidates for a position have answers we don't like, we will stand strong with a Black agenda and creatively find an alternative. We will no longer vote for "the lesser of two evils." We can no longer afford to vote for any evil, lesser or otherwise.

Reparations must be a part of the presidential campaign in 2004. If you can't support reparations with a position of substance, don't come to our community asking for our vote. No lip service. And please, no diluted, watery suggestions that sound like a variation on affirmative action. Come correct or don't come at all.

We will win because our cause is a just one. Dr. King reminded us that the moral arc of the universe is long but it bends toward justice. We will win because we will give the nation no rest until they confront this issue. We will win because we will define the issues through the prism of truth while our adversaries continue to use euphemisms and outright lies to disguise their true intentions: sophisticated language that will maintain white privilege without it appearing to. We will win because God don't like ugly, and ugly is the appropriate word to describe the heinous conditions that have existed in America for 384 years. We will win because what we are proposing is just and can heal this nation and overcome the forces of divisiveness who are trying to taking us back a century to separate and unequal. Resist with everything in your being and we will win!
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U.S. 9th Circuit Court of Appeals

CATO v USA

JEWEL CATO; JOYCE CATO; HOWARD

CATO; EDWARD CATO,

Plaintiffs-Appellants,

v.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,

Defendant-Appellee.

No. 94-17102

D.C. No.

CV-94-01470-SBA

LEERMA PATTERSON; CHARLES

PATTERSON; BOBBIE TRICE JOHNSON,

et al.,

Plaintiffs-Appellants,

v.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,

Defendant-Appellee.

No. 94-17104

D.C. No.

CV-94-01193-SBA

OPINION

**Appeals from the United States District Court for the Northern District of
California Sandra B. Armstrong, District Judge, Presiding**

Argued and Submitted October 16, 1995--San Francisco, California

Filed December 4, 1995

Before: Mary M. Schroeder, Betty B. Fletcher, and Pamela Ann Rymer, Circuit Judges.

Opinion by Judge Rymer

COUNSEL

Eva Jefferson Paterson and William McNeill, Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights of the San Francisco Bay Area, San Francisco, California, for the plaintiffs-appellants.

Mary Beth Uitti, Assistant United States Attorney, San Francisco, California, for the defendant-appellee.

OPINION

RYMER, Circuit Judge:

Two groups of plaintiffs, Jewel Cato, Joyce Cato, Howard Cato and Edward Cato; and Leerma Patterson, Charles Patterson, and Bobbie Trice Johnson (collectively "Cato"), filed nearly identical complaints in forma pauperis against the United States for damages due to the enslavement of African Americans and subsequent discrimination against them, for an acknowledgment of discrimination, and for an apology. [1](#) The district court in both cases dismissed the complaints prior to service pursuant to 28 U.S.C. S 1915(d). [2](#)

We have carefully considered Cato's pleading and the arguments of appellate counsel. On our own, we have tried to conceive of possibilities for stating a cognizable claim. As Judge Armstrong stated so well:

Discrimination and bigotry of any type is intolerable, and the enslavement of Africans by this Country is inexcusable. This Court, however, is unable to identify any legally cognizable basis upon which plaintiff's claims may proceed against the United States. While plaintiff may be justified in seeking redress for past and present injustices, it is not within the jurisdiction of this Court to grant the requested relief. The legislature, rather than the judiciary, is the appropriate forum for plaintiff's grievances.

To us, as to the district court, it is clear that this complaint cannot be cured by amendment. Cato's theories of liability either fall outside the limited waiver of sovereign immunity by the United States, or otherwise are not within the jurisdiction of the federal courts. Because the district court did not abuse its discretion, we affirm.

I

Cato's complaint seeks compensation of \$100,000,000 for forced, ancestral indoctrination into a foreign society; kidnapping of ancestors from Africa; forced labor; breakup of families; removal of traditional values; deprivations of freedom; and imposition of oppression, intimidation, miseducation and lack of information about various aspects of their indigenous character. She also requests that the court order an acknowledgment of the injustice of slavery in the United States and in the 13 American colonies between 1619 and 1865, as well as of the existence of discrimination against freed slaves and their descendants from the end of the Civil War to the present. In addition, she seeks an apology from the United States.

The complaint itself does not refer to any basis upon which the United States might have consented to suit. However, because Cato was proceeding pro se, the district court construed her papers liberally and surveyed the most likely authorities for waiver, but found them unavailing. Specifically, the court noted that the waiver of sovereign immunity in tort actions against the government in the Federal Tort Claims Act (FTCA), 28 U.S.C. SS 1346, 2674, is limited to claims accruing on and after January 1, 1945, *id.* at S 1346(b); and that the Civil Rights Act, 42 U.S.C. S 1981(a), applies to individual federal officials but not to the United States. The court also observed that while Cato's action appears to be patterned after the reparations authorized by Congress for individuals of Japanese ancestry who were forced into internment camps during World War II, those reparations were not awarded as damages in court but rather were enacted into law in the Civil Liberties Act of 1988, codified at 50 App. U.S.C. S 1989a(a). The court concluded that Cato's claims are barred by sovereign immunity, and that the appropriate forum for policy questions of the sort raised by her complaint is Congress, rather than the courts. Cato timely appealed.

II

First, Cato contends that dismissal of her action was premature in that she was given no opportunity to be heard on the adequacy of her complaint, or to amend. She also argues that the complaint should not have been dismissed merely because the court has doubts that the plaintiff will prevail.

A district court may, in its discretion, dismiss an in forma pauperis complaint "if satisfied that the action is frivolous or malicious." 28 U.S.C. S 1915(d); Denton, [504 U.S. at 33](#). A complaint is frivolous within the meaning of S 1915(d) if it lacks an arguable basis either in law or in fact. *Id.* at 31 (quoting *Neitzke v. Williams*, [490 U.S. 319, 325](#) (1989)). A pro se litigant must be given leave to amend his or her complaint, and some notice of its deficiencies, unless it is absolutely clear that the deficiencies of the complaint could not be cured by amendment. *Noll v. Carlson*, 809 F.2d 1446, 1448 (9th Cir. 1987).

We do not read the district court's order as dismissing Cato's complaint on account of doubts about her ability to succeed. Rather, the court determined that Cato had not met her burden of showing a waiver of sovereign immunity, and that her claims were not legally cognizable because they raise "a 'policy question' which the judiciary 'has neither the authority nor wisdom to address.'" (Order Dismissing Complaint, quoting *Fullilove v. Klutznick*, [448 U.S. 448, 537](#) (1980) (Stevens, J., dissenting)). For these reasons, the court concluded that while Cato may be justified in seeking redress for past and present injustices from the Congress, the court lacked jurisdiction to grant the requested relief.

As Cato's complaint neither identifies any constitutional or statutory right that was violated, nor asserts any basis for federal subject matter jurisdiction or waiver of sovereign immunity, it was properly dismissed. Section 1915(d) authorizes a court to review a complaint that has been filed in forma pauperis, without paying fees and costs, on its own initiative and to decide whether the action has an arguable basis in law before permitting it to proceed.

The critical question, however, for the district court as for us, is whether leave to amend should have been given. Cato was not represented by counsel in the district court, but is here; we therefore have the benefit of counsel's suggestions for curative amendments, as well as those hypothesized by the district court. Accordingly, we turn to Cato's disagreements with the court's ruling and to the possibilities for amendment that she suggests on appeal.

III

Cato first contends that we should not affirm the district court's dismissal on statute of limitations grounds. Strictly speaking, we don't. The dispositive question is whether her theories of liability are barred by sovereign immunity, or otherwise fall outside the district court's jurisdiction.³

A

It is axiomatic that the United States can be sued only to the extent that it has waived its sovereign immunity. *Baker v. United States*, 817 F.2d 560, 562 (9th Cir. 1987). The terms of the United States' consent to be sued in any court define that court's jurisdiction to entertain the suit. *F.D.I.C. v. Meyer*, 114 S. Ct. 996, 1000 (1994). It is likewise well settled that a waiver of the government's sovereign immunity "cannot be implied but must be unequivocally expressed." *United States v. Mitchell*, [445 U.S. 535, 538](#) (1983) (quoting *United States v. King*, [395 U.S. 1, 4](#) (1969)). The burden is on the plaintiff to make such a showing. *Baker*, 817 F.2d at 562.

The district court looked to the Federal Tort Claims Act (FTCA), 28 U.S.C. §§ 1346, 2674, to resolve this threshold question because it is the most likely candidate for waiver.⁴ As the district court properly concluded, however, Cato did not meet this burden.⁵

Section 1346(b) of the FTCA gives federal courts jurisdiction only over "civil actions on claims against the United States, for money damages, accruing on and after January 1, 1945." 28 U.S.C. § 1346(b). Moreover, a tort claim against the United States "shall be forever barred" unless it is presented within two years after the claim accrues. 28 U.S.C.

§ 2401(b). By its own terms, therefore, claims arising out of the fact of slavery, kidnapping, and other offenses to Cato's ancestors that occurred prior to 1945 or were not pursued within two years of their accrual, fall outside the FTCA's limited waiver of sovereign immunity.

B

We take Cato's argument that her action is not barred by the statute of limitations in this context to mean that no time constraint (whether as a condition of the government's waiver of sovereign immunity or otherwise⁶), should apply to her claims. She offers two reasons: First, that courts should not sustain dismissal of actions on statute of limitations

grounds where the wrong sued upon is based on a constitutional or statutory prohibition. For this proposition she analogizes the wrongs about which she complains to recent cases arising under the Indian Trade and Intercourse Act, 25 U.S.C. S 177, which prohibited the sale of land by Indians unless it was by treaty made under the authority of the United States, where the federal courts have addressed Indian land claims that are hundreds of years old. See, e.g., *Oneida Indian Nation of New York v. State of New York*, 691 F.2d 1070, 1083-84 (2d Cir. 1982). Cato locates the relevant prohibition in her case in the Thirteenth Amendment.

To the extent her argument is that we should for the same reason ignore time limitations on the government's waiver of sovereign immunity, we can't agree. Analogy to Indian land claim cases is not persuasive, for the courts' willingness to hear the kind of claim exemplified by *Oneida* does not turn on whether the claims were based on a prohibition. Rather, *Oneida*, for example, turned on the well-established rule that a suit by the United States as trustee on behalf of an Indian Tribe is not subject to state delay-based defenses, and the anomalous result that would otherwise obtain if the trustee were allowed to sue under more favorable conditions than those afforded the tribes themselves. *Id.* at 1084. Further, the circumstances under which an action by the United States can be brought sheds no light on the circumstances under which an action against the United States can be brought. In any event, as the government points out, regardless of whether there are factual similarities between the treatment accorded Indian Tribes and African American slaves and their descendants (as Cato contends), there is nothing in the relationship between the United States and any other persons, including African American slaves and their descendants, that is legally comparable to the unique relationship between the United States and Indian Tribes. Courts have recognized fiduciary responsibilities running from the United States to Indian Tribes because of specific treaty obligations and a network of statutes that by their own terms impose specific duties on the government. See, e.g., *United States v. Mitchell*, [463 U.S. 206](#) (1983); *United States v. Mason*, [412 U.S. 391](#) (1973); *Seminole Nation v. United States*, [316 U.S. 286](#) (1941). Similar strictures do not appear in the Thirteenth Amendment alone, or in combination with the other Civil War amendments and the various Civil Rights Acts which have been enacted in the meantime. We therefore see no basis in the Indian land cases, or the relationship between the federal government and Indian Tribes, for relieving a private plaintiff such as Cato of the need to show that her action against the United States meets all the conditions, including time constraints, of the consent by the United States to be sued.

C

As a second ground for avoiding affirmance on the basis of the statute of limitations, Cato argues that she need not allege discrimination within any particular time period because discrimination is a continuing act. She submits that African Americans continue to face virtually unfettered police activity and intolerance by others; none has been elected President and only three to the Senate; and Congress has failed to pass legislation that would eliminate disparity in executions of African Americans for capital crimes. From this, she contends, the continuing violations doctrine applies because African Americans are still subjected to the badges and indicia of slavery.

We have, of course, recognized the doctrine, see, e.g., *Siseton-Wahpeton Sioux Tribe v. United States*, 895 F.2d 588 (9th Cir. 1990); *Williams v. Owens-Illinois, Inc.*, 665 F.2d 918 (9th Cir. 1982), and we agree with Cato that it is applicable to constitutional as well as statutory violations. However, it can't create jurisdiction, or help overcome jurisdictional hurdles, unless this plaintiff can sue the United States for the acts complained of. We therefore turn to the substantive bases upon which Cato suggests that her action is justiciable.

IV

Cato argues that the action is justiciable because the Thirteenth Amendment created a national right for African Americans to be free of the badges and indicia of slavery, they continue to suffer from the lingering incidents of slavery, and there are theories of relief available under the FTCA for intentionally inflicted harm and violation of duty by the federal government. She first draws on the legislative history of the Thirteenth Amendment and the Civil Rights Act of 1866 to contend that the federal government had an obligation to end the vestiges of slavery, but has failed to keep the promise. As she puts it, "[t]his action is the means to seek the remedy which has been prescribed by Congress and the Court 7 and which is long overdue."

Then, in addition to disparities in employment, income, and education, Cato identifies two contemporary actions, or inactions, by Congress which she contends evince its failure to fulfill its duty under the Thirteenth Amendment: Congress's failure to pass the Racial Justice Act (introduced as HR 4017 in the House on March 11, 1994, to amend Title 28 of the United States Code to prevent racially discriminatory capital sentencing) and legislation introduced in the United States Senate that would repeal federal affirmative action programs (introduced February 22, 1995, as S. 497, called an "Act to End Unfair Preferential Treatment," to amend Part VI of Title 28). Finally, she suggests that the FTCA imports both the prima facie tort doctrine, Restatement (Second) of Torts S 870, and Cal. Gov't Code S 815.6, under which the government might be liable for failing to act or to discharge a duty with which it has been charged.

These theories afford no basis for curing the complaint, for two main reasons. First, Cato proceeds on a generalized, class-based grievance; she neither alleges, nor suggests that she might claim, any conduct on the part of any specific official or as a result of any specific program that has run afoul of a constitutional or statutory right and caused her a discrete injury. ⁸ Without a concrete, personal injury that is not abstract and that is fairly traceable to the government conduct that she challenges as unconstitutional, Cato lacks standing. *Allen v. Wright*, [468 U.S. 737](#) (1984). As the Court explained in *Allen*:

Standing doctrine embraces several judicially selfimposed limits on the exercise of federal jurisdiction, such as the general prohibition on a litigant's raising another person's legal rights, the rule barring adjudication of generalized grievances more appropriately addressed in the representative branches, and the requirement that a plaintiff's complaint fall within the zone of interests protected by the law invoked. The requirement of standing, however, has a core component

derived directly from the Constitution. A plaintiff must allege personal injury fairly traceable to the defendant's allegedly unlawful conduct and likely to be redressed by the requested relief.

Id. at 751. No plaintiff has standing "to complain simply that their Government is violating the law." Id. at 755. Neither does Cato have standing to litigate claims based on the stigmatizing injury to all African Americans caused by racial discrimination. Id. In any case, she does not trace the presence of discrimination and its harm to the United States rather than to other persons or institutions. Accordingly, Cato lacks standing to bring a suit setting forth the claims she suggests.

In addition, there is no cognizable avenue for litigating a complaint about the judgment calls of legislators in their legislative capacity. The FTCA does not apply to any claim "based upon the exercise or performance or the failure to exercise or perform a discretionary function or duty on the part of a federal agency or an employee of the Government,

whether or not the discretion involved be abused." 28 U.S.C. S 2680(a). Legislative conduct is discretionary for purposes of the exception. See *Baker*, 817 F.2d at 564. Further, the FTCA waives sovereign immunity only where the United States, "if a private person, would be liable to the claimant in accordance with the law of the place where the act or omission occurred." 28 U.S.C. S 1346(b). The relevant private person in Cato's scenario would be a Senator, or member of Congress, who is, however, protected by absolute immunity under Article I, S 6 of the Constitution. *Supreme Court of Virginia v. Consumers Union*, [446 U.S. 719](#) (1980); *Eastland v. United States Servicemen's Fund*, [421 U.S. 491](#) (1975). As we explained in *Baker*, "Congress wished to prevent judicial 'second guessing' of legislative and administrative decisions grounded in social, economic, and political policy through the medium of an action in tort." *Baker*, 817 F.2d at 564 (citation omitted). Thus, at the end of the day no jurisdiction would lie, and no claim for relief would be stated, even were the complaint to be amended along the lines proposed and even if an administrative claim could be filed with some government agency as required by S 2675(a) of the FTCA.

V

Cato submits that sovereign immunity does not bar her action because the United States can be sued directly under the Thirteenth Amendment, because it can be sued through its agents even where there is no express statutory provision, and because the United States waives its sovereign immunity whenever Congress has explicitly provided a private right of action in a statute or through legislative history. Cato argues that the first clause of the Thirteenth Amendment ends slavery and its vestiges, while the second allows Congress to enact appropriate legislation to fulfill the obligation set out in the first. [9](#)

In her view, this gives rise to a right to sue the United States directly because otherwise, the Thirteenth Amendment's obligation is meaningless. Also, drawing upon *Bivens v. Six Unknown Named Agents of the Federal Bureau of Narcotics*, [403 U.S. 388](#) (1971), Cato argues that when an important constitutional right has been violated and there is no

explicit Congressional declaration barring suit, an action for damages against the United States may lie. Finally, she infers in the adoption of the Thirteenth Amendment a promise by Congress to enforce these articles (which she claims that Congress has failed to fulfill), thereby waiving sovereign immunity. We cannot agree.

Regardless of whether the text of the Thirteenth Amendment itself admits of the self-enforcing construction that Cato attaches to it, she cannot possibly assert a right to damages on account of it. In *F.D.I.C. v. Meyer*, the Supreme Court declined to extend the *Bivens* rationale beyond individual employees to actions against agencies of the United States. *Meyer*, 114 S. Ct. at 1004-06. A fortiori, no *Bivens* claim lies against the United States itself. See *Hohri v. United States*, 586 F.Supp. 769, 782 (D. D.C. 1984) (sovereign immunity bars claim against the United States brought directly under, among other things, the Thirteenth Amendment), *aff'd*, 847 F.2d 779 (D.C. Cir. 1988). Nor may Cato sue under the FTCA by alleging violation of the Thirteenth Amendment as the underlying tort. *Meyer*, 114 S. Ct. at 1001. As the Court stated, "the United States simply has not rendered itself liable under [the FTCA] for constitutional tort claims." *Id.*

Cato again analogizes to the relationship between the United States and Indian Tribes. She points to United States

v. Mitchell, [463 U.S. 206](#) (1983), where the Court found that the United States had waived sovereign immunity by investing the Court of Claims with jurisdiction to hear contract disputes in the Tucker Act, 28 U.S.C. S 1505, and recognized a substantive right to compensation for damages sustained on account of the government's mismanagement of forest resources arising out of statutory mandates and the "elaborate control" over Indian lands that was vested in the United States. To the extent that she relies on *Mitchell* to support a waiver of sovereign immunity, she cannot succeed because the claims considered in *Mitchell* fell within the Tucker Act, while there is no suggestion that Cato's do. To the extent that she relies on *Mitchell* to support a right to a remedy, it is unhelpful because, as *Mitchell* itself makes clear, whether sovereign immunity is waived is a different question from whether a cause of action exists.

We accordingly conclude that the deficiencies in Cato's claim for damages cannot be cured.

VI

Although sovereign immunity bars Cato's request for damages, the United States has waived its sovereign immunity in suits requesting non-monetary relief in the Administrative Procedures Act (APA), 5 U.S.C. S 702 (providing that in a case seeking "other than money damages" a suit shall not be dismissed "on the ground that it is against the United States"). She seeks an acknowledgment of discrimination and an apology from the United States. For reasons we have already explained, however, Cato lacks standing to seek relief premised on the stigmatizing injury of discrimination in general. *Allen*, [468 U.S. at 754](#) -756, 757, n.22. As the district court indicated, the legislature, rather than the

judiciary, is the appropriate forum for this relief. Accordingly, her requests for non-monetary relief were properly dismissed.

VII

As the United States has not waived its sovereign immunity with respect to any of Cato's theories of relief that might fall within the Federal Tort Claims Act or any other source that we can identify, and under well-established principles Cato lacks standing to pursue claims in court arising out of the government's failure to do right as she sees it, we conclude that the district court did not abuse its discretion in dismissing both complaints with prejudice pursuant to S 1915(d).

AFFIRMED.

Footnotes

[[Footnote 1](#)] Since Cato was the only named individual to sign the complaint and the in forma pauperis declaration in No. 94-17102, and Johnson the only such plaintiff in her action (No. 94-17104), the district court dismissed the other plaintiffs as a non-attorney may appear only in her own behalf. *C.E. Pope Equity Trust v. United States*, 818 F.2d 696, 697 (9th Cir. 1987). Both Cato and Johnson are represented by counsel on appeal.

[[Footnote 2](#)] The court's order dismisses the complaint with prejudice, but provides that it "does not foreclose plaintiff from refileing her action as a paid complaint." Both plaintiffs had previously filed in forma pauperis complaints with the same allegations, which had previously been dismissed pursuant to S 1915(d) by different judges. The district court held that this provided an independent ground for dismissal of Cato's complaint. We agree. There is no abuse of discretion where a district court dismisses under S 1915(d) a complaint "that merely repeats pending or previously litigated claims." *Bailey v. Johnson*, 846 F.2d 1019, 1021 (5th Cir. 1988); see also *Denton v. Hernandez*, [504 U.S. 25, 33](#) (1992) (recognizing Congress's concern that "a litigant whose filing fees and court costs are assumed by the public, unlike a paying litigant, lacks an economic incentive to refrain from filing frivolous, malicious, or repetitive lawsuits") (quotation omitted).

[[Footnote 3](#)] As these issues do not break neatly into categories without overlap, we intermingle them with our discussion of Cato's arguments on appeal.

[[Footnote 4](#)] Cato suggests no other statutory sources of waiver on appeal.

[[Footnote 5](#)] We also hold that she cannot do so, because it is absolutely clear that the FTCA provides no basis for waiver on any of the theories for monetary recovery that Cato offers on appeal. See *infra* at 15169-70 (alleged failures of the Congress to discharge duties are within the discretionary function which the FTCA excepts from the limited waiver of sovereign immunity); and at 15171 (no waiver of sovereign immunity for claim against the United States under the Thirteenth Amendment). However, as we

shall discuss in Part VI, *infra* at 15172, the United States has waived sovereign immunity in claims for non-monetary relief in the Administrative Procedures Act (APA), 5 U.S.C. S 702, but Cato's theories fail on other grounds.

[[Footnote 6](#)] The government relies on the general statute of limitations in claims against the United States, which is six years, 28 U.S.C. S 2401(a), to argue that the court has no jurisdiction to consider claims for historical events, such as the wrongs upon which Cato sues, that occurred during times prior to the Civil War of 1861-1865. See, e.g., *Japanese War Notes Claimants Association of the Philippines, Inc. v. United States*, 373 F.2d 356, 358, 178 Ct.Cl. 630, cert. denied, [389 U.S. 971](#) (1967); *Hohri v. United States*, 586 F.Supp. 769 (D.D.C. 1984), *aff'd*, 847 F.2d 779 (D.C. Cir. 1988), cert. denied, [488 U.S. 925](#) (1988). While this may well have provided an alternative basis for dismissing the complaint, we believe the district court correctly grounded its ruling on lack of subject matter jurisdiction. Therefore, we do not consider whether Cato's action is barred by the general six year statute of limitations.

[[Footnote 7](#)] Cato's reference is to *Jones v. Mayer Co.*, [392 U.S. 409](#) (1968), where the Court stated:

"By its own unaided force and effect," the Thirteenth Amendment "abolished slavery, and established universal freedom." [Civil Rights Cases.] Whether or not the Amendment itself did any more than that -- a question not involved in this case -- it is at least clear that the Enabling Clause of that Amendment empowered Congress to do much more. For that clause clothed "Congress with power to pass all laws necessary and proper for abolishing all badges and incidents of slavery in the United States." *Id.* at 439 (emphasis in original).

[[Footnote 8](#)] We express no view with respect to any such possibility, which we regard as being outside the parameters both of the pleading that was dismissed and the court's ruling on it.

[[Footnote 9](#)] The Thirteenth Amendment provides:

Section 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

Section 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.