

South Sudan and the problem of Arab racism in Black Africa-- an introduction

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Sudan is the microcosm of Black Africa's unacknowledged Arab problem, a problem of racism, colonialism, enslavement and an Arab agenda of cultural, political and territorial expansion at the expense of Black Africa. It would take a fat book to adequately explain these matters; however, the brief answers to the 11 questions below attempt to throw preliminary light on the situation of the Afro-Sudanese.

Q1: What is the basic problem in Sudan?

In Sudan, Black Africans (The Afro-Sudanese in South Sudan, Darfur, Nubia, etc) are fighting against an Arab settler minority regime, ruling from Khartoum. They are fighting against a racist, Arab supremacist rule that is worse, much worse, than Apartheid. The Sudan situation has many of the features of Apartheid and, to make things worse, the raiding of black African villages by Arabs who sell black captives into slavery in Northern Sudan and other parts of the Arab world, is still going on there today in the 21st century. Slave raiding was not even part of the loathsome evils of Apartheid.

The South Sudanese, after a 50years war of liberation (1955-2005)—the longest war in Africa-- finally got Khartoum to sign the Comprehensive Peace Agreement, CPA, in 2005. The CPA has the backing of the International Community. It grants the South Sudanese limited autonomy through the Government of South Sudan, and provides for a Self-Determination referendum in 2011. The referendum will give the people of South Sudan the chance to decide whether South Sudan will remain within Sudan or secede and become independent.

In a replay of how Khartoum unilaterally abrogated the 1972 Addis Ababa peace accord that ended the Anya-Any phase of the Afro-Arab race war in Sudan, [an accord that, like the CPA, also granted regional autonomy to South Sudan], Khartoum is determined to kill the CPA, and is maneuvering to resume war on South Sudan and prevent the referendum.

South Sudan urgently needs brotherly Pan African help to ensure full enforcement of the CPA by the international community as the way to a lasting and just peace.

Q2: What kinds of war has Khartoum been waging, since 1955, on the Afro-Sudanese peoples of South Sudan, Darfur, etc.?

Khartoum claims that its war on the Afro-Darfurians is just a counter-insurgency operation, and that its war on South Sudan is a jihad, a religious war to Islamize the Christians and polytheists of South Sudan.

Vice-President Taha has recently (2007) called on the Muslims in the South to take up arms as he 'was ready to put the oil revenue in Sudan to support the war in South Sudan to liberate the South from the infidels backed by the Israelites'.

He declared that time had come for the people of Sudan to unite against the 'infidels'. He remarked that the war in South Sudan took 21 years but that the new crusade to liberate the South would only take 21 days.

Q3: What are Khartoum's real war aims?

Khartoum's real objectives, under cover of Jihad against the 'infidels' in South Sudan and of counter-insurgency in Darfur, is Arab expansionism, with Arab colonialism, enslavement and Arabization for the conquered black Africans. As we shall see, when Khartoum wants to conquer and take land from the non-Muslim Africans, it claims its war is jihad; and when it wants to conquer and take land from Muslim Africans, it claims its war is a counterinsurgency.

Sudan, it has been noted is "a front of a fresh wave of Arab conquest and Arabization of Black Africa"—[Nyaba, Peter Adwok "The Afro-Arab conflict in the 21st century", *Tinabantu*, May 2002, p. 28]

This is borne out by such statements as the following by Sudan's Arab leaders:

"Sudan is the basis of the Arab thrust into the heart of black Africa, the Arab civilizing mission"—President Nimeiry, 1969 [quoted in Agyeman, Opoku "Pan Africanism vs. Pan Arabism", *Black Renaissance*, 1994, p.39]

In 1994, when his troops seemed about to defeat the SPLA, President Omer el-Bashir declared he was going to say his evening prayers in a Kampala Mosque twenty-four hours after his troops captured Nimule from the SPLA.—[Nyaba, Peter Adwok "The Afro-Arab conflict in the 21st century", *Tinabantu*, May 2002, p. 31]

Thus even before conquering South Sudan, Khartoum, in its Arab expansionist thrust into the heart of black Africa, has had its greedy eyes on Uganda and beyond!!

Q4: Is the Khartoum regime Arab? But they look black?

They are Arabs, black Arabs! They are culturally Arabized blacks and, however pitch black they may be, they consider themselves Arab and their allegiance is to white Arabia not to black Africa.

As Sudanese Prime Minister, Mahgoub, proclaimed in 1968:

Sudan is geographically in Africa but is Arab in its aspirations and destiny. We consider ourselves the Arab spearhead in Africa, linking the Arab world to the African continent"—[quoted in Agyeman, Opoku "Pan Africanism vs. Pan Arabism", *Black Renaissance*, 1994, p.38]

Q5: But who are these strange "Arabs" in Sudan, located so deep inside black Africa?

They are the Jellaba Arabs, the part-African descendants of Arab slave procurers of earlier centuries. This handful of three riverine tribes-- the Shaigiya, the Jallayeen and the Danagala-- inherited state power from the British at independence in 1956 and have monopolized it ever since and used it to oppress and literally enslave the Afro-Sudanese. In Arab society, the half-Arab hybrid is called *hajin* and ranks lower than the full Arab. And the part-black *hajins* (to whom "blackness had passed from their mothers") rank lowest in social status in Arab society. In Sudan one is classified as an Arab if one is Muslim and speaks Arabic, and especially if one has the light (red) skin of the part-black *hajin*. Most of these Sudanese Arabs are actually Nubian-Arab mixed breeds (*hajins*) who are culturally Arabized. For being part-African, these *hajins* from Sudan are held in contempt by the true Arabs. These despised black wannabe Arabs are so desperate to earn acceptance by the white and true Arabs that they have become fanatical agents for Arab expansionism into black Africa. The white Arabs, for their part, though despising these wannabe Arabs, gladly use them as monkey's paw to advance Arab expansionism. Arab minority rule in Sudan is as if the Cape Coloreds of South Africa had inherited power in 1948, proclaimed themselves Europeans, and then proceeded to inflict apartheid, racism, war and genocide on the

black South Africans as the first stage in a racist mission to repopulate all of black Africa with Europeans.

Q6: What is Khartoum's project in Sudan?

Khartoum's project is the Arabization of Sudan. Khartoum is determined that Sudan will eventually become wholly an Arab land with all its diverse African peoples converted into Arabs. Sudan is Khartoum's pilot project, backed by the Arab League, in the **Islamisation and Arabisation of Black Africa**.

It has been noted by Opoku Agyeman that Pan-Arabism, in its so-called 'civilizing mission' perceives Africa as a 'cultural vacuum' waiting to be filled by Arab culture "by all conceivable means" [Agyeman, Opoku "Pan Africanism vs. Pan Arabism", *Black Renaissance*, 1994, p.39] including Islamisation, and the settlement of Arab populations on lands forcibly seized from Africans. The assumptions, objectives and methods of this project may be illustrated from the statements of its principal implementers in Sudan since the 1820s:

"You are aware that the end of all our efforts and this expense is to procure Negroes. Please show zeal in carrying out our wishes in this capital matter."

--Muhammad Ali Pasha, Ruler of Egypt, 1825, in a letter to one of his generals in Sudan, quoted in [Nyaba, Peter Adwok "The Afro-Arab conflict in the 21st century", *Tinabantu*, May 2002, p. 36]

In his 1955 book on the orbital scheme [the three circles at whose center he envisioned Egypt to be], President Nasser characterized Africa as

"the remotest depths of the jungle," and as merely a candidate for Egypt's "spread of enlightenment and civilization" via Islamisation-Arabisation.

--Gamal Abdel Nasser, President of Egypt, 1954, quoted in [Agyeman, Opoku "Pan Africanism vs. Pan Arabism", *Black Renaissance*, 1994, p.34]

"We want to Islamise America and Arabise Africa"

– Dr Hassan El-Turabi, chief ideologue of Jellaba-Arab minority rule in Sudan, 1999, quoted in [Nyaba, Peter Adwok "The Afro-Arab conflict in the 21st century", *Tinabantu*, May 2002, p. 27]

"the south [Sudan] will remain an inseparable part of the land of Islam, God willing, even if the war continued for decades."

--Osama bin Laden, 2006, [from an edited translation of an audiotape attributed to al-Qaeda leader Osama bin Laden, which was aired by Aljazeera on April 23, 2006]

This thrusting of Arab spears into the body and soul of Black Africa through deAfrikanisation campaigns of Islamisation-Arabisation was, of course, not confined to Sudan, but has been done wherever Arabs spotted an opportunity to exploit Afrikan weakness, such as Mauritania, Chad, Somalia, Eritrea, Uganda. In the past 40 years, Libya's Gadhafi has been particularly active in sponsoring chaos, anarchy and civil wars in Chad, Liberia, Cote d'Ivoire etc., and in trying to Islamise Uganda, Rwanda, the CAR etc. For example, in a live broadcast on Rwanda Radio on 17 May 1985, Gadhafi said:

First you must stick to your Islamic religion and insist that your children are taught the Islamic religion and you teach the Arabic language because without the Arabic language we could not understand Islam. . . You must teach that Islam is the religion of Africa. . . You must raise your voice high and declare that Allah is great because Africa must be Muslim. . . We must wage a holy war so that Islam may spread in Africa.

--quoted in [Bankie, F. and Mchombu, K. eds (2006) *Pan Africanism*, Windhoek: Gamsberg Macmillan, pp. 239-240]

Q7: What is the Arab project in Africa as a whole?

It is called “el Tawaja el Hadhariya”—the Arab civilizational project. Its classic formulation was in the Nasser Doctrine of the early 1950s:

“ We certainly cannot, under any conditions, relinquish our responsibility to help spread the light of knowledge and civilization to the very depth of the virgin jungles of the [African] continent . . . Africa is now the scene of a strange and stirring turmoil . . . We cannot . . . stand as mere onlookers, deluding ourselves into believing that we are in no way concerned. . .”

—[Nasser in *Philosophy of the Revolution*, (1954), quoted in *The Arabs & Africa*, London: Croom Helm, 1985, p.91]

This Nasser doctrine of an Arab-Islamic civilizing mission in black Africa would be the altruistic-sounding, self-serving camouflage for the Arab expansionist ambition (1) to bring the entire Nile headwaters under Arab rule; (2) to conquer, enslave, Islamize and Arabize black Africans, as through the war on South Sudan; (3) to annex black African lands, as in Libya’s long campaign to annex Chad’s Auzou strip; and (4) to ethnic cleanse and change the demographic character of black African lands by importing Arab settlers, as in Darfur, Nubia and Mauritania today. Arabs would civilize black Africans by inflicting on them war, gang rape of boys and women, genocide, and land expropriation. This Nasser doctrine, like the White Man’s Burden of the Europeans, cloaked Arab imperialism “with a mantle of idealistic devotion to duty.” –[Stavrianos, *The World Since 1500*, p.591]

This Naasser doctrine is only a mask for the Arab project of territorial expansion in Africa. Here is Gadhafi’s Lebensraum [Living space] statement at the Arab League meeting in Jordan in 2001:

“The third of the Arab community living outside Africa should move in with the two-thirds on the continent and join the African Union ‘which is the only space we have’”

--Col. Mouammar Gadhafi of Libya, at the Arab League, 2001

This statement should be taken seriously as a clue to Gadhafi’s intentions and what he and his Arabs will set about doing to Black Africa once they have us in their USAfrica trap.

Where will Gadhafi settle his new 100million Arabs from outside Africa? How will he get land to give them? Here is an example of Arab land grab intentions. Back in 1962, as he flagged off his troops to the war front against the Black Africans in South Sudan, the Arab Sudanese General Hassan Beshir Nasr declared:

“We don’t want these black slaves . . . what we want is their land.”

--quoted in Peter Adwok Nyaba “Arab racism in the Sudan” p.152]

That is what the wars in South Sudan and Darfur have really been about: seizing land from black Africans. Darfur is an ongoing example of how Arabs seized 1/3 of our continent, and of how Gadhafi will grab the land to settle his 100million Arabs from outside Africa.

Q8: How is Darfur an example of this quest for Lebensraum?

To understand the Darfur crisis, we need to go back to its origins in the 1970s, to El-Turabi’s fatwa and to The Arab Congregation.

El-Turabi’s Fatwa

“ . . . several writers have wrongfully reduced the [Darfur] crisis to a matter of **tribal feuds or scarcity of natural resources**. But as opposition activist Suliman Hamid al-Haj emphasizes, ‘Darfur’s crisis is a fully fledged state conspiracy plotted by Hassan al-Turabi ([when he was] Secretary-General of the NIF party, the National Congress; Speaker of the state parliament, the National Council; and thus top guide of the NIF political bodies) and subsequently pursued by Arab militias in full collaboration with the Sudan government and its ruling party, the National Islamist Front’.

It is thus the government, to a much greater degree than the militias it established and systematically manipulated, that is squarely responsible for the crisis in Darfur and the heinous atrocities resulting from it.

According to Hamid’s documentary, . . . Hassan al-Turabi, at the height of his power with the NIF regime, issued a decree clearly stating the following : the Islamists of Negro tribes became hostile to the Islamic Movement. The Islamic Front aims to support the Arab tribes by these steps : forced displacement of the Fur from Jebel Merra to Wadi Salih, followed by complete disarming of the Fur people, for good: they are to be replaced with the Mehairiya, Itaifat, and Irayqat (Arab tribes). Arms must never return to the Zaghawa, who must be moved from Kutum to Um Rwaba (North Kordofan State); the Arab tribes should be armed and financed to act as the nucleus of the Islamic Arab Alliance.

This official fatwa is the basis of the state plot in Darfur. It has been literally executed, as revealed by current events in the region, even after al-Turabi was purged from the party.”

--[excerpt from **El-Turabi plot and Khartoum’s orchestration of the ethnic cleansing in Darfur** by Mahgoub El-Tigani, from **page 3 of The Citizen of 3rd October 2007, Vol 2, Issue No 254, Published Khartoum/Juba, South Sudan**

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For how El-Turabi’s fatwa has been implemented in the last three decades, we must learn the story of
The Arab Congregation

“Al Tajamu Al Arabi, [is] loosely translated here as the Arab Congregation. Other translations are the Arab Coalition, Arab Gathering, Arab Alliance and Arab Congress.

The Arab Congregation was probably formed in early 1980s but gained momentum in latter years of the same decade. Darfur has been a major site of operation of the Arab Congregation. This basic fact disguises the broader aim and geographic spread of the organization. Within Sudan, the Arab Congregation aims at displacing/controlling indigenous populations of the entire [Sudan], though modestly starting with the six States of the western regions/provinces of Kordofan and Darfur.

At the broader regional level of Sub-Saharan Africa, tentacles of the Arab Congregation spread as far as Chad, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Niger and possibly beyond. The geographical spread of the organization indicates that the Arab Congregation of Western Sudan is a mere small cog within a wider network of national and regional dimensions. At the national level, the Arab Congregation of Western Sudan is sponsored and operates as a conduit for Kayan Al Shamal and hence KASH or the Northern Entity in English (EL-Thom 2006). KASH was formed in 1976 when the government of dictator Nimeri was nearly toppled by a Kordofan army officer, who would in today's language in Sudan be classified as 'black' and non-Arab. KASH was then formed to ensure that irrespective of the ideology behind the government of Khartoum, democratic, fascist, military, socialist, religious fanatic or otherwise, the leadership remains in the hands of the Northern Region. But KASH is an exclusive club, open only for three elite groups of the Northern Region. This is what various circles including the Arab Congregation refer to as Al Thalooth ie the Tripartite Coalition.. The Tripartite Coalition, which has been ruling the Sudan since independence, encompasses barely three ethnic groups; the Shaigiya (Ex-President Sir Alkhatim, current Vice-President Taha), the Jallayeen (President Al Bashir) and the Danagala (Ex-President Nimeri, Ex-Prime Minister Almahdi and Ex-Vice President Alzibair). For the past forty years or so, KASH has spearheaded the project of Arab-Islamisation of the Sudan and in their pursuit of their project, they needed foot soldiers supplied by various bodies including the Arab Congregation. The hegemony of the Northern Region over Sudan is so clear-cut and requires no rerun in this article (see JEM 2004, El- Tom 2003 and Ibrahim 2004).

The might of the geopolitical dimension of the Arab Congregation was chillingly demonstrated in Darfur in the early 1980s. Following the collapse of the Nimeri regime, Khartoum government connived with Gaddafi and his disastrous gamble in Chad to turn Darfur into one of their daring crusades to push the so-called Islamic belt into Black Africa. Having been kicked out of Chad Gaddafi proceeded to locate his Islamic Legion under the command of Acheikh Ibn Omar in the Massalitland in western Darfur. The Legion, whose recruits were sourced in Chad, Mali and Niger but equally as far away as Mauritania, devastated the area and its indigenous inhabitants. Settlers of the Islamic Legion in Darfur were later to play a prominent role as Janjaweed, effectively executing Musa Hilal's call ' change the demography of Darfur and empty it of African tribes ' (Flint and De Waal 2005, see also Flint and De Waal). Attempts to change the demography of Darfur are still going on to this day. As recently as July 2007, Bloomfield accused the government of Sudan of ' cynically trying to change the demography of the whole region '. Monitoring the Chadian-Sudanese borders, Bloomfield wrote :-

An internal UN report, obtained by the Independent, shows that up to 30,000 Arabs have crossed the border in the past three months. Most arrived with all their belongings and large flocks. They were greeted by Sudanese Arabs who took them to empty villages cleared by the government and Janjaweed forces ... further 45,000 Arabs from Niger have also crossed over ‘ (Bloomfield 2007).

At least three conclusions can be drawn so far, each of which connects with a general misconception about the current conflict in Darfur. Firstly, Darfur conflict cannot be reduced to a strife that is internal to Darfur and as an outcome of environmentally generated scarcity of resources. Rather, the conflict is part and parcel of national and regional dynamics as well as aspirations.

Secondly, the Janjaweed are not a by-product of the present Darfur conflict. Their current involvement in the Darfur war is a mere culmination of decades of atrocities in the region as well as in other parts of the Sudan, such as Abeye in Southern Sudan.

Thirdly, the reading that Khartoum unleashed the Janjaweed following the rebellion in Darfur is factually incorrect. On the contrary, the Darfur rebellion took place due to several reasons including atrocities of the Janjaweed against indigenous Darfurians.”

--excerpt from **THE ARAB CONGREGATION AND THE IDEOLOGY OF GENOCIDE IN DARFUR, SUDAN** by Abdullahi Osman El-Tom, Ph D
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 Meanwhile, amidst arguments about whether or not there is ethnic cleansing and genocide taking place in Darfur, and even behind the façade of an ineffective AU force, the Arab minority regime in Khartoum, with its Janjaweed agents, has been left unhindered to continue its project of land grabbing and Arabizing the demography of Darfur.

But since July 2007, when an internal UNHCR report was published by the *Independent* of London, disclosing how the Khartoum Government was brazenly importing Arabs from outside Sudan, giving them citizenship and settling them on the land and in the villages from where the Afro-Darfurians have been expelled, all the specious and obscurantist arguments of the last five years about whether Khartoum’s actions amounted to genocide/ethnic cleansing or to just counter-insurgency warfare have been overtaken and settled by events. The intent behind it all now stands revealed. The only ones who cannot see it are those who refuse to see: It was to drive out the indigenous black African population and repopulate their land with Arab settlers. Is that ethnic cleansing? Is that genocide? When you drive people off their land and give their land to others, have you not condemned them to slow death? Isn’t that genocide by indirect means?

El-Turabi’s fatwa and the project of the Arab Congregation reveal that Darfur is not a matter of counter-insurgency, but rather the first phase of an elaborate and determined scheme of Arab expansion and conquest westward to Dakar. They are evidence of the Arabs’ agenda of relentless territorial expansion at the expense of Black Africa.

It is an eternal shame on Mr. Obasanjo and his fellow black African presidents in the AU who let all that happen on their watch.

Q9: How are Darfur and South Sudan relevant to Gadafi’s USAfrica project?

In evaluating Gaddafi's USAfrica project of Afro-Arab unification under one continental government, Black Africans would be wise to study the prototypes of Afro-Arab unification in South Sudan, Darfur, and in Mauritania. History rarely provides pilot projects to guide us. But, luckily for Black Africans of today, it has done so in Sudan and Mauritania. We cannot say we had no examples to warn us against this Afro-Arab Continental Union Government.

Q10: What would Khartoum's victory over South Sudan, or Gaddafi's USAfrica, enable the Arabs to do to Black Africa?

First of all, South Sudan is focal ground in the very heart of Africa. The Arabs see it, in the words of Sadiq el-Mahdi, a former Prime Minister of Sudan, as "a step board for Arab entry and Islamic influence into the heart of Africa"—[quoted in Peter Adwok Nyaba, "Arab racism in the Sudan" p. 160] If South Sudan falls to Khartoum, that would open the way for nomadic Arab tribes to infiltrate into Kenya, the CAR, Uganda and further east, west and south, all the way to Kinshasa, Luanda, Windhoek, Harare and Cape Town.

Secondly, Gaddafi's USAfrica would give the Arabs state power over all of black Africa, and literally turn all of Black Africa into a colony under an Arab-dominated continental government. If Gaddafi's USAfrica should ever come into being, the Arabs would replicate throughout Black Africa what the Arab minority has been doing to the majority Black Africans in the Sudan.

To appreciate what that would mean for us, we need to educate ourselves on the relationship between Islam, Jihad and enslavement. Here is a recent and authoritative statement of that relationship:

"Slavery is part of jihad, and jihad will remain as long as there is Islam."
--from a 2003 lecture by Saudi Arabian religious leader Sheik Saleh Al-Fawzan

Sheikh Saleh Al-Fawzan's remark helps explain why the abolition of slavery is incompatible with Islam, and gives insight into the religious/ideological factors contributing to why the several "abolitions" in Mauritania have come to nothing. It also explains why, if Gaddafi's USAfrica comes into being, the enslavement of Black Africans will expand beyond Sudan and Mauritania to all of Black Africa. As everywhere becomes a theatre for jihad, all of Black Africa will be subjected to what Khartoum has been subjecting the Darfurians and South Sudanese to for the past 50 years.

Q11: Why is it in black Africa's interest to support South Sudan and defeat Khartoum?

South Sudan is focal ground, and it would be a disaster for Black Africa to lose it to the Arab aggressors. As the territory through which Arab tribes must pass to seize land in Central, East and Southern Africa, it is as vital to Black African collective security as the Suez Canal, Gibraltar, the Bosphorus, the Persian Gulf, the Straits of Malacca, and the Panama Canal are in global politics and warfare. It is so vital a region that the Arabs are ready, according to Osama Bin Laden, to wage endless war to seize it.

South Sudan is on the tip of the Arab spear thrusting into the heart of Black Africa. If we want to blunt this Arab spear pushing along the Nile to Central and Southern Africa, we must help the South Sudanese to neutralize Khartoum and save the 2011 referendum. **A full and internationally enforced implementation of the CPA is the only way to peace in Sudan, peace with African security and dignity, instead of a peace of the graveyard filled with Black African corpses.**

In helping South Sudan, we will be helping ourselves to avoid conquest and enslavement and expropriation and worse by the Arabs.

If we allow South Sudan to be conquered by Khartoum, the Arabs will be emboldened to grab even more of our lands. Who's next? Kenya, the CAR, Uganda, Ethiopia? And after that? Chad, Congo, Nigeria? And then all the way to Accra, Dakar, Harare and Cape Town?

If you do nothing to stop Khartoum and its Arab League masters today, it will, some day, sooner than later, be your turn to be raped, enslaved and ethnic cleansed by them, and you might find yourself lamenting and saying:

The Arabs came for the South Sudanese, and I did nothing to stop them because I wasn't a South Sudanese;

Then the Arabs came for the black Africans in Darfur, and I did nothing to stop them because I wasn't a black African in Darfur;

And then the Arabs came for my black African ass in Cape Town/Accra/Dakar, and by that time there were no black Africans left to stop them killing or enslaving me and taking my land.

Conclusion

South Sudan has, for over 50 years, and without our help, valiantly defended us against the Arab invaders, and fought them to a draw, as represented in the CPA. Isn't it time we extended to them an appreciative and brotherly Pan Africanist hand and so help them to victory? This their war is our war. Our collective security is at stake. They are holding tenuously the current frontline in this long Afro-Arab race war. It is touch and go. The struggle can go either way. If they lose, we lose. In helping them we shall only be helping ourselves.

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