

Khartoum's scheming and a suggested Black African Response, BPPA#6  
By Chinweizu

The six documents collated below put the case against Khartoum and indicate a response that Black Africa needs to make before the January 9, 2008 deadline set by the SPLM for resolution of the stalemate on the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA).

The first three documents show Khartoum's scheming since the early 1980s to Arabize the demography of Darfur and places as far west as Niger Republic; its instigation and orchestration of the ethnic cleansing in Darfur; and its program, despite the CPA, to finally conquer South Sudan through a campaign of assassination of SPLM leaders. The fourth document exposes Bashir's resolve to abrogate the CPA and resume war on South Sudan. The fifth document casts light on these strange Arab expansionists in Khartoum; while the sixth suggests a line of action for the Black African governments to prevent resumption of war in South Sudan.

Have an enlightening read.

In service to Black Africa,  
Chinweizu

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## **THE ARAB CONGREGATION AND THE IDEOLOGY OF GENOCIDE IN DARFUR, SUDAN**

**By Abdullahi Osman El-Tom, Ph D**

**Page 4 The Citizen 2<sup>nd</sup> September 2007**

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This article presents a number of documents bearing the name of the Arab Congregation of Western Sudan ( Darfur and Kordofan ). It argues that attempts to annihilate indigenous Darfurians and appropriate their land are backed by Arab supremacist ideology that has been nursed over several decades. The article further argues that the Arab Congregation operates in close alliance with both national and regional circles that seek to expand what is defined as the Arab belt deeper into Sub-Saharan Africa.

This article presents six documents related to Al Tajamu Al Arabi, 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 geo-graphic spread of the organization. Within Sudan, the Arab Congregation aims at displacing/controlling indigenous populations of the entire , 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 Thalooh 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 ... futher 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 the 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.

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## **El-Turabi plot and Khartoum's orchestration of the ethnic cleansing in Darfur**

© Mahgoub El-Tigani 2007

### **KI-MOON-DARFUR CONFERENCE : WHICH WAY TO GO ?**

**National collaborative strategies for the UN in Darfur by Mahgoub El-Tigani**

**Extract from page 3 of The Citizen of 3<sup>rd</sup> October 2007, Vol 2, Issue No 254,**

**Published Khartoum/Juba, South Sudan**

### **The Islamists' escalation of the crisis : escalating ethno-administrative cleansing**

The current NIF government is directly responsible for the ethnic cleansing of the non-Arab people of Darfur. According to O'Fahey, 'The ethnicisation of the conflict has grown more rapidly since the military coup in 1989 that brought to power the regime of al-Bashir, which is not only Islamist but also Arabic-centric. This has injected an ideological and racist dimension into the conflict, with the sides defining themselves as 'Arab' or 'Zurq' (black). Despite this racist attitude, which is the major reason Sudanese regions have revolted one after the other against the central government, several writers have wrongfully reduced the 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 ( 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, 'Wad al-Nuqat fi al-Hurof, 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, Itaiyat, 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. 'This plot represents the class interests of Islamised capitalists, which include strata of the Arab tribes as well as some of the Zurqa ( tribes of non-Arab descent ). The majority of Arab tribes have not participated in this scheme; they have not rejected it ; but actively resisted it since it was first implemented', claims Hamid.

Only the few Zurqa who share class interest with the ruling party have taken part in the government's plot.

A great many Sudanese consider the NIF military government disqualified to rule the country. ' They have no heritage of political leadership and their ideology is alien to the Sudanese people, particularly in the rural areas' writes Ahmed. But the NIF government 'started from day one to find a niche in the Sudanese society through which to impose " the civilization, the Islamisation and the Arabisation of the Sudanese state and society". It requires that the total Sudanese cultural, political and religious heritage that had cumulatively taken shape since time immemorial be abandoned and a new political culture based on NIF ideology be adopted'.

Demanding allegiance to the NIF and its ruling junta, the new administrative system of the regime in Darfur and Kordofan is known as the Emirates. Ahmed continues, ' Such traditional tribal titles as King, Demangai, Nazer, Omda and Sheikh have been cancelled and replaced by 'Amir'. But the local tribes are used to their old system of native tribes, which automatically convey a lot about the tribe, rank and status of the holder'.

The Massalit exemplify the resentment among Darfurian Africans toward the Muslim Brotherhood and the Arab emirate system. The Massalit administrative system, Ahmed writes, has been divided into 13 emirates, five of them belonging to migrant Arab tribes in accordance with a decree proclaimed by the NIF Wali (governor ) in March 1995

The Massalit feel that they are the ones targeted by this policy, which aims at balkanizing their territory and giving away large portions of land to migrant Arab tribes. This is the real cause of the violent conflict, which recently erupted between the Massalit and the Arab tribes in their area. The regime- organized peace conferences have been ineffectual because the regime really never addressed the basic causes of the conflict. Instead, it turned them into its sloganeering and sweet talking without really solving the disputes in issue.

In May 1991, members of the Zaghawa tribe presented a political memorandum to the President of the Republic. The memorandum referred to the recent events which took place in the areas of Chazzan Jaded, Sheridan, Argo, Await and Um Kato, all of which were tribally motivated and were aimed at undermining the security situation in the region. We hold the Governor of Darfur Region responsible for these incidents, together with the security committee, the commanders of the military convoys and leaders of the native administration in the area. There were indications that these incidents were planned.

The document ended with ' urgent demands 'for immediate government attention ' to 1) bringing to justice the culprits who perpetrated the above-mentioned crimes, involving massacres, burning of homes and property, robbery, looting and torture targeting our tribe: and 2) ending the state of siege imposed around the water points'.

### **The Darfur Rebellion**

Early in 2003, with the NIF's escalation of the Darfur crisis, the Sudanese political arena witnessed the emergence of two Darfurian non-Arab parties: the Sudanese Liberation Army (SLA) led by lawyer ' Abd al-Wahid Mohamed Nor and the Justice

and Equality Movement (JEM) led by the Turabi disciple Cahill Ibrahim, a former minister in the Bashir administration. Seeking to establish immediate autonomous rule, independent from Khartoum, both the SLA and JEM advocated armed struggle to force the NIF government to allow a politics of self-determination as well as fair wealth sharing.

While the SPLM/A is strongly antagonistic to the NIF's Islamist ideology, many members of the SLA and JEM, by contrast, were once part of the NIF ruling systems.

In addition to the hegemony of Khartoum over the Darfurian native system, according to Lobbing, 'there are many long standing economic grievances that precipitated the SLA and JEM to initiate this round of fighting'.

The NIF government responded by unleashing the Jonahed/Janjaweed on the rebels, side by side with the PDF and the army troops. Since then the Jonahed, formerly known as the mural, or Beggar horse riders, have been accused of widespread killings, rape, abduction, torching of villages and crops, and cattle looting aimed at black Muslims in Darfur. Aid agencies say up to 50,000 people have died from the conflict, while more than 1.4 million have been displaced. About 170,000 of these have fled into neighboring Chad for fear of being attacked by the Jonahed. The indigenous people's resistance to the NIF assaults on native administration and land ownership was sporadic before the emergence of the SLA, which opened a massive offensive by twice seizing a major town in Northern Darfur in February 2003. Unable to cope with the rebellion, the Government opened negotiations but quickly breached the cease-fire. In retaliation, the SLA now joined by the JEM, attacked El-Fisher, Melee and Kutum. The capture of large numbers of troops from El-Fisher and north of Kutum forced the Government to sign a cease-fire and agree to negotiations in Apache, Chad on 3 September 2003.

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NIF = National Islamist Front

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### **SUDAN TRAINING YOUNG MUSLIMS FOR JIHAD MISSIONS**

**Extract from page 10 of the Juba Post of 4-12 October 2007,**

**Source- text of a report by Dher Goro entitled 'Exposed; Khartoum is training terrorists', published by the Sudan Mirror on 10<sup>th</sup> September 2007 and BBC Monitoring 1<sup>st</sup> October 2007.**

High ranking government and security officials in Khartoum have been linked to secretive training of young Muslims as members of Special Forces loyal and dedicated to carry out jihad missions in the South.

Government of Southern Sudan (GOSS) intelligence sources have confirmed the initiation of such programmes, saying the recruits are carefully selected from Universities and higher institutions in Khartoum. They are later trained in terrorist tactics during a ten-day programme.

A highly confidential intelligence brief availed to Sudan Mirror disclosed the training of a batch of 30 recruits from Greater Ekuatoria in Hantoub Gezira last June under the command of three senior security officers of national security.

The training ran through 10-21 June this year and was attended by ‘carefully selected and chosen’ recruits. The recruits’ have special files about the backgrounds in the organization in Khartoum’.

### **Comprehensive advantage**

According to the intelligence brief, the courses were designed ‘to build a special force loyal and dedicated to carry out jihad in the South and to implement tough orders given to them’.

Ekuatoria was chosen for the training base because of comparative advantages, the report noted.

‘ Most of the Southerners who are in charge of security in the South and some who are integrated in the high security position in the North after the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) are of less education and knowledge about security matters’.

During the opening session of the Hantoub course, a top adviser to the Government of National Unity (GONU) told the recruits that because of the comparative advantages ‘the penetration of military installations and government institutions plus eliminating the key leaders in the South as easy targets’.

Intelligence reports also disclosed that similar training of students from other parts of Sudan have taken place in Kassala, a development that sources in GOSS say confirms the determination of the North to dilute the CPA.

According to intelligence reports, Sudan’s Second Vice-President Ali Osman Mohamed Taha was accompanied by high ranking government and security officials during the opening of the training programme at Hantoub Gezira.

### **Hate speech**

The government and security officials present were identified. The report noted that hate speech directed at non-Muslims characterized that opening session.

In addition, there was a posthumous slur on former Sudan Peoples Liberation Movement (SPLM) leader Dr John Garang as well as denouncement of Muslims working closely with GOSS.

The reports quote Vice-President Taha as having 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.

The Vice-President further disowned the CPA, saying they signed the agreement under international pressure and that the North should not have done so. He announced that plans for other similar Muslim youth training programmes covering the ten Southern states especially Equatoria were under way.

### **Explosives**

According to GOSS intelligence reports, the Muslim youth training had been organized by the Islamic elites in Khartoum.

The programmes include training on the use of explosives and explosive belts as well as recitations of the spirit of terrorism in jihad war.

The other subjects were aptly titled: 'How to exploit the churches' and 'The spirit to die in the name of God'. The learning is complemented by video shows for 10 hours a day on jihad suicide operations and handling explosives in public places'.

The reports say the recruits do not return to their universities at the end of the training but are assigned special tasks in Khartoum to monitor the movement of members of the military and politicians from the South.

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### **BASHIR VOWS NO ABYEI RETREAT, SAYS READY FOR WAR.**

**By El-Harris Omer; extract from page 1 of the Citizen of 18<sup>th</sup> November 2007, Published in Khartoum / Juba, Sudan**

Addressing the annual celebration of the Popular Defense Forces (PDF) at Wad Madani yesterday morning, the President of the Republic, Field Marshal Omer Hassan al-Bashir called upon all mujahideen in the country to be always ready for war by training.

Bashir called for opening of training camps in Sudan.

Al-Bashir added that the PDF were legal forces and that his party, the NCP, was always serious about peace as it was a peace herald.

Al-Bashir said that his party had signed the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) not because of weakness, but from a point of strength and that was when the mujahideen had won many battles in the Nuba Mountains, Blue Nile State and in Tawit.

Concerning the conflict between the two partners, al-Bashir called upon the SPLM to resort to the CPA commissions to see who had kept the agreement and who had betrayed it.

'The NCP is ready for war and we will not abandon any piece of Abyie for the SPLM or retreat from the 1905 borders', said al-Bashir.

'The experts' report about Abyie is unacceptable and we will reject the borders of 1956', he added.

Al-Bashir accused the SPLM of taking Abyie issue as a pretext to abort the CPA. In his speech, the President of the Republic condemned the French attempt to kidnap Darfur children, saying that it showed clearly that the Europeans and Americans are not civilized as they usually claim, but slave merchants.

Al-Bashir said the Sudanese would not accept any troops from Sweden or Norway in Darfur as these two countries had insulted Prophet Mohammed before.

Meanwhile leaders of the Popular Defense Forces declared on the occasion that the PDF were an extension to Sudanese Armed Forces (SAF). They warned against any interference in Sudan's affairs.

The NCP leader, Kamal Obeid, said that al-Bashir's talk was not an acceleration of the crisis between the NCP and the SPLM, and that the CPA does not call for a release of the Popular Defense Forces as the PDF were not a militia.

Obeid acknowledged there was a political crisis between the NCP and the SPLM, but he added that contacts between the two partners were still going on.

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## **Reparations for Darfur 4: A resolution**

By Chinweizu

### **Preamble**

In the last decade, Black Africans have watched, in helpless incomprehension and confusion, the agonies of Darfur as it was being raped by Arabs before the eyes of the whole world. Leaving undone what they needed to do to stop the disaster, Black African presidents joined the world in arguing over how to describe what has been going on. For example,

(1) At a press conference at the UN on 23 September, 2004, Mr. Obasanjo, Nigeria's president at the time, was asked to pronounce on the violence in Darfur: was it genocide or not? His response was:

"Before you can say that this is genocide or ethnic cleansing, we will have to have a definite decision and plan and programme of a government to wipe out a particular group of people, then we will be talking about genocide, ethnic cleansing. What we know is not that. What we know is that there was an uprising, rebellion, and the government armed another group of people to stop that rebellion. That's what we know. That does not amount to genocide from our own reckoning. It amounts to of course conflict. It amounts to violence."

Similarly, (2) In its report, of 25 January 2005, the UN Security Council's five-person commission of inquiry on Darfur concluded that:



‘the Government of the Sudan has not pursued a policy of genocide . . . directly or through the militias under its control. . . .The crucial element of genocidal intent appears to be missing . . . it would seem that those who planned and organised attacks on villages pursued the intent to drive the victims from their homes, primarily for purposes of counter-insurgency warfare.’

Meanwhile, behind the façade of an ineffective AU force, the Arab minority regime in Khartoum, with its Janjaweed agents, was left unhindered to continue its destructive project.

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 are over. They have been overtaken and decided by events. The intent behind it all has now been 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 other means?

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

### **Now, what is to be done? What is to be done by Black Africans?**

In our season of continentalist delusion, various fifth columnist voices have worked to confuse us. Some Black African intellectuals are not ashamed to be passionately pro-Palestinians, for being victims of land grabs by the Israelis, and yet passionately anti-Darfur, the victims of a land grab by the Arabs. One of these inconsistent fellows has denounced those Black Africans who demand stronger measures against Khartoum as “working with the enemy”—i.e. the American and Zionist enemy of our Arab enemy. Though the fellow parades himself as a Pan Africanist, he really is an agent of Arab colonialism and helping to confuse our people.

Others of our Black African intellectuals, who are beholden to the Arabs in sundry ways, have railed against the Darfur freedom fighters -- the SLA [Sudan Liberation Army] and the JEM (Justice and Equality Movement). One has even gone so far as to misrepresent and denounce them as “peace vultures . . . playing reactionary politics with lives, blood, sweat and suffering of their peoples”. This Arab-loyal “Pan-Africanist” has claimed that the rebels “are not legitimate leaders of the people. They are their self-appointed liberators.” He adds that they are “colonial minded leaders [who] seem to have no faith in the AU and implicit confidence in non African governments and institutions”. Now, given the AU’s record of subservience to the Arabs, why should the Darfurians have any confidence at all in the AU?

We have also allowed ourselves to be confused by pro-Arab obscurantists who claimed that for Black Africans to support Darfur would be “extremely anti-Islamic”. They chose not to notice that the Arab-minority regime in Khartoum, its Janjaweed agents as well as most of their Darfurian victims are all Muslim.

And while such fifth columnist voices confused and immobilized us, the Arabs have gone on to effect their land grab in Darfur.

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. 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 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, war and genocide on the black South Africans as the first stage in a racist mission to repopulate all of black Africa with Europeans.

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Now that unfolding events have blown off the dust thrown into our eyes, what do we see? We can see

- 1] that the Africans of Darfur have lost their homeland to Arab expansionist land grabbers;
- 2] that Darfur is a war front in today’s phase of the long race war inflicted on us black Africans, since 640AD, by the Arab invaders and incorrigible aggressors.
- 3] that the Darfur war is racial not religious;
- 4] that the black presidents in the AU have been passive and naive accomplices of the Arabs in this humiliation of all Black Africans;
- 5] that Darfur is a contemptuous spit in the face of Black Africa by the Arabs; a humiliating expression of their total and ancient contempt for us black Africans. They have, before our very eyes, snatched from us a territory the size of France; and to do it, they have played on the intelligence of our black African presidents. And they are confident that we won’t do anything about it.

However, since aggression grows more greedy if it does not draw retaliation, if we stomach this humiliation, if we do not chase them out of Darfur, the Arabs will be emboldened to grab even more of our lands. Who’s next? South Sudan, Chad, Ethiopia? And after that? Uganda, Congo, Nigeria, Kenya? And then all the way to Accra, Dakar, Harare and Cape Town?

If you do nothing to stop the Janjaweed and their Arab masters today, it will, some day, be your turn to be raped 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;  
 And then the Arabs came for the black Mauritians, and I did nothing to stop them because I wasn’t a black Mauritanian;  
 Then the Arabs came for the blacks in Darfur, and I did nothing to stop them because I wasn’t a black in Darfur;

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

We should note that our clamor for reparations for past wrongs will not be taken seriously by anybody who sees us acting indifferent to ongoing wrongs of the same kind in Darfur. If we let stand this brazen Arab land grab in Darfur; if we leave undone what we can and ought to do about it, nobody will respect us; nor can we keep our self-respect.

Here, for once, is a case where reparation is entirely within our competence to make.

We have absolutely no excuse for not taking back Darfur from the Arabs.

If the black presidents in the AU do not do their duty on Darfur, they will expose themselves as cowardly appeasers of, and collaborators with, Arab expansionists. They will expose themselves as what Garvey long ago called Traitors-at-the-top.

We must make that clear to them, to ourselves and to the whole world.

The spotlight is on us, the intelligentsia of Black Africa. It is our duty to make that clear, and to drive these black African presidents to do their duty.

Being what Du Bois in 1921, at the 2<sup>nd</sup> Pan African Congress, called the ‘thinking intelligentsia’ of Black Africa, it is our Pan Africanist duty to rouse our people to hold these black African presidents accountable to our people in the matter of Darfur.

### **Resolution**

The Black Africans, through ‘their thinking intelligentsia’, therefore now demand and call on all the black African governments, in Africa and the diaspora, to rise to the challenge from the Arab expansionists, and exact reparation for Darfur. We specifically call on them

- 1] To send a black African army to expel the Arab land grabbers now in Darfur;
- 2] To restore the land of Darfur to its black African owners;
- 3] To resettle in Darfur the indigenous populations that have been ethnic cleansed and driven into exile or refugee camps;
- 4] To exact compensation from the Arab minority regime in Khartoum, and use it to finance the resettlement of the Afro-Darfurians in their homeland.
- 5] To punish the Arab minority regime in Khartoum for its multitude of crimes against black African humanity.

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 We have, these many years, all failed to do our duty. We need to redeem ourselves. Now is the time to atone for our confusion, vacillation, inaction and even indifference to the plight of our Black African kith and kin in Darfur. Now is the time to rise and give total and sustained support to our victimized brothers and sisters in Darfur.

Chinweizu

For the CAACBA [Committee Against Arab Colonialism in Black Africa]  
 Lagos, August 2007

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Reply to Kenya Editorial on Sudan

-----Original Message-----

**From:** chinweizu chinweizu [mailto:sundoor777@gmail.com]

**Sent:** 20 October 2007 22:30

**To:** B. F. Bankie; GAC\_Canada@yahoogroups.com

**Cc:** agboton1@netzero.net; pepbarbados@yahoo.com; nehusi@hotmail.com; bababuntu@gmail.com; 'Maxie Fox'; neville.andre@gmail.com; Omaliyesh@aol.com; kjeffers@cogeco.ca; renguson@yahoo.ca; Prah KK; Dorothy Lewis, Queen Mother; Claudette Perry; Mollie West; Herbert Vilakazi; Andile Mngxitama; Mathatha Tsedu; Peter Adwok Nyaba; Anigbo, Amb. Chike

**Subject:** RE: [GAC\_Canada] FW: Sudan Update: SPLM Set January Deadline; Kenya Editorial

Hello Black Africans of the homeland and the Diaspora:

I want to comment on the Editorial [see below] of The East African (Nairobi) on Juba's ultimatum to Khartoum about the CPA.

If "The region simply put cannot afford another war", then the black African countries must insist on full implementation of the CPA by Khartoum.

Juba should not be left all by itself to capitulate to Khartoum so as to avoid another war.

The black African countries must together now serve notice that if Khartoum does not fully implement all the CPA terms that are due by Jan 9, they will act to remove the Arab minority misrulers in Khartoum, and militarily support the immediate independence of South Sudan.

The only effective way that Kenya, as head of IGAD, can step in is to get the black African countries to declare that non-implementation by Khartoum by Jan. 9, is a *causus belli*. That black Africa is prepared to go to war against Khartoum and its Arab allies. If Khartoum wants a resumption of war, it should be made to understand that, this time, it wont be a war by Khartoum and the Arab world against an isolated South Sudan, but a war of the Arab world against the Black African world. If the Arabs want to simultaneously fight both Israel and all of Black Africa, the choice is theirs.

As the Romans famously said: **If you want peace, prepare for war!**

Enough is enough. Enough of this timidity and submissiveness in the face of Arab colonialism..

Enough of this perverse accomodationism to Arab expansionist aggression.

In the cause of Black Africa's victory,

Chinweizu

-----Original Message-----

**From:** GAC\_Canada@yahoogroups.com  
[mailto:GAC\_Canada@yahoogroups.com] **On Behalf Of** Cikiah Thomas

**Sent:** 19 October 2007 13:06

**To:** GAC\_Canada@yahoogroups.com

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**Subject:** [GAC\_Canada] FW: Sudan Update: SPLM Set January Deadline; Kenya Editorial

To: Undisclosed recipients

Subject: Sudan Update: SPLM Set January Deadline; Kenya Editorial

Former Sudan rebels set Jan. deadline for implementing deal

16 Oct 2007 15:58:00 GMT

Reuters

KHARTOUM, Oct 16 (Reuters) - Former south Sudanese rebels demanded on Tuesday that outstanding provisions of a 2005 peace deal with the Khartoum government be implemented by Jan. 9 to salvage an agreement that ended more than 20 years of civil war.

Sudan's president met a delegation led by the Sudan People's Liberation Movement's vice chairman, Riek Machar, the first meeting since SPLM ministers quit the government last week.

The two sides say they will not return to war, but blame each other for a stalemate in implementing the Jan. 2005 deal.

Describing the 30-minute meeting as "cordial", Machar told reporters SPLM Chairman Salva Kiir would arrive in Khartoum within 48 hours to sit down with President Omar Hassan al-Bashir and resolve the stalemate.

"The return of the ministers to work is dependent on how fast the critical provisions ... are resolved and how fast the violations are corrected," Machar said.

Egyptian Foreign Minister Ahmed About Gheit said in Cairo that he and intelligence chief Omar Suleiman would travel to the southern Sudanese capital, Juba, on Wednesday for talks with both sides to help resolve the dispute.

The SPLM complains that hundreds of political prisoners are still being held in northern jails; that northern troops remain deployed in southern oil fields; that the north-south border has not been demarcated; and that the oil sector is not being run in a transparent way. It also says promised press freedom has not materialised.

A key bone of contention is the oil-rich central region of Abyei. The 2005 peace deal gave independent international experts the job of marking Abyei's borders, but Bashir's National Congress Party rejected its findings.

Kiir submitted a reshuffle of SPLM ministers three months ago, which Bashir has still not approved.

"Most of the issues can be resolved by the president alone ... by a stroke of his pen," Machar said, adding: "On the issues of non-implementation (we gave them) up to Jan. 9, the third anniversary of the deal."

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The peace deal ended Africa's longest civil war, which claimed 2 million lives and drove some 4 million from their homes. The war largely pitted the Islamist government in Khartoum against mainly Christian or animist southern rebels.

Machar said that, despite having waited two days for Bashir to

receive him, he was confident the problems would be resolved:

"I believe the president has the political will to do this."

He declined to say what the SPLM would do if outstanding issues were not settled by Jan. 9. But he said thousands had taken to the streets in southern towns to show their support for the deal.

The NCP insists it is being implemented and blames the SPLM for delays. Observers say the international community has neglected the north-south deal, distracted by the conflict in Sudan's Darfur region.

"The extensive and compelling list of grievances articulated by the SPLM in its ... communique has long been well known to international actors, and yet pressure on Khartoum to abide by its commitments has been virtually non-existent," said Sudan expert and U.S. academic Eric Reeves.

Machar said he hoped the crisis would be resolved before Darfur peace talks begin on Oct. 27 in Libya.

Darfur rebel factions are meeting in Juba this week to try to agree a unified position, one of the main obstacles to peace.

The SPLM wields influence over the Darfur rebels, and SPLM participation in the government delegation at previous talks greatly helped mediation efforts.

Machar declined to say whether the SPLM would join the government team at the Libyan talks or send its own.

"I'm hoping it will be resolved in the next two days so that we

don't have to send a separate delegation," he said.

It's Up to this Country to Avert War in Sudan

East African (Nairobi) EDITORIAL

16 October 2007

Nairobi

THE CRISIS IN SOUTHERN SUDAN MUST NOT be allowed to snowball in to another armed conflict, no matter what it takes.

And yet, with the Sudan People's Liberation Movement suspending its participation in the government of national unity, the return of hostilities is imminent, given that Khartoum has been reluctant to withdraw its troops from the South as per the Comprehensive Peace Agreement.

The region simply put cannot afford another war. It has its hands too full with the conflagration in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Somalia, the sabre-rattling between Eritrea and Ethiopia, the rebel/government stand off in Burundi, the killer militias in Darfur to even contemplate Khartoum and the Government of Southern Sudan having a go at each other.

The wealth and power sharing components of the peace agreement, especially sharing of oil revenue, have not gone as planned, as Khartoum becomes more recalcitrant because of the possible secession of the South in the coming referendum.

Kenya, as the chair of Igad and a major stakeholder in Sudan, must step in to prevent the situation deteriorating. In the event of war breaking out again, it is Kenya that will be the loser from the inevitable influx of refugees and small arms. The country already has a lot on its hand courtesy of Somalia. Over to you, President



Kibaki and special Sudanese peace envoy Daniel arap Moi.

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