



**REPARATIONS NOW
TOOLKIT**

M4BL

MOVEMENT FOR BLACK LIVES REPARATIONS NOW TOOLKIT

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"THE MANDATE FOR OUR PEOPLE IS TO AVENGE THE SUFFERING OF OUR ANCESTORS, TO EARN THE RESPECT OF FUTURE GENERATIONS, AND TO BE TRANSFORMED IN THE SERVICE OF THE WORK. LET'S GET FREE, Y'ALL."

- MARY HOOKS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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This toolkit was a collective effort and builds upon generations of work by our elders and ancestors.

We want to thank everyone in the Movement for Black Lives for their support, editing, feedback, and brilliance.

Specifically, we want to thank the primary authors and editors Andrea Ritchie, Marbre Stahly-Butts, Montague Simmons, Rachel Herzing, Richard Wallace, Dara Cooper, Deirdre Smith, Janetta Johnson, Jumoke Ifetayo, Nkechi Taifa, and Taliba Obuya.

We are also grateful for the vision, support, research, design, and feedback provided by Iman Young, Ash-Lee Henderson, Gina Clayton-Johnson, Karl Kumodzi, M. Adams, Mark Anthony Clayton-Johnson, Monifa Bandele, Thenjiwe McHarris, Mariame Kaba, Anneke Dunbar-Gronke, Keeanga-Yamahtta Taylor, Ky'eisha Penn, Micah A. Wiedemann, Justin Hansford, Leigh Goodmark, Joy Dodge, Dominique Zenani Barron, and Emma Toju Anna Uwejoma.

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TOOLKIT INTRODUCTION

Reparations for people of African descent living in the United States have been in the news and a hot topic of conversation on social media. Presidential candidates have taken positions on the issue, and on Juneteenth of 2019 (June 19, 2019), the Congressional House Judiciary Committee held a hearing on legislation - H.R.40 - that would establish a Commission to study the question of reparations for Black people in the United States.

But reparations for Black people are not a new topic. The first demands for reparations were made by enslaved people before the Civil War. Since emancipation, there have been long-standing movements for reparations in the United States, the Caribbean, Africa, and throughout the Diaspora, including the National Coalition of Blacks for Reparations in America (N'COBRA), founded in 1987, and the National African American Reparations Commission (NAARC), established in April 2015.



Comprehensive individual and collective reparations for the full range of past and ongoing harms to Black people living in the United States are a central pillar of the Movement for Black Lives policy platform, the Vision for Black Lives: Policy Demands for Black Power, Justice and Freedom, and a key demand of our Electoral Justice Project.

The Movement for Black Lives honors the long legacy of struggles for reparations for Black people in the United States and throughout the African Diaspora. We wholeheartedly endorse and support the ongoing work of NAARC and N'COBRA and their demand of reparations for the long history of colonialism, genocide, land theft, enslavement, anti-Black racial terror, racial capitalism, structural discrimination, and exclusion that have been foundational to the establishment and economic growth of the United States, and their ongoing impacts.



THIS TOOLKIT explores the long history of struggles for reparations for Black people, lays out key facts, concepts, and international human rights law underlying reparations demands, and provides case studies of struggles for reparations at the institutional, local, state, and international levels. Our goal in creating this toolkit is to provide a foundational definition of what reparations are, to advance our argument that reparations for Black people in the United States are essential, to inform public discussion about reparations, and to support organizers seeking reparations at the local, national, and international level in order to advance our collective struggles for Black liberation.



HOW TO USE THIS TOOLKIT?

This toolkit is meant to support individuals, organizations, and communities to better understand what reparations are and how Black people in the United States can get them. It consists of a combination of narrative, images, interactive group exercises, and other resources. We recognize that everyone learns differently, so our hope is that you take what is most useful for you. The toolkit can be used by individuals interested in learning more about reparations, in organizing or educational settings, including trainings and classroom lessons, or as part of community meetings.

Each section of the toolkit consists of a number of different components, including:

- KEYWORDS/CONCEPTS:** This part of each section defines some key terms that will be used throughout the section. We started each section with definitions because we wanted to make sure you know what we mean when we use different terms. We know that you may not completely agree with all the definitions and invite you to engage your organization or community in creating your own definitions or talking through what you would add to different definitions.
- NARRATIVE:** Each section includes a narrative, which uses interviews, academic research, studies, and news as sources to explore and explain different topics. This piece is meant to ground you in different components of reparations, including why we are owed reparations, what exactly we mean by reparations, the history of reparations, and some examples of our people organizing, fighting, and winning reparations.
- ACTIVITY:** Following the narrative, each section has a group activity that will help you better understand and make relevant the information provided in the narrative. Most of the group activities require at least 5 people. There are additional group activities at the end of the toolkit. All the activities can be used in a training, classroom, or organizing setting.
- DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:** Some of the sections include a set of discussion questions that can help guide conversations. These can be used in a training, classroom, or informal setting. There is also space for you to write your own notes.

We hope you enjoy the toolkit and use it support your fight for reparations!!



"VIRTUALLY EVERY INSTITUTION WITH SOME DEGREE OF HISTORY IN AMERICA, BE IT PUBLIC, BE IT PRIVATE, HAS A HISTORY OF EXTRACTING WEALTH AND RESOURCES OUT OF THE AFRICAN-AMERICAN COMMUNITY... BEHIND ALL OF THAT OPPRESSION WAS ACTUALLY THEFT."

- TA-NEHISI COATES



WHY REPARATIONS

In this section, we outline some of the harms experienced by people of African descent in the United States and explain why reparations are necessary. The section explores the multiple ways that the United States government and United States corporations have benefited from the exploitation of Black people in the United States from slavery through the "war on drugs."

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KEYWORDS/CONCEPTS**TRANSATLANTIC SLAVE TRADE:**

The kidnapping, transportation, and sale of African people in the Americas, which operated from the 1500s to 1808.

MIDDLE PASSAGE:

The portion of the transatlantic slave trade in which enslaved Africans were transported under horrific conditions from Africa to the Americas. The journey would take anywhere from three weeks to three months.

DOMESTIC SLAVE TRADE:

Once the transatlantic slave trade was abolished, the transportation and sale of enslaved people of African descent within the United States increased, resulting in the relocation of millions of enslaved people to the Deep South.

CHATTEL SLAVERY:

An economic, social, and political system under which people are deemed to be property, or "chattel," for life, to be used, bought, and sold at the owner's will as a matter of law, and their status as such is passed to their children on at birth.

JIM CROW:

A derogatory term to refer to a Black man. The Jim Crow period (1877 to the mid-1960s) refers to the period during which segregation and other laws explicitly regulating the behavior of Black people and people of color were in operation, and enforced through policing, criminalization, and racial terror.

GREAT MIGRATION:

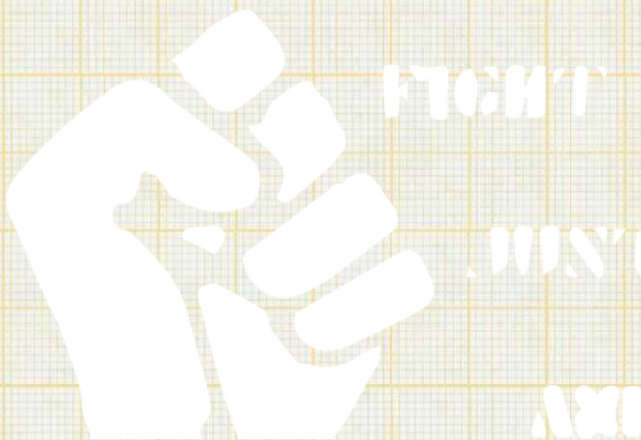
The migration of over 6 million Black people from Southern states to urban areas of the North, Midwest, and West, which occurred between 1916 and 1970 in response to state and state-sponsored terror and discrimination.

REDLINING:

The systematic denial of credit, insurance, or loans to particular communities on a discriminatory basis is called redlining. The term "redlining" was coined by sociologist James McKnight in the 1960s based on how lenders would literally draw a red line on a map around the neighborhoods they would not invest in based on demographics alone. Black urban neighborhoods were most likely to be redlined. Investigations found that lenders would make loans to lower-income whites but not to middle- or upper-income African Americans. Examples of redlining can be found in a variety of financial services, including mortgages, student loans, credit cards, and insurance.

**WAR ON DRUGS:**

The "war on drugs" is a concerted, militarized campaign led by the U.S. government to enforce prohibitions on importation, manufacture, use, sale, and distribution of substances deemed to be illegal, advancing a punitive rather than a public health approach to drug use. It is characterized by racial profiling, racially discriminatory, targeted, and aggressive policing and prosecutorial practices, long mandatory prison sentences on conviction of drug-related offenses, and a host of collateral consequences, which have wrought devastation in the lives of millions of people in the United States and beyond. It has served as one of the driving forces of skyrocketing rates of mass incarceration in the United States.



BELOW IS A LIST OF JUST SOME OF THE HARMS COMMITTED AGAINST BLACK PEOPLE IN THE UNITED STATES FOR WHICH REPARATIONS ARE OWED:

10.7 MILLION African people were kidnapped, enslaved, and transported from West Africa to the Americas to be sold into slavery.

2 MILLION more died at sea of starvation, murder, torture, disease, and suicide under the horrific conditions of the Middle Passage.

MILLIONS of enslaved Africans in the United States spent their lives in bondage in cotton and tobacco fields, as house servants, and providing unpaid skilled labor. They were subject to execution, torture, and extreme physical abuse, systemic and state-sanctioned rape and sexual violence, and were denied basic human rights, including the right to establish and maintain family relationships, as a matter of law.

ONCE THE TRANSATLANTIC SLAVE TRADE WAS ABOLISHED IN 1808, slave owners relied on systemic rape, forced childbearing, and the enslavement of free people of African descent to maintain and increase the population of enslaved people.

1 MILLION enslaved Black people were forcibly transferred to the deep South between 1810 and 1860.

MORE THAN HALF OF ALL ENSLAVED PEOPLE WERE SEPARATED from a parent or child through sale, and **A THIRD OF MARRIAGES WERE DESTROYED BY FORCED MIGRATION** during this period.

NEARLY ALL AMERICAN INDUSTRIES DEPENDED ON THE LABOR OF ENSLAVED PEOPLE. Additionally, profits from slavery fueled the Industrial Revolution, helped to build Wall Street, and funded some of the United States' most prestigious schools, including Harvard, Columbia, Princeton, and Yale.



FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS ALSO DIRECTLY BENEFITED FROM THE SLAVE TRADE.

Banks like JP Morgan Chase and creditors accepted enslaved people as “collateral” for loans, and were authorized to “repossess” them if the loan defaulted. Insurance companies like Aetna and New York Life Insurance also profited from policies sold to insure enslaved people as property.

BY 1830, ALMOST 1 MILLION BLACK PEOPLE

labored without compensation in the cotton industry, generating more than half of U.S. global exports.

BY 1860, IN THE 15 SOUTHERN STATES nearly **ONE IN FOUR FAMILIES ENSLAVED PEOPLE OF AFRICAN DESCENT.**

BY DECEMBER 1865, just over 150 years or a mere 5 generations ago, there were **4 MILLION ENSLAVED BLACK PEOPLE LIVING IN THE UNITED STATES.**

AFTER THE PASSAGE OF THE THIRTEENTH AMENDMENT,

bringing about the legal end of slavery except “as a punishment for a crime,” in some states formerly enslaved Black people continued to be forced, under threat of death or violence, to work for free. In many states, Black people, subject to laws that applied only to them, were arrested, convicted, and forced to perform unpaid labor through criminalization.

THE LEGAL END OF SLAVERY WAS FOLLOWED BY 100 YEARS OF RACIAL TERROR, DISENFRANCHISEMENT, ABUSE, AND EXCLUSION

of Black people by white people seeking to re-establish the social and economic order that existed under slavery.

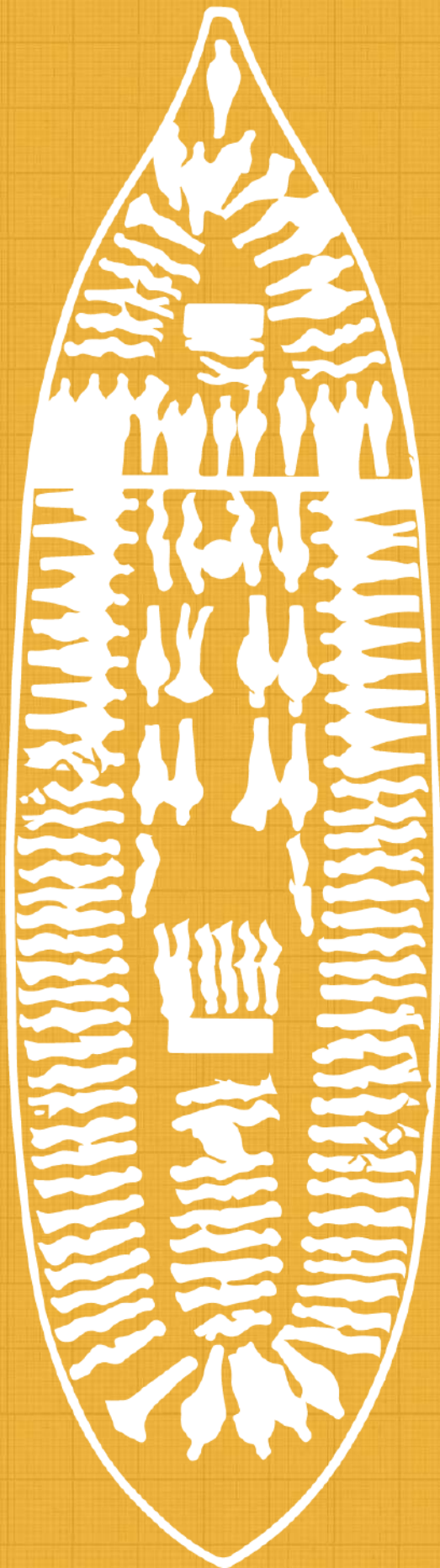
BETWEEN 1877 TO 1950, MORE THAN 4,300 BLACK PEOPLE WERE LYNCHED in

the United States. Millions more lost millions of dollars worth of land, homes, businesses, and communities in the South to theft by government, financial institutions, and racial terror.



AS A DIRECT RESULT OF REDLINING and other forms of systemic discrimination, **WHITE FAMILIES ON AVERAGE POSSESS SIX TIMES THE WEALTH OF BLACK FAMILIES**, a disparity which has worsened over time. Additionally, **WHILE 73% OF WHITE HOUSEHOLDS OWN THEIR HOME, ONLY 45% OF BLACK HOUSEHOLDS OWN THEIR HOMES.**

DUE TO CENTURIES OF EDUCATIONAL INEQUITY and lack of access to education opportunities, as of 2011, **34% OF WHITE PEOPLE HAD COMPLETED FOUR-YEAR COLLEGE DEGREES COMPARED TO JUST 20% OF BLACK PEOPLE.** Additionally, Black college graduates saw a lower return on their degrees: **FOR EVERY \$1 IN WEALTH THAT ACCRUES TO BLACK HOUSEHOLDS ASSOCIATED WITH A COLLEGE DEGREE, WHITE HOUSEHOLDS ACCRUE \$11.49.**



WHY REPARATIONS? TALKING POINTS

THE LEGACY OF SLAVERY, ANTI-BLACK RACISM, JIM CROW, AND STRUCTURAL DISCRIMINATION AND EXCLUSION FROM EMPLOYMENT, HOUSING, INSTITUTIONS, AND COMMUNITIES CONTINUES TO THIS DAY. BLACK PEOPLE IN THE UNITED STATES CONTINUE TO EXPERIENCE THE HIGHEST RATES OF POVERTY, UNEMPLOYMENT, HEALTH DISPARITIES, AND INCARCERATION, AND THE LOWEST WAGES AND RATES OF WEALTH ACCUMULATION.



THIS IS A RESULT OF CENTURIES OF ANTI-BLACK POLICIES AND PRACTICES, AS WELL AS A REFUSAL BY THE UNITED STATES TO ADDRESS THESE HARMS THROUGH REPARATIONS. ALTHOUGH THE 14TH AMENDMENT GRANTED PEOPLE OF AFRICAN DESCENT THE RIGHT TO NATURALIZE AS UNITED STATES CITIZENS, IMMIGRATION QUOTAS ADOPTED IN THE 1920S EFFECTIVELY BARRED IMMIGRATION FROM AFRICAN COUNTRIES UNTIL 1965, AND THE UNITED STATES HAS CONSISTENTLY REFUSED AND DISCRIMINATED AGAINST BLACK MIGRANTS FROM AFRICAN NATIONS, AS WELL AS FROM HAITI AND OTHER CARIBBEAN COUNTRIES.



THESE PRACTICES AND POLICIES, INCLUDING JIM CROW SEGREGATION, REDLINING, AND OTHER FORMS OF STRUCTURAL DISCRIMINATION AND EXCLUSION, AND RACIALIZED CRIMINALIZATION, HAVE IMPACTED ALL BLACK PEOPLE IN THE UNITED STATES, NOT JUST THOSE WHO CAN PROVE THAT THEIR ANCESTORS WERE SLAVES.

REPARATIONS ARE OWED, IN A FORM AND MANNER TO BE DETERMINED BY BLACK PEOPLE IN THE UNITED STATES.



THEY REQUIRE A SYSTEMATIC ACCOUNTING, ACKNOWLEDGEMENT, AND REPAIR OF PAST AND ONGOING HARMS, MONETARY COMPENSATION TO INDIVIDUALS AND INSTITUTIONS LED BY AND ACCOUNTABLE TO BLACK COMMUNITIES, AND AN END TO PRESENT DAY POLICIES AND PRACTICES THAT PERPETUATE HARMS ROOTED IN A HISTORY OF ANTI-BLACK RACISM, ALONG WITH A GUARANTEE THAT THEY WILL NOT BE REPEATED.



REPARATIONS MUST TAKE AS MANY FORMS AS NECESSARY TO EQUITABLY ADDRESS THE MANY FORMS OF INJURY CAUSED BY CHATTEL SLAVERY AND ITS CONTINUING VESTIGES.

ACTIVITY: THE CASE FOR REPARATIONS - A VISUAL STORY QUILT

DIRECTIONS:

Quilts are part of many cultures. Made by hand—often collaboratively—using familiar materials such as scraps of clothing, quilts are both personal and communal objects. Quilts can be works of art as well as stories through visual images. This activity will result in a collective quilt co-created by participants. Each participant will use paper to create a quilt patch that makes the case for reparations. At the end, you will tape or staple all of the patches together to make a beautiful collective quilt. Here is the catch: it has to be a wordless quilt. Make your case using only pictures and other images.



OBJECTIVES:

This group activity provides an opportunity to exercise your creativity while having everyone offer their case for reparations.



PARTICIPANTS:

9-Unlimited



FORMAT:

Each participant will get a sheet of construction paper, markers, and any images you want to bring. Participants will be given 10-20 minutes to create an image or series of images that makes the case for reparations.



TIME REQUIRED:

15-45 minutes



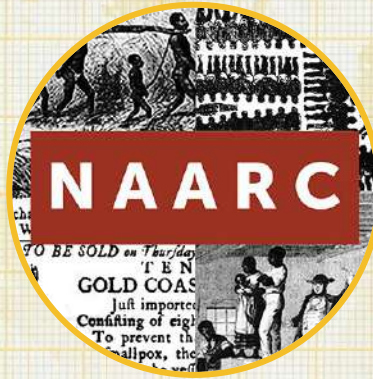
MATERIALS:

Construction Paper, Markers, Images (photos, pictures), Tape



SET-UP AND TECHNOLOGY:

Wall space to display final quilt



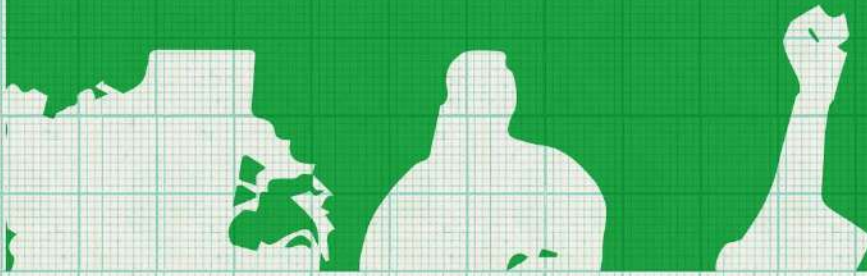
"THE DEVASTATING DAMAGES OF ENSLAVEMENT AND SYSTEMS OF APARTHEID AND DE FACTO SEGREGATION SPANNED GENERATIONS TO NEGATIVELY AFFECT THE COLLECTIVE WELL BEING OF AFRICANS IN AMERICA TO THIS VERY MOMENT... THE FULFILLMENT OF A "MORE PERFECT UNION" IS NOT POSSIBLE WITHOUT AN UNEQUIVOCAL ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF/ AND UNQUALIFIED APOLOGY FOR THE "ORIGINAL SINS" COMMITTED BY THE EUROPEAN COLONIALISTS IN BRUTALLY, DISPOSSESSING THE NATIVE PEOPLE OF THEIR LANDS AND THE HORRIFIC ENSLAVEMENT OF AFRICANS TO BE THE ECONOMIC LIFEblood OF THE "AMERICAN NATION;" A NATION CONCEIVED TO BE A "WHITE MAN'S LAND." AND THE GRANTING OF REPARATIONS AS RESTITUTION TO REPAIR AND HEAL THE DAMAGES DONE TO NATIVE PEOPLE AND AFRICANS."

**- NATIONAL AFRICAN AMERICAN REPARATIONS COMMISSION,
PRELIMINARY REPARATIONS PROGRAM**



DEFINING REPARATIONS

In this section, we define what reparations are and what they are not. The section also explores how to apply the definition of reparations to specific harms experienced by people of African descent in the United States. It also explores the Movement for Black Lives' vision and demands around reparations.



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KEYWORDS/CONCEPTS**BADGES AND INCIDENTS OF SLAVERY:**

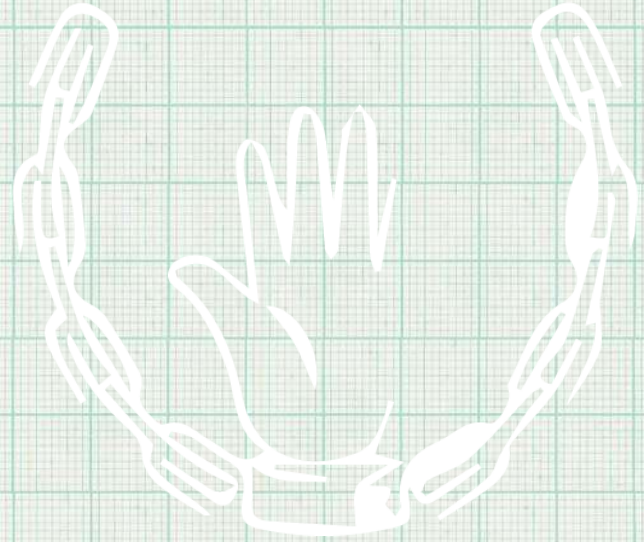
Ongoing perceptions, discrimination, violence, or policies and actions by state or private groups that target or taint any racial group or population that has previously been held in slavery or servitude.

CESSATION:

A complete, full, and final end to continuing violations.

DIVEST/INVEST:

A framework that demands divestment (in the form of resources, legitimacy, and power) from exploitative forces (including prisons, fossil fuels, police, surveillance, and corporations) and investment into infrastructure and services that support our people (including education, transportation, and the health and safety of our communities).

**GUARANTEES OF NON-REPETITION:**

Assurances that violations will not be repeated in the future, including reviewing and reforming laws contributing to or allowing violations.

INTERGENERATIONAL TRAUMA:

The transmission of historical oppression and its negative consequences across generations. Evidence of the health and emotional impacts of intergenerational trauma has been shown in Black and Indigenous peoples in the United States and Canada.

KEYWORDS/CONCEPTS**PRISON INDUSTRIAL
COMPLEX ABOLITION:**

Critical Resistance defines abolition of the Prison Industrial Complex (PIC) as a political vision with the goal of eliminating imprisonment, policing, and surveillance, and creating lasting alternatives to punishment and imprisonment. This definition recognizes that the PIC both feeds on and maintains oppression and inequalities through punishment, violence, and control. Because the PIC is not an isolated system, abolition is a broad strategy. An abolitionist vision means that we must build models today that can represent how we want to live in the future.

RESTITUTION:

Measures intended to restore the survivor to the original situation before the violations occurred, including, as appropriate: restoration of liberty, enjoyment of human rights, identity, family life, and citizenship, return to one's place of residence (repatriation), restoration of employment, and return of property.





DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

- What does cessation and non-repetition look like to you?
- What does restitution look like to you?
- What does compensation look like to you?
- What does satisfaction look like to you?
- What does rehabilitation look like to you?

NOTES FOR DISCUSSION:

WHAT ARE REPARATIONS?

Reparations are the act or process of making amends for a wrong.

ACCORDING TO THE UNITED NATIONS:

Adequate, effective and prompt reparation is intended to promote justice by redressing gross violations of international human rights law or serious violations of international humanitarian law. Reparation should be proportional to the gravity of the violations and the harm suffered. In accordance with its domestic laws and international legal obligations, a State shall provide reparation to victims for acts or omissions which can be attributed to the State and constitute gross violations of international human rights law or serious violations of international humanitarian law. In cases where a person, a legal person, or other entity is found liable for reparation to a victim, such party should provide reparation to the victim or compensate the State if the State has already provided reparation to the victim.



THE NATIONAL COALITION OF BLACKS FOR REPARATIONS IN AMERICA (N'COBRA) DEFINES REPARATIONS AS:

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, corporations, institutions and families. Those groups that have been injured have the right to obtain from the government, corporation, institution or family 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.

THE UNITED NATIONS OUTLINES FIVE CONDITIONS THAT MUST BE MET FOR FULL REPARATIONS:

1. CESSATION, ASSURANCES AND GUARANTEES OF NON-REPETITION:

Under international law, a state responsible for wrongfully injuring a people "is under an obligation to a) "cease the act if it is continuing, and, b) offer appropriate assurances and guarantees of non-repetition..."

2. RESTITUTION AND REPATRIATION:

Restitution means to "re-establish the situation which existed before the wrongful act was committed." Changes traced to the wrongful act are reversed through restoration of freedom, recognition of humanity, identity, culture, repatriation, livelihood, citizenship, legal standing, and wealth to the extent they can be, and if they cannot, restitution is completed by compensation.

3. COMPENSATION:

The injuring state, institution or individual is obligated to compensate for the damage, if damage is not made good by restitution. Compensation is required for "any financially accessible damage suffered..." to the extent "appropriate and proportional to the gravity of the violation and circumstances."

4. SATISFACTION:

Satisfaction is part of full reparations under international law for moral damage, such as "emotional injury, mental suffering, and injury to reputation." In some instances where cessation, restitution, and compensation do not bring full repair, satisfaction is also needed. Apology falls under the reparative category of satisfaction.

5. REHABILITATION:

Rehabilitation shall be provided to include legal, medical, psychological, and other care and services.

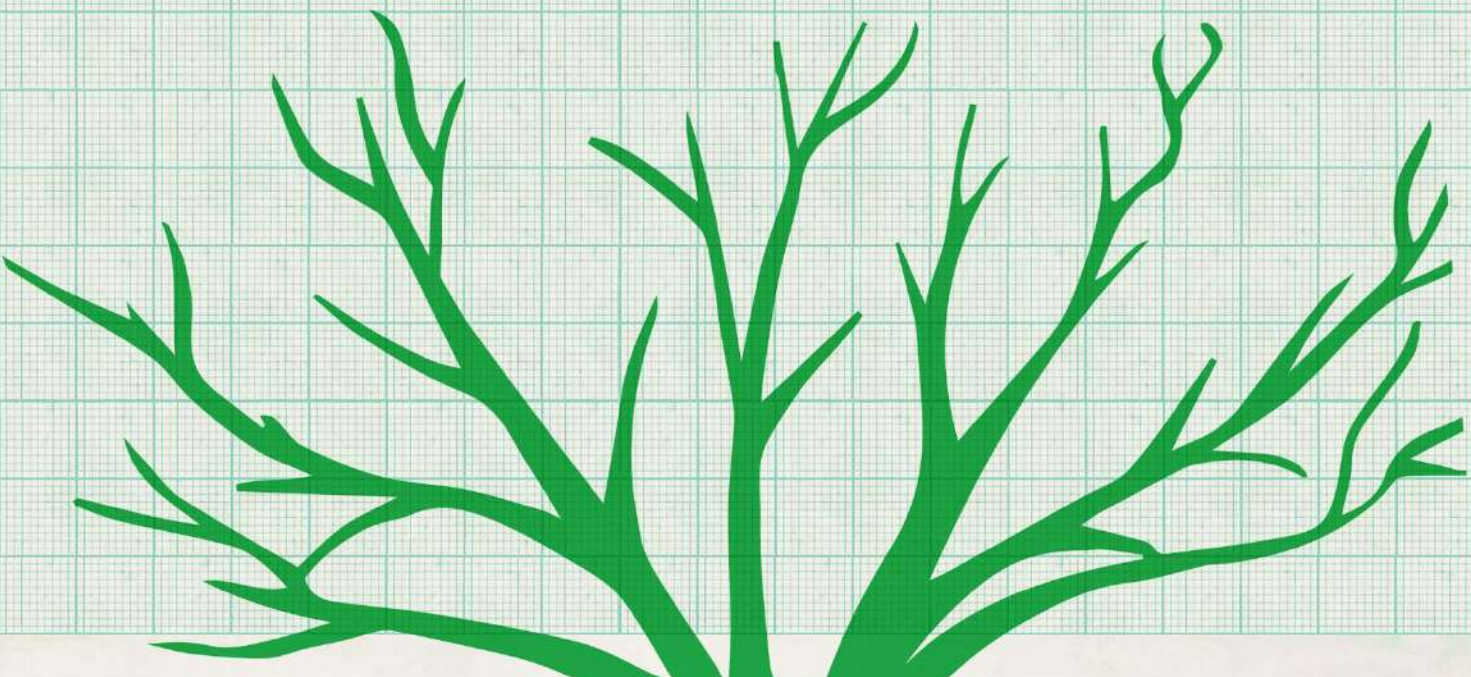
REPARATIONS NOW



WHAT REPARATIONS ARE NOT

There has been a lot of confusion about what reparations are and what they are not. Some presidential candidates have claimed that universal programs like baby bonds are reparations. They are not. Other people have claimed that individual GoFundMe campaigns for their own benefit are reparations. They are not.

As explored above, reparations include five key components: Cessation/Assurance of Non-Repetition, Restitution and Repatriation, Compensation, Satisfaction, and Rehabilitation. Reparations are a concept rooted in international law that involves specific forms of repair to specific individuals, groups of people, or nations for specific harms they have experienced in violation of their human rights. Therefore, reparations cannot be achieved simply through “acknowledgment or an apology” or “investment in underprivileged communities.”

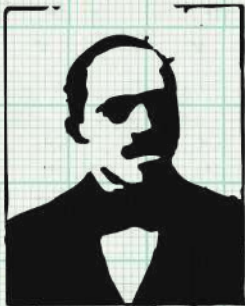


REPARATIONS ARE NOT:

- Just saying sorry or feeling bad while avoiding accountability for individual or collective contributions to the violation, or while benefiting from the harm, whether through inheritance or ongoing privileges.
- Paying an individual Black person's bills.
- Donating any amount of money to a Black institution. Unless accompanied by acts of repair, restitution, and efforts to leverage power, influence, and resources to ensure cessation and non-repetition, simply writing a check is not reparations.

703 '1

ONWARD TO VICTORY!



W.E.B. DUBOIS



HEADQUARTERS OF THE



MRS. CORETTA SCOTT KING

REPARATIONS ARE ALSO NOT THE SAME AS "DIVEST/INVEST"

The Vision for Black Lives includes a series of demands calling for divestment from institutions that harm Black people and investment in institutions and programs that will improve our overall physical, social, economic, and spiritual well-being. This is not the same as reparations, which require specific forms of repair to specific groups of people for specific harms they have experienced. Both reparations and divest/invest strategies are essential to our collective liberation and well-being, but are distinct approaches to achieving our goals.

EXAMPLE

Organizers are mounting a campaign to close a local jail. Here's how their demands would differ depending on the framework for the campaign.

REPARATIONS

DIVEST/INVEST

KEY DIFFERENCES

IDENTIFYING THE HARM:

People incarcerated in the local jail experience a number of harms, including physical, sexual, and spiritual violence, loss of liberty, employment, housing, family relationships, adverse health impacts, and more.

IDENTIFYING THE HARM:

People incarcerated in the local jail experience a number of harms, including physical, sexual, and spiritual violence, loss of liberty, employment, housing, family relationships, adverse health impacts, and more.

The harms identified may be similar, regardless of which approach organizers take.

The city or county is currently spending money on incarcerating and harming people instead of spending on meeting their needs and transforming harms and conflicts and the conditions that produce them.

CESSATION & NON-REPETITION:

To satisfy this prong of reparations, the jail must be closed and the city or county must pass a measure preventing it from being re-opened or operated in a different form or location because we have a right to cessation and non-repetition of harms caused by the jail.

DIVEST:

Close the jail because the money used to run the jail should be used to meet community needs instead of criminalizing people.

While the demand might be similar here, the reason behind it is different. Often reparations focuses on the harm experienced by specific groups of people and how to ensure non-repetition of those harms, while divest/invest focuses on financial choices and community investments.

REPARATIONS

DIVEST/INVEST KEY DIFFERENCES

COMPENSATION:

Compensate all people who have been harmed by the jail for:

- Time spent in the jail, including lost income/wages during time incarcerated. Any physical, sexual, emotional, or spiritual harm experienced in the jail.
- Any money they spent as a result of being in the jail, including phone charges, commissary purchases, fees, fines, etc.
- Time separated from partners, children, and loved ones.
- Environmental harm created by jail construction, operation, or decommissioning.

INVEST:

Use the money the government would have spent on the jail to fund community-based services available to everyone.

Under a divest/invest framework, it is possible that investment in services that result from divestment from the jail will disproportionately benefit people who would otherwise have been held in the jail, but they will not be exclusively available to people who were previously held in the jail.

Under a reparations framework, compensation would be made to people who are able to trace a specific harm to the jail, but not to all members of a community. Moreover, the amount of compensation for individuals harmed by the jail is not tied to any specific amount of money (like how much money the government spends on the jail annually), it is based on what is needed to fully repair the harms.

RESTITUTION & REPATRIATION:

Restore people who were held in the jail to the position they would be in if they had not been held in the jail, including restoration of lost:

- Housing, including returning them to the communities they were taken from, under conditions that enable them to reconnect with their communities and families in a meaningful way
- Employment
- Child custody
- Voting rights
- Citizenship or immigration status
- Property

INVEST:

Some of the money may be invested in programs that attempt to restore those who were incarcerated but it is not a requirement. It is likely that investments will be made in communities and not specifically targeted to those harmed by the jail.

A requirement of reparations is that those harmed are restored back to the condition they would have been in if the harm had not happened. In a divest/invest framework, it is possible that some of the funds previously used to operate the jail that are reinvested into meeting community needs would help restore people harmed by the jail to the position they would have been in had they not been jailed, but it is not specifically promised or guaranteed.

REPARATIONS

DIVEST/INVEST KEY DIFFERENCES

SATISFACTION:

Under a reparations framework a number of things might happen that meet the need for satisfaction. They include:

- Issue an official apology to everyone who has personally been harmed by the jail or had a family member or loved one held in the jail.
- Hold a Truth and Reconciliation Commission to expose and heal the harms caused by the jail.
- Build a memorial to those harmed by the jail and hold an annual Free the Jail event to educate the public about the historical harms caused by the jail to ensure that they will never be repeated.

DIVEST/INVEST:

There is no guarantee of an apology, memorial, or healing process under Divest/Invest.

Reparations, unlike Divest/Invest, requires an acknowledgement of wrongdoing and an honoring and recognition of the harm caused.

REHABILITATION:

To satisfy this prong of reparations, the state would provide healing services to those directly impacted by incarceration. This could include therapy, healthcare, acupuncture, or other healing services that help those impacted rehabilitate and recover.

INVEST:

While some of the investments may go into healing services, they are not necessarily specifically catered to those impacted.

Rehabilitation for those harmed is a requirement for reparations. It is not a requirement for Divest/Invest.

HOW DO I KNOW IT'S REPARATIONS AND NOT SOMETHING ELSE?

IT IS REPARATIONS IF IT INCLUDES:

- An official acknowledgment and apology for harm, public education, or memorial about the harm; and
- Compensation to a specific, defined group of individuals harmed by a violation, including descendants, as well as family and community members of individuals directly targeted for harm who were adversely affected; and
- Action to restore individuals harmed to the position they were in before the initial harm occurred; and
- Action to stop the systems, institutions, and practices causing the harm; and
- Changes to laws, institutions, and systems aimed at ensuring that harm will not happen again.



ACTIVITY: 6-WORD POEMS/STORIES ABOUT REPARATIONS

DIRECTIONS:

Have you ever heard of something called the “Six-Word Memoir” or “Six-Word Story?” If not, don’t worry. It’s a fun way to simply and concisely express yourself. The writer Ernest Hemingway was once challenged to write a story in six words. He came up with: “For sale: baby shoes, never worn.” Your challenge is to write a 6-word poem or story defining what reparations are, how you feel about reparations, or why reparations are warranted for Black people. You can choose to focus on any of these questions. Make sure that your poems or stories are informed by what you’ve read in this toolkit about the definition of reparations.



OBJECTIVES:

This group activity provides an opportunity to exercise your creativity while coming up with your own ideas about how to define reparations and/or to express how you feel about the idea.



PARTICIPANTS:

4-Unlimited



TIME REQUIRED:

15-30 minutes



MATERIALS:

Paper, pens



SET-UP AND TECHNOLOGY:

No technology is required.



FORMAT:

Each participant will have 5-15 minutes to write their 6-word poem. The only rules are that it has to be no more than six words and answer one of the following questions:

- What are reparations?
- How do you feel about reparations?
- Why are reparations warranted for Black people?

Once everyone writes their poem, volunteers will share it with the group.

HERE ARE SOME EXAMPLES OF SIX-WORD MEMOIRS SUBMITTED TO SMITH MAGAZINE WHEN THEY CHALLENGED THEIR READERS:

CURSED WITH CANCER. BLESSED WITH FRIENDS.

[submitted by a grandmother with cancer]

I STILL MAKE COFFEE FOR TWO.

[submitted by an elderly widower, Zak Nelson]

SHE SAID SHE WAS NEGATIVE.

DAMN. [by Ryan McRae]

JOINED ARMY. CAME OUT. GOT BOOTED.

[by Johan Baumeister]

MOM DIED, DAD SCREWED US OVER.

[by Lesley Kysely]

FOURTEEN YEARS OLD, STORY STILL UNTOLD.

[by David Gidwani]

I LIKE GIRLS. GIRLS LIKE BOYS.

[Andrea Dela Cruz]

HERE'S A FEW ABOUT REPARATIONS TO GET YOU STARTED:

**SLAVERY DESTROYED LIVES.
REPARATIONS ARE DUE.**

**WHITE SUPREMACY
PERPETUATES INEQUALITY.
REPARATIONS NOW!**

**AMERICANS STOLE AFRICAN
LIVES/LABOR. REPARATIONS!**

**LEGACIES LOST; LIVES
STOLEN; REPARATIONS NOW.**

**RESTORE WHAT WAS STOLEN
THROUGH RESTITUTION.**

**REPARATIONS MEANS
RIGHTING WRONGS OF
RACISM.**

MOVEMENT FOR BLACK LIVES

REPARATIONS DEMANDS

OUR VISION

The Vision for Black Lives sets forth a bold vision of reparations for African descended people in the United States and beyond. While we prioritize the demand for reparations for slavery, we do not limit our demand for reparations to slavery. We believe demanding reparations only for slavery erases the reality that the United States has continued to exploit and harm Black people through convict leasing, sharecropping, Jim Crow, redlining, and other policies of structural discrimination and exclusion, and mass criminalization and incarceration through policies such as the "war on drugs."

We believe that people have a right to sovereignty over our bodies, our labor, and our communities. We demand abolition and reparations in connection with all ways and places where this sovereignty is breached; we demand repair in all places where there is disrepair. We believe that reparations is owed across the African Diaspora for all harms associated with colonization and genocide on the continent of Africa, the transatlantic slave trade, and the institution of chattel slavery.

Slavery, violent oppression, extraction, displacement, and exploitation of Black communities are not a thing of the past. Our sovereignty, bodily integrity, health, wealth, freedom, rights, and safety have been, and continue to be, violated through the ongoing operation of systems of white supremacy, racial capitalism, ableism, and heteropatriarchy, all of which are rooted in, and were reinforced, by slavery. We seek to illuminate the ways in which systems and institutions that flow from slavery, including the prison, military, and medical industrial complexes, continue to assert ownership over Black bodies.



MOVEMENT FOR BLACK LIVES

REPARATIONS DEMANDS

We particularly lift up the specific forms of past and current oppression and exploitation of economic and reproductive labor of Black women, queer, trans, gender nonconforming, and disabled people under slavery and the systems that grew from it.

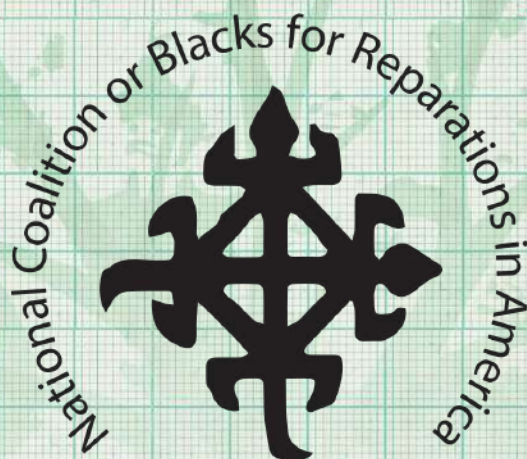
We demand reparations now for all of these past and continuing harms, and immediate agency over our bodies, our culture, our community wealth, and our dignity. We believe it is impossible to achieve equality or to end racial injustice without acknowledging and materially addressing past, and continuing, harms. Without accounting for and repairing the accumulated impact of past harms, we are destined to perpetuate them.

As abolitionists, we believe what is required is a transformation of all systems, institutions, and structures which continue to oppress Black people, a systemic shift in social and economic systems and relations of power, and significant investment in Black community infrastructure.



We believe all who have benefited from the legacy and continued oppression of Black people, including nations, states, and cities, individuals and families, corporations and institutions must do their part in making true reparations. Failure to make reparations renders governments, corporations, institutions, and individuals complicit in slavery and its ongoing effects.

We call for solidarity for all reparations demands made by African descended people around the world. We also support calls for reparations for colonization and genocide of Indigenous peoples and theft of the land the United States is built upon, and honor Indigenous sovereignty and land claims.



"AS ATTENTION IS CALLED TO THE UGLY REALITY OF PRESENT-DAY SEXUAL HARASSMENT, THERE MUST ALSO BE ATTENTION TO THE HISTORICAL SEXUAL VIOLATIONS OF BLACK WOMEN DURING THE ENSLAVEMENT ERA AND BEYOND. FOR WELL OVER 350 YEARS BLACK WOMEN WERE VICIOUSLY RAPED, SAVAGELY BEATEN AND TORTURED... WOMEN WHO RESISTED WERE TERRORIZED, CONTINUOUSLY DEFILED AND DISRESPECTED, AND LYNCHINGS WERE COMMONPLACE... JUST AS WE DO NOT CONDONE OR TAKE LIGHTLY PRESENT-DAY DISCLOSURES AND ACCUSATIONS OF SEXUAL HARASSMENT, THE UNFETTERED CRIMES AGAINST WOMEN OF AFRICAN DESCENT

DURING THE ENSLAVEMENT ERA AND BEYOND THAT TO DATE STILL AWAIT REMEDY MUST NEVER BE FORGOTTEN."

- N'COBRA H.R.40 PRIMER, SISTAH'S STATEMENT.

OUR DEMANDS

At the core of M4BL's demands for reparations is a call for full reparations to all descendants of enslaved Africans in the United States for the devastating and genocidal harms of colonialism, the transatlantic slave trade, and the institution of chattel slavery in the United States. Reparations must include full compensation for stolen lives, labor, children, health, well-being, sexual, gender, and reproductive autonomy, culture, language, and spirituality, and for torture, rape, and other forms of physical and sexual violence flowing from the institution of chattel slavery. Reparations must also address the impacts of intergenerational trauma.



These harms were not only perpetrated and sanctioned by the U.S. government, but also by responsible corporations, educational, religious, philanthropic and other institutions and families that have profited off of the labor, bodies, and lives of Black people.

We also demand reparations for policies and practices enacted in the aftermath of chattel slavery which continued the exploitation, murder, theft, rape, and displacement of Black people.

Reparations are owed to the descendants of enslaved Africans, in a manner and form to be determined by them. Reparations must take as many forms as necessary to equitably address the many forms of injury caused by the transatlantic slave trade and chattel slavery.

While reparations to descendants of enslaved Africans in the United States is a primary and core demand of the Movement for Black Lives, the Vision for Black Lives doesn't stop there.

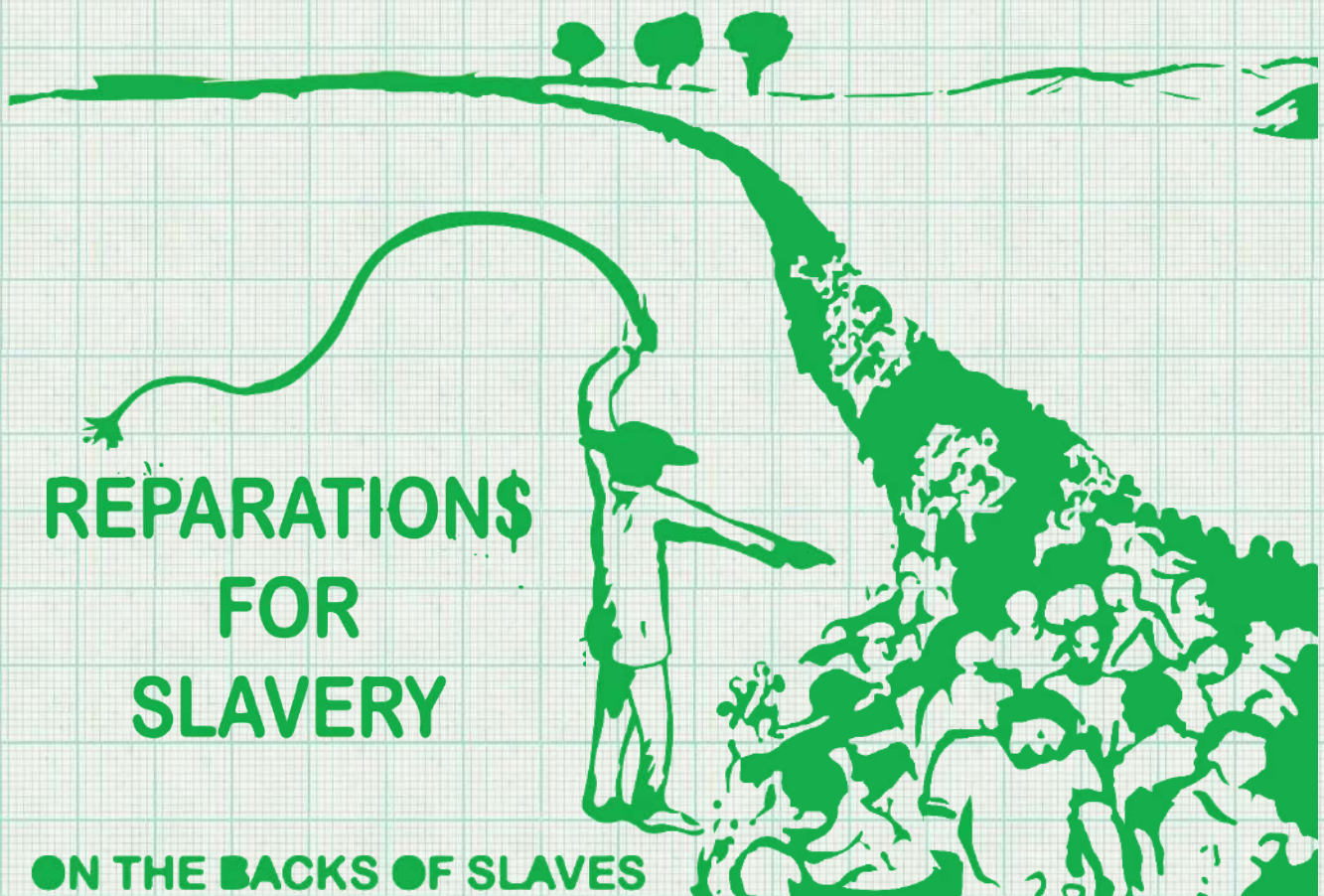
We, like N'COBRA and many other formations that have come before us, call for reparations to all African descended people in the United States for harms flowing from the "badges and incidents" of slavery—the ways in which the practice of chattel slavery in the United States marked all Black people, regardless of whether they are direct descendants of Africans enslaved in the United States, for dehumanization, violence, structural exclusion, and discrimination. This includes: racial terror, state-sanctioned segregation, and theft and destruction of Black people's land, property, businesses, and homes in the Jim Crow era and beyond, housing discrimination and "redlining," and the ongoing effects of racial segregation, discrimination, and structural exclusion which represent ongoing impacts and harms of slavery that have not yet ceased or been remedied.



We also call for reparations for all Black people in the United States who have been subject to post-slavery policies and practices representing a continuation of harms inflicted in the context of chattel slavery, including family separation, state-sponsored sterilization and medical experimentation, mass criminalization and incarceration which followed slavery, and for the violence, institutionalization, discrimination and structural exclusion specifically targeting disabled Black people, and contributing to high rates of disability among Black people.

WE BELIEVE THAT

- ☑ Specific reparations are owed to descendants of enslaved Africans; AND
- ☑ Reparations are owed to ALL Black people in the United States for the ongoing harms flowing from the afterlives of slavery in the United States, including the many African descendants of enslaved people in the United States who, as a result of chattel slavery and its aftermath, are unable to trace their ancestry to establish a specific claim as descendants of enslaved people, and are nevertheless entitled to reparations for the harms flowing from slavery; AND
- ☑ Anti-Black immigration policies and practices, and the harms flowing from them, are both rooted in slavery and part of the ongoing afterlives of slavery, and that Black migrants are entitled to reparations for the harms associated with them.



While other groups have been harmed by some of the same state policies targeting Black people, we recognize that many of these policies are intended to specifically target and have specific impacts on Black people, and are often rooted in chattel slavery. For example, the practice of shackling pregnant people in prison while giving birth is rooted in the expectation that the incarcerated population would primarily be made up of formerly enslaved people of African descent, and that the people experiencing this treatment would be Black women, who have given birth in literal and figurative shackles for centuries in the United States. Because Black women continue to be incarcerated at twice the rate of white women, this practice continues to be disproportionately experienced by Black women. And, because of Black people's unique history, this practice has specific emotional and spiritual impacts on Black incarcerated women and their babies. We, therefore, call for reparations for these harms to Black people and communities based on these specific histories and impacts, while recognizing, and often supporting, the right of other groups to demand reparations for the specific harms these policies have had on them.



The Movement for Black Lives supports the demands of other groups for reparations for harms they have experienced, including the demands made by African descendants in the Caribbean through CARICOM and the demands of African nations against European colonizers.

There are a range of positions within the M4BL ecosystem about land claims as part of demands for reparations. However, the totality of the Movement for Black Lives Policy Table is committed to Black and Indigenous sovereignty and self-determination, and we look forward to engaging in consistent and continued conversations internally and with First Nations.

**A FEW OF THE DEMANDS FOR REPARATIONS INCLUDED IN THE
THE VISION FOR BLACK LIVES ARE:**

1.

Legislation at the federal and state level that requires the United States to acknowledge the lasting impacts of slavery and establish and execute a plan to address those impacts. This includes the immediate passage of H.R.40, the "Commission to Study Reparation Proposals for African-Americans Act," or subsequent versions which call for reparations remedies.

2.

Reparations for the systemic denial of access to high-quality educational opportunities in the form of full and free access for all Black people (including undocumented and currently and formerly incarcerated people) to lifetime education including: free access and open admissions to public community colleges and universities, technical education (technology, trade, and agricultural), educational support programs, retroactive forgiveness of student loans, and support for lifetime learning programs.

3.

Reparations for the wealth extracted from our communities through environmental racism, slavery, food apartheid, housing discrimination, and racialized capitalism in the form of corporate and government reparations focused on healing ongoing physical and mental trauma, and ensuring our access and control of food sources, housing, and land.

**A FEW OF THE DEMANDS FOR REPARATIONS INCLUDED IN THE
THE VISION FOR BLACK LIVES ARE:**

4.

Reparations for the cultural and educational exploitation, erasure, and extraction of our communities in the form of mandated public school curriculums that critically examine the political, economic, and social impacts of colonialism and slavery, and funding to support, build, preserve, and restore cultural assets and sacred sites to ensure the recognition and honoring of our collective struggles and triumphs.

5.

Reparations for the devastating impacts of the “war on drugs” and criminalization, including a reinvestment of the resulting savings and revenue into restorative services, mental health services, job programs, and other programs supporting those impacted by mass criminalization.

Reparations must also address ongoing harms to Black people in the United States, including but not limited to police and state violence, mass criminalization, incarceration, institutionalization, deportation, and exclusion, segregation, and structural employment and housing discrimination, food and service apartheid, denial of health care, and high rates of disability and stress-related conditions, high rates of maternal and infant mortality, and lower than average life expectancy, forced sterilization, and denial of reproductive care and gender, sexual, and reproductive autonomy in Black communities.

ACTIVITY: FOUR CORNERS EXERCISE

DESCRIPTION:

Create four different posters with the following four opinions: "Strongly Agree," "Agree," "Disagree," and "Strongly Disagree." Post these on chart paper in four different areas of the room. The facilitator will read the below statements and ask participants to move to the area of the room that reflects their opinion about the statement. The facilitator will engage each of the areas of the room to hear why people moved to that specific area. Facilitators can use the answer key below to help land the conversation.



OBJECTIVES:

This activity will allow participants to talk through what they have learned about reparations together.



TIME REQUIRED:

25-40 minutes



PARTICIPANTS:

8-Unlimited



MATERIALS:

Poster paper, markers, tape



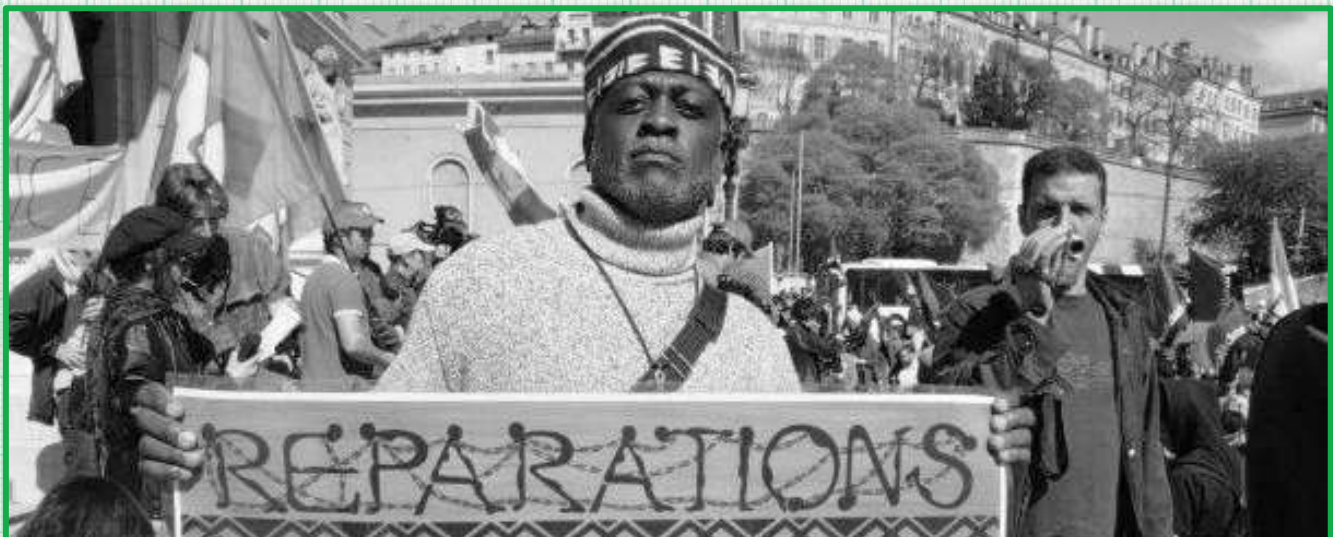
FORMAT:

Small/Large group discussion



SET-UP AND TECHNOLOGY:

None required



READ THE FOLLOWING AND DECIDE ON WHETHER YOU:

"STRONGLY AGREE" "AGREE" "DISAGREE" "STRONGLY DISAGREE"

1. REPARATIONS IS MAKING PEOPLE WHO HAD NOTHING TO DO WITH SLAVERY PAY FOR SOMETHING THAT HAPPENED CENTURIES AGO.

The entire economy and prosperity of the United States, along with the wealth accumulated and passed down by many corporations, institutions, and families in this country, is built on the theft of this land and the genocide of its peoples, and on the backs and blood of Black people, with our stolen labor, bodies, reproductive autonomy and freedom. The entire country, as well as specific institutions, corporations, and families, continue to benefit today from the profits of these genocidal harms against people of African descent, as well as the privileges conferred on white people through the white supremacy enabled by slavery and its afterlives. It is absolutely consistent with principles of reparations that the state that committed the harm, as well as those who continue to benefit from it, be required to pay reparations.

"STRONGLY AGREE" "AGREE" "DISAGREE" "STRONGLY DISAGREE"

2. REPARATIONS CAN BE ACHIEVED THROUGH "INVESTMENT IN DISADVANTAGED COMMUNITIES" OR "FREE EDUCATION AND HEALTH CARE FOR ALL."

Universal programs are not the same as reparations. Reparations are owed to specific people and communities that have been harmed, and cannot be accomplished through generic social programs or investments in communities.

"STRONGLY AGREE" "AGREE" "DISAGREE" "STRONGLY DISAGREE"

3. REPARATIONS SHOULD ONLY BE GIVEN FOR SLAVERY.

The systematic exploitation, violence, theft, and harm to Black people did not end with slavery. The afterlife of slavery, recognized by international law as the “badges and incidents of slavery” includes centuries of policies and practices perpetuated by the United States government, individuals, and corporations that must also be accounted for and should not be ignored. This includes convict leasing, sharecropping, Jim Crow, redlining, and the “war on drugs.”

"STRONGLY AGREE"

"AGREE"

"DISAGREE"

"STRONGLY DISAGREE"

4. AN APOLOGY FROM THE UNITED STATES TO BLACK PEOPLE WOULD SATISFY OUR DEMAND OF REPARATIONS.

Reparations requires more than just an apology. Reparations require:

An official acknowledgment and apology for harm, and public education or memorial about the harm; and

Compensation to a specific, defined group of individuals harmed by a violation, including descendants as well as family and community members of individuals directly targeted for harm who were adversely affected; and

Action to restore individuals harmed to the position they were in before the initial harm occurred; and

Action to stop the systems, institutions, and practices causing the harm; and

Changes to laws, institutions, and systems aimed at ensuring that harm will not happen again.

"STRONGLY AGREE"

"AGREE"

"DISAGREE"

"STRONGLY DISAGREE"



**"OUR PURPOSE IN LIFE IS TO LEAVE
A LEGACY FOR OUR CHILDREN AND
OUR CHILDREN'S CHILDREN. FOR
THIS REASON, WE MUST CORRECT
HISTORY THAT AT PRESENT DENIES
OUR HUMANITY AND SELF-RESPECT."**

- QUEEN MOTHER MOORE



REPARATIONS HISTORY

This section offers a brief overview of the history of how reparations have been used to remedy long-term structural harms targeting specific groups of people.

M4BL



KEYWORDS/CONCEPTS

EUGENICS:

“Junk science” that claims the human race can be improved, and “social ills” can be eliminated, through scientific “breeding.” Popularized by the Nazis, it is rooted in the same theories of scientific racism that were used to justify genocidal colonization of the African continent, the transatlantic slave trade, and chattel slavery. Eugenic sterilization programs were explicitly ableist, targeting both individuals and racial and ethnic groups described as “epileptic, ‘feebleminded,’ or mentally diseased.” They were also used to punish gender and sexual nonconformity, targeting women and girls deemed “promiscuous” for sterilization—including when they became pregnant as a result of rape and incest. Sterilization was also often a condition of release from incarceration in state institutions, and people incarcerated in women’s prisons continue to report sterilization without informed consent.

REPATRIATION:

Returning a person to a place they were removed from or forced to flee due to a violation of human rights.

TRANSFORMATIVE:

Social change that fundamentally shifts structures of power, as opposed to change that does little or nothing to create long-term systemic solutions. Transformative change requires thoroughly tending to the root causes of the problems, whereas non-transformative (often labeled reformist change) does not.



DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

- Before this toolkit, did you know that there was a long international history of paying reparations?
- Which examples included in this section surprise you? Why?
- Why do you think Black people in the United States have not received reparations for chattel slavery and its continuing harms?

NOTES FOR DISCUSSION:

HISTORY OF REPARATIONS

Reparations are key to any transformation of the current economic, political, social, and legal system. The underlying premise is simple: it is impossible to achieve equity and to end racial injustice without acknowledging and materially addressing past and continuing harms. Without remedying the accumulated impact of past harms, we are destined to perpetuate them. There is a long established history of reparations both in the United States and across the globe.



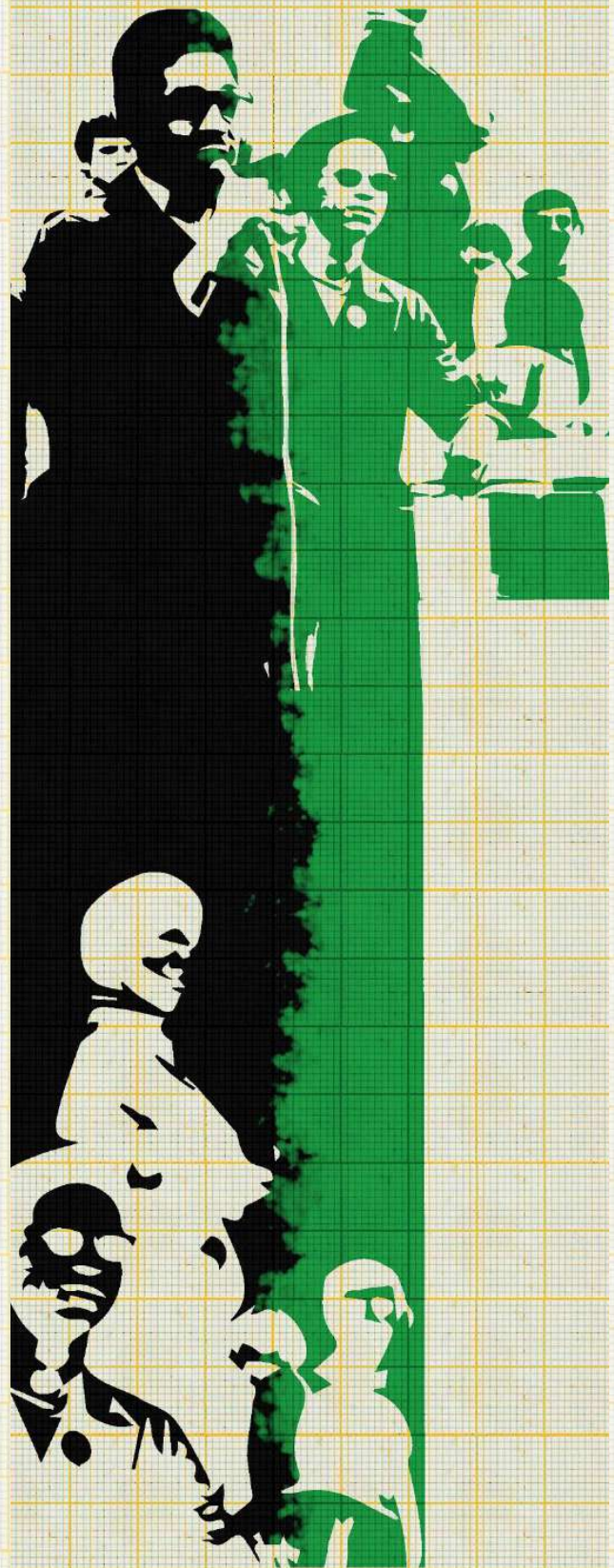
HISTORY OF REPARATIONS IN THE INTERNATIONAL CONTEXT

Reparations is a well-established concept under international law. Making reparations has been structured in two broad ways. First, reparations can be paid to individuals and/or groups harmed by state actors or state policies (such as Holocaust survivors). Secondly, reparations can be paid to countries that have suffered financial and human loss in times of war or rebellion. Examples of country-to-country reparations go back millennia, to when Rome demanded and received payment from Carthage after the two Punic Wars. Since then, reparations were paid by Germany, Italy, and Japan after both World Wars, and Iraq is still paying reparations to Kuwait. Disturbingly, the Haitian Republic was also forced to pay reparations to France after they fought for freedom and independence from colonial rule and slavery.

HERE ARE SOME OTHER EXAMPLES OF INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP REPARATIONS:

- ☑ Germany paid nearly \$89 billion in reparations for the Holocaust between 1952 and 2012. This included \$7 billion paid to the state of Israel. According to Israeli historian Tom Segev, the Bank of Israel attributed 15% of the country's growth over a twelve year period to these reparations, as well as about 45,000 jobs. Most of the reparations paid by Germany went to individual survivors through both one-time payments and ongoing monthly pensions. However, the Israeli government estimates that the financial cost of the Holocaust was between \$240 billion and \$320 billion, meaning that even these reparations efforts have not come close to covering the financial costs of the Holocaust.

- ☑ The South African post-apartheid Truth and Reconciliation Commission also recommended reparations and other policies and programs that would benefit the survivors of the apartheid regime, including over \$350 billion in monetary payments to individual survivors. However, in 2003, South African President Thabo Mbeki announced that only \$85 billion would be authorized to make one-time payments of \$3,900 to approximately 16,000 people (a fraction of the total number of people impacted by apartheid).





- ✓ In 2005, following a series of hearings before the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, the Canadian government agreed to pay reparations to Indigenous people forced to attend government- and church-run residential schools between 1879 and 1996, creating a \$1.9 billion compensation package. In 2008, the federal government issued a formal apology for the practice. A \$600 million Truth and Reconciliation Commission to document the stories of survivors was launched in 2008, and relaunched in 2012. To date, it has collected and released over 900,000 pages of documentation related to the Indian Residential School experience. From 1998 to 2014, the federal government also funded the Aboriginal Healing Foundation to support community-based healing initiatives, and allocated \$20 million to community and commemorative projects.

- ✓ In 2017, the Canadian government agreed to pay \$750 million to survivors of the so-called “Sixties Scoop,” when Indigenous children were forcibly removed from their families between the 1960s and 1980s and placed in foster care or adopted by non-Indigenous families. The compensation package is designed to settle many of the lawsuits launched by survivors, who say the forced removal deprived them of their heritage, and led to mental disorders, substance abuse, and suicide.

HISTORY OF REPARATIONS DEMANDS IN THE UNITED STATES

Black scholars, organizers, and communities made claims for reparations from the United States government both before the Civil War and following Reconstruction. One example of a successful individual petition was made by Belinda Sutton, seeking reparations for wages for her forty years of enslavement. In 1783, she was awarded a monthly pension from Isaac Royal, one of the major financial contributors to Harvard University. Another powerful example is that of Callie House, a formerly enslaved woman who was one of the founders the National Ex-Slave Mutual Relief and Bounty and Pension Association. House traveled throughout the South preaching the gospel of reparations, and during her 1897-1899 lecture tour, increased the organization's membership by over 30,000 people. In 1900, the Ex-Slave Mutual Relief and Bounty and Pension Association had a nationwide membership of nearly 300,000 people.

In the immediate aftermath of the Civil War, there was a widely accepted and well-reasoned assumption that delivering justice and equality to formerly enslaved people must consist of more than freedom alone. Congressman Thaddeus Stevens called for the transfer of 400 million acres from former slaveholders to former slaves. In addition, Senator Charles Sumner "called for land grants to those recently enslaved because legal equality did not eradicate the disparities in assets and power."

Nearly a hundred years later, in 1963, Queen Mother Audley Moore, the mother of the modern-day reparations movement, launched a campaign for reparations, claiming \$36 million in back pay for descendants of enslaved people as well as job quotas and job training. She published an extensive analysis of reparations: *Why Reparations? Reparations is the Battle Cry for the Economic and Social Freedom of More than 25 Million Descendants of American Slaves*, and mentored many generations of leaders throughout the 60s and 70s, including members of the Black Panther Party and the Republic of New Afrika.



Throughout the 1960s and 1970s, Black organizers ramped up their demands for reparations. Martin Luther King, Jr. also advocated for reparations, comparing it to compensation for stolen wages. In 1969, James Forman, a leader in the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), released the "Black Manifesto" on behalf of the National Black Economic Development Conference, calling for half a billion dollars in reparations from white churches and synagogues. The manifesto outlined a plan to create a National Black Labor Strike and Defense Fund, a National Welfare Rights Organization, a southern land bank, and four publishing and printing industries as "an alternative to the white dominated printing fields." Ultimately, Forman raised closer to half a million dollars, including a contribution from New York City's Riverside Church. At the 1972 National Black Political Convention meeting in Indiana, delegates demanded that the President create a Black-majority commission to collectively determine a procedure for reparations calculations and "exploring the ways in which the Black community prefers to have this payment implemented."



In 1987, a number of organizations came together to form the National Coalition of Blacks for Reparations in America (N'COBRA). A few years later, the NAACP officially endorsed reparations. Since 1989, Representative John Conyers, Jr. regularly introduced House Resolution 40 (H.R.40) in the federal House of Representatives, which would create a commission to examine financial and other impacts of slavery and continued discrimination and make recommendations to Congress on appropriate remedies.

Lawyers and organizers have taken the case for reparations to domestic courts and international tribunals, pursuing both governmental and corporate reparations. For instance, in 1951, the Civil Rights Congress filed a petition with the United Nations titled "We Charge Genocide: The Crime of Government Against the Negro People," detailing harms of lynching, legal discrimination, disenfranchisement, police violence, segregation, and systemic inequalities in health and other indicators connected to Jim Crow segregation, and demanding the newly formed United Nations to take action on behalf of Black people in the United States.



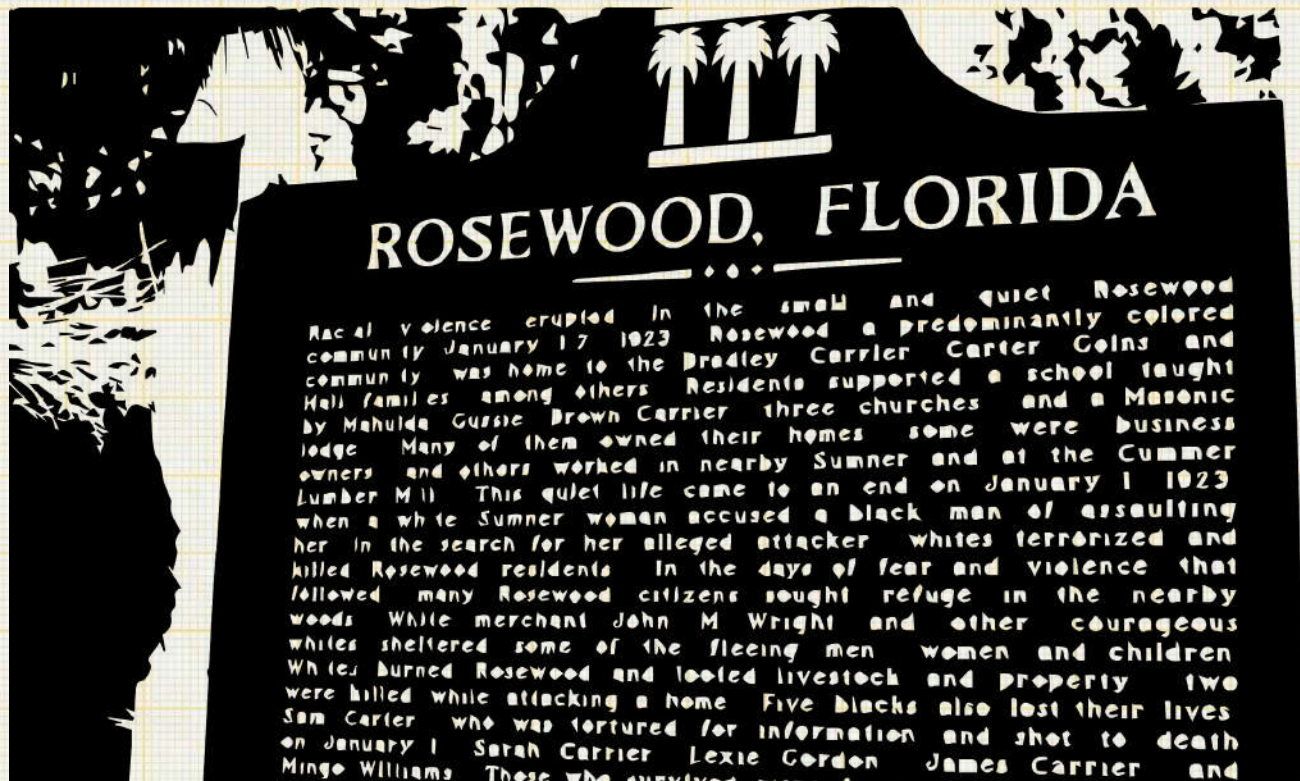
In 2016, after meeting with community groups and advocates from across the country, the United Nations Working Group of Experts on People of African Descent endorsed the call for reparations for people of African descent in the United States.

"The colonial history, the legacy of enslavement, racial subordination and segregation, racial terrorism, and racial inequality in the [United States] remains a serious challenge as there has been no real commitment to reparations and to truth and reconciliation for people of African descent. Despite substantial changes since the end of the enforcement of Jim Crow and the fight for civil rights, ideology ensuring the domination of one group over another, continues to negatively impact the civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights of African Americans today. The dangerous ideology of white supremacy inhibits social cohesion amongst the [U.S.] population."

Despite all of these calls for reparations, and extensive documented and ongoing harms against Black communities traceable to slavery and its aftermath, the federal government has refused to even issue an official apology for the state-sanctioned wrongs that mar this country's history and continue to impede the progress of Black communities.

Nevertheless, a few communities have successfully organized around the demand for reparations at the state and local levels. Some examples include:

- ☑ In 1974, a group of survivors and families impacted by the 40-year-long Tuskegee experiments, during which nearly 400 Black men with syphilis were left untreated so that scientists could study the progression of the disease, reached an out of court settlement of \$10 million that included both monetary payments and lifelong medical treatment for survivors and their families.
- ☑ In 1994, the state of Florida agreed to pay \$3.4 million in reparations to survivors of a 1923 white vigilante attack, in which the state was complicit, which completely destroyed the town of Rosewood, displaced all of its residents, and resulted in the death of 8 people and the rape, beating, and torture of dozens of others. The reparations package included approximately \$2.4 million to compensate living survivors and money for scholarships for descendants of survivors.



NON-BLACK GROUPS IN THE UNITED STATES

Other groups, including survivors and families of Japanese Americans interned during War World II, have received nominal reparations from the federal government. Throughout War World II, the United States interned 120,000 Japanese Americans in camps, on the pretext that they posed a threat to national security. Aside from the incalculable emotional costs of being torn from their homes and incarcerated, the internment resulted in the loss of about \$3.1 billion of property and a \$6.4 billion loss of income. Between the end of War World II and 1992, the United States authorized about \$1.6 billion in payments to approximately 80,000 survivors. In addition to the individual payments, both President Ronald Reagan and President George H.W. Bush issued apologies to survivors of internment, and a 1988 Congressional bill included funding for investment in Japanese Cultural Centers, and the placement of landmarks on all internment sites reminding visitors that "this nation failed in its most sacred duty to protect its citizens against prejudice, greed, and political expediency."



ACTIVITY: JEOPARDY

DESCRIPTION:

We are going to play Jeopardy!



OBJECTIVES:

To highlight some of the key information about reparations.



TIME REQUIRED:

20-30 minutes



PARTICIPANTS:

3-12 people (3 teams made up of between 1-4 people)



MATERIALS:

Depends on which format you choose, but in all formats you will need the questions and answers.



SET-UP AND TECHNOLOGY:

Depends on format.



FORMAT:

This activity can happen in teams or with individuals playing against individuals. You can play the game by reading out the answers to the questions and having participants answer the questions orally. If you want to be high tech, you can also use a website or create a powerpoint. Or, if you are feeling artistic, you can set it up using pieces of paper with the answers to the questions and post them on the wall. However you decide to set up, let participants know you will be playing Jeopardy. Someone must be the host—they will be in charge of asking the questions (or in this case providing the answer) and keeping score. We have provided some sample questions, but you can write your own questions based on the information you have learned from the toolkit. Once everyone is done, give participants a chance to discuss any information that was new and/or surprising.