

JEOPARDY ANSWERS AND QUESTIONS

ANSWER: 10.7 million

QUESTION: What is the number of African people kidnapped, enslaved, and transported from West Africa to the Americas to be sold into slavery?

ANSWER: Born in Louisiana in 1898, she was one of the co-founders of the National Coalition of Blacks for Reparations in America

QUESTION: Who is Queen Mother Audley Moore?

ANSWER: Author of the case for reparations published in the Atlantic Magazine in 2014.

QUESTION: Who is Ta-Nehisi Coates?

ANSWER: She co-founded the National Ex-Slave Mutual Relief, Bounty and Pension Association in 1896.

QUESTION: Who is Callie House?

ANSWER: A bill that would establish a commission to examine the institution of slavery in the U.S. and its early colonies, and recommend appropriate remedies.

QUESTION: What is H.R.40?

ANSWER: A leader in the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) who released the "Black Manifesto" calling for half a billion dollars in reparations from white churches and synagogues.

QUESTION: Who is James Forman?

ANSWER: The petition filed in 1951 with the newly formed United Nations by the Civil Rights Congress that detailed the harms of lynching, legal discrimination, disenfranchisement, police violence, segregation, and systemic inequalities in health and other indicators connected to Jim Crow segregation.

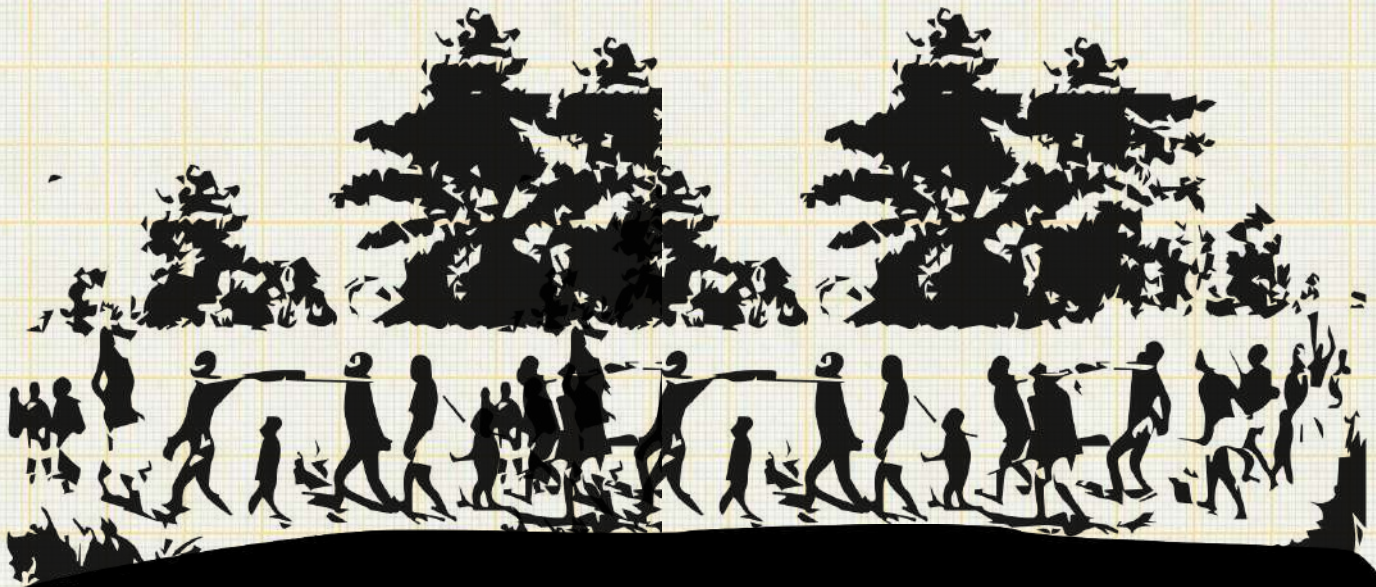
QUESTION: What is "We Charge Genocide: The Crime of Government Against the Negro People?"

ANSWER: Cessation/Assurance of Non-Repetition, Restitution, Compensation, Satisfaction and Rehabilitation

QUESTION: What are the 5 components of the United Nations definition of reparations?

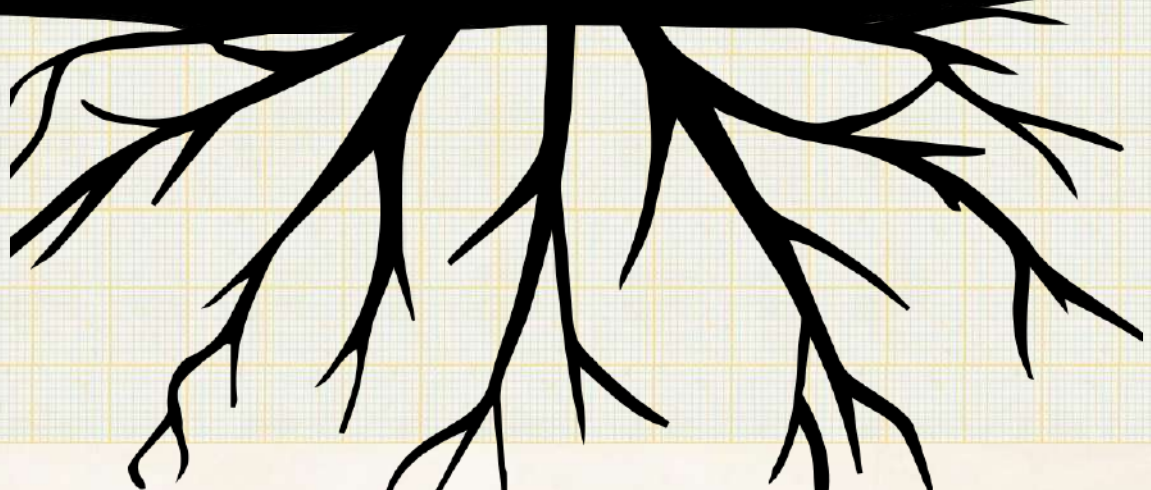
ANSWER: Georgetown University, Chicago Torture Cases, Tuskegee, forced sterilization in North Carolina.

QUESTION: What are some examples of reparations given to Black people in the US?



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.

Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, United Nations' Working Group of Experts on People of African Descent





CASE STUDIES

M4BL

This section describes four campaigns to secure reparations for specific harms to Black people or disproportionately experienced by Black people in the United States. Each campaign sought a variety of remedies and each used different combinations of strategies. Each faced critical challenges and can teach us important lessons about how to envision, develop, implement, and evaluate reparations campaigns around our issues and in our communities.

HOW TO USE – CASE STUDIES

Each case study starts with an opening page that gives you the highlights about that case study. Below, you will find the key features that will support you in building knowledge on each case study.

TYPE OF

REPARATIONS:

- Following the opening summary there is a description of what happened and some of the key lessons learned.

MECHANISMS:

- The mechanism by which it was won—from legislation to litigation.

TARGET:

- The targets who organizers and advocates had to push to get reparations.

BENEFICIARIES:

- The beneficiaries, or the people who benefited directly from reparations.

OUTCOMES:

- The concrete outcomes, or things that organizers and advocates won and some discussion questions to help you think about the case study.





DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

- These can help guide conversations and can be used in a training, classroom, or informal setting.

NOTES FOR DISCUSSION:

A place to write your own notes about what you're learning as you're reading through the case studies.

KEYWORDS/CONCEPTS



STATUTE OF LIMITATIONS:

A statute prescribing a deadline for the bringing of certain kinds of legal action. Statutes of limitations restrict people's ability to sue people for violations or to indict them for crimes they may have committed if too much time has passed.

ABLEIST/ABLEISM:

As defined by the Harriet Tubman Collective: a system that places value on people's bodies and minds based on societally-constructed ideas of normalcy, intelligence, and excellence. These ideas are deeply rooted in anti-Blackness, eugenics, and capitalism. This form of systemic oppression leads to people and society writ large determining who is valuable or worthy based on people's appearance and/or their ability to satisfactorily produce, excel, and "behave." Importantly, you do not have to be disabled to experience ableism.



**CASE STUDY ONE:
REPARATIONS FOR
POLICE TORTURE —
CHICAGO**



TYPE OF REPARATIONS:

- Apology
- Financial compensation
- Services and Support for Survivors
- Public Education
- Memorial

MECHANISM:

- Legislative

TARGET:

- Mayor of Chicago
- Chicago City Council

BENEFICIARIES:

Black people tortured by Chicago Police Commander Jon Burge and detectives under his command at Areas 2 and 3 of the Chicago Police Department between 1971 and 1992.

OUTCOMES:

- Official apology from the City of Chicago to living survivors.
- Creation of a Public Memorial (currently unfunded).
- Public Education:** Chicago Public School curriculum to include a section co-developed with organizers and torture survivors entitled "Reparations Won: A Case Study in Police Torture, Racism, and the Movement for Justice."
- Compensation:** \$5.5 million Reparations Fund for Burge Torture Victims divided equally (approximately \$100,000 per survivor) among 57 living survivors with credible claims of torture by Jon Burge and detectives under his command between 1971 and 1992.
- Free enrollment in City Colleges** for torture survivors, immediate family, and grandchildren.
- Priority access to city employment for torture survivors.
- Creation of a counseling and organizing center** for survivors and all people affected by police violence in Chicago.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:



- What lessons from the Chicago reparations struggle might be applied to a fight for reparations in your community?
- What strategies seem most and least promising in a reparations fight?
- What does it mean to wage a multiracial struggle for reparations in which white allies play a leadership role? What are potential challenges? How might they be addressed?

NOTES FOR DISCUSSION:



WHAT HAPPENED?

Between 1971 and 1992, Chicago Police Commander Jon Burge and detectives under his command tortured over 120 Black men and women during interrogations. Detectives used electric shock, suffocation, beatings, Russian Roulette, rape, and denial of food, water, and bathrooms to obtain confessions, which were then used to secure criminal convictions and severe sentences, up to and including the death penalty. Torture survivors, their mothers, other family and community members, along with reporters, organizers, and lawyers, led a 30-year struggle. As a result, they won Burge's termination from the Chicago Police Department, an official acknowledgment of a systemic practice of torture, and the exoneration of 21 Burge torture survivors who were subsequently released from death row and prison. Some survivors were able to file successful civil lawsuits for wrongful conviction and obtain financial compensation. However, many survivors could not successfully file lawsuits because the statute of limitations had passed. Additionally, almost 30 remained behind bars based on convictions secured through confessions obtained by torture. Beyond Burge's termination with a full pension, no police officers or county officials responsible for the torture and subsequent cover-up, or for pursuing and upholding prosecutions based on confessions obtained by torture, were held accountable— in fact, one went on to become the Mayor of Chicago, and many others became prosecutors and judges.



In 2005, Standish Kwame Willis, founder of Black People Against Police Torture (BPAPT), called for reparations for survivors of police torture in Chicago before the Inter-American Commission for Human Rights that same year. In 2006, Joey Mogul, a white attorney from the People's Law Office, who has represented and organized on behalf of dozens of torture survivors, secured a finding from the UN Committee Against Torture calling on the United States government to investigate the cases and bring the perpetrators to justice.

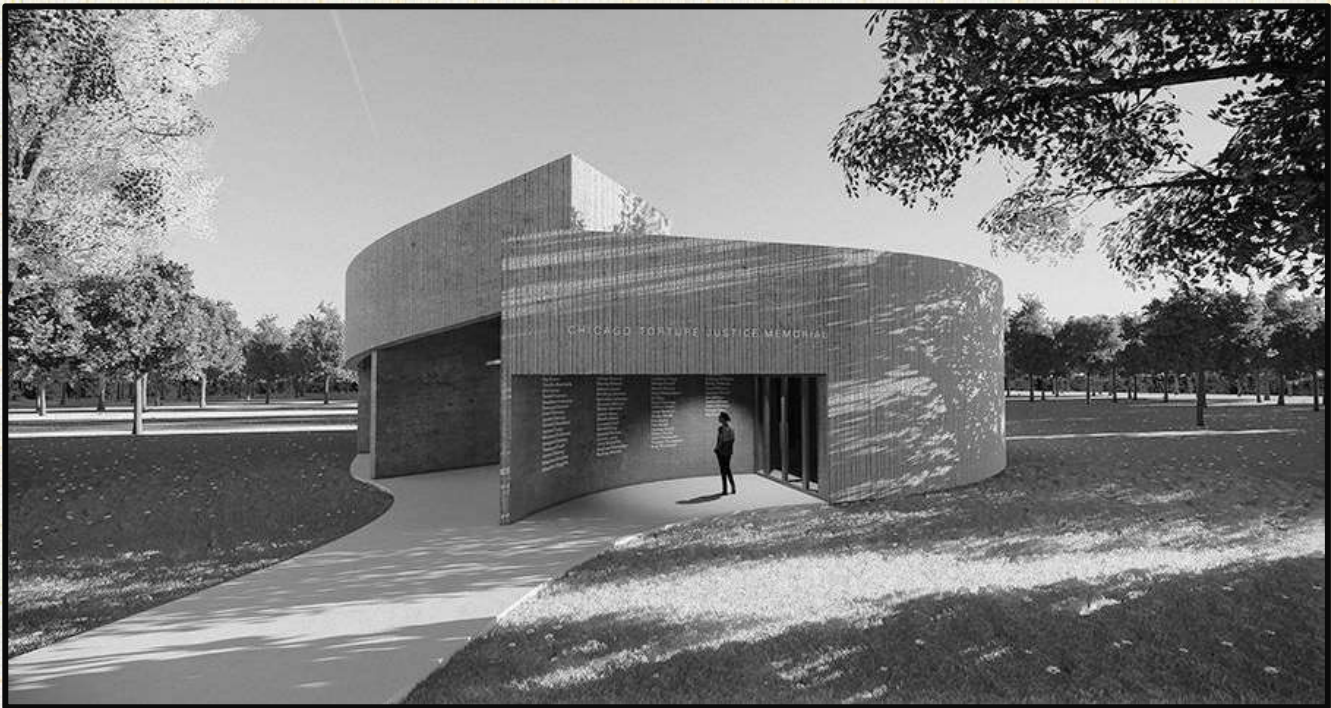
Following widespread media coverage and public pressure, former Chicago Police Commander Jon Burge was prosecuted and convicted for perjury and obstruction of justice for lying about the torture he and other detectives committed (he could no longer be prosecuted for his acts of torture due to the expired statute of limitations).



In 2013, Mogul founded the Chicago Torture Justice Memorials (CTJM) with survivors, artists, organizers, and lawyers to explore what justice for survivors of police torture could look like, and how to publically memorialize the Burge torture cases. CTJM issued a call for proposals and mounted dozens of exhibits and events exploring visions for individual and collective justice and healing for survivors and Black communities on the South Side of Chicago. In September 2013, Mogul drafted and submitted a municipal reparations ordinance as a proposed memorial to the survivors and the struggle for justice.

In the Spring of 2014, a delegation of Black youth from We Charge Genocide, an organization named after the 1951 Civil Rights Congress We Charge Genocide petition, returned from a second successful effort to call for justice in the Burge torture cases before the UN Committee Against Torture.

In 2014, within the context of heightened outrage around police violence, Chicago community organizations came together under the leadership of CTJM, Mariame Kaba and Project Nia, We Charge Genocide, and Amnesty International USA to secure passage of the reparations ordinance. Through weekly protests and actions, including train takeovers, sing-ins, light actions, banner drops, public rallies, art exhibits, and demonstrations at Chicago's City Hall over a six month period leading up to a mayoral and city council election, organizers eventually secured passage of the reparations legislation and creation of a \$5 million compensation fund.



In addition to individual monetary compensation, the reparations legislation included provisions for restitution and repair, including a full official public apology to the survivors by the City of Chicago, construction of a memorial to the survivors and their struggle for justice, inclusion of a section on the torture cases in the Chicago Public Schools 8th and 10th grade curricula, free tuition at the City Colleges for torture survivors, their immediate family members, and grandchildren, priority for city jobs, and creation of a counseling and organizing center on the South Side of Chicago.



CHALLENGES AND LESSONS

LEARNED:

The Chicago reparations package represents a significant victory in a local struggle for reparations. That said, beyond the creation of a counseling and organizing center that is open to anyone affected by police violence in Chicago, it only provides reparations and redress for a limited group of people who experienced particularly egregious forms of police torture and brutality at the hands of a specific group of officers during a particular time frame. Chicago's reparations package did not produce any policy change, and there are no guarantees of non-repetition. While the specific forms of torture deployed by Burge may no longer be used, Chicago police officers continue to kill, torture, rape, and use Tasers, violating the rights of Chicago residents with impunity.

Additionally, there is currently no guaranteed city funding for the Chicago Torture Justice Center beyond 2019, and while the City has identified land upon which the memorial can be built, it has not yet appropriated any funds to do so.

One of the most significant lessons learned in the Chicago campaign for reparations is how hard implementation can be. It is important to think ahead, beyond passage of legislation, and to build a team (including and beyond organizers) who possess the necessary knowledge, skills, experiences, and most importantly, energy and commitment, to help ensure robust and principled implementation of a comprehensive reparations legislation package.





CARICOM
REPARATIONS COMMISSION

CASE STUDY TWO: CARICOM





TYPE OF REPARATIONS:

- Apology
- Repatriation
- Rehabilitation
- Education

MECHANISMS:

- Legislative
- Administrative

TARGET:

- European nations who hold or held colonies in the Caribbean, Central and South America.

BENEFICIARIES:

Indigenous and African descendant communities in the Caribbean who have experienced genocide, slavery, slave trading, and racial apartheid.

OUTCOMES:

- While none of the European countries targeted have met all of the reparations demands, CARICOM's campaign has kept the issue of reparations for colonialism, slavery, and genocide alive in the international community and has kept the issue within conversations at the United Nations.



DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:



- What kinds of pressure do you think the international community could put on the European countries targeted by CARICOM to push them toward meeting any of the reparations demands?
- What should be key elements of an African knowledge program?
- In addition to potentially getting reparations, what other benefits could come from the CARICOM countries working together to develop this set of joint reparations demands?

NOTES FOR DISCUSSION:

WHAT HAPPENED?

In 2013, the Caribbean Community, or CARICOM, a group of 20 countries in the Caribbean, Central and South America working together for cooperation and economic integration, began discussions about Reparations for Native Genocide and Slavery, and to lay out a case for reparatory justice for the region's Indigenous and African descendant communities who experienced forms of genocide, slavery, slave trading, and racial apartheid.

In 2014, CARICOM developed a 10-point plan for reparatory justice demanding:

- A full formal apology, as opposed to "statements of regrets" that some European nations have Issued.
- Repatriation, asserting the legal right of the descendants of more than 10 million Africans stolen from their homes and forcefully transported to the Caribbean as enslaved chattel and property to return to their homelands.
- An Indigenous Peoples Development Program for survivors.
- Cultural institutions through which the stories of victims and their descendants can be told.
- Attention to the "public health crisis" in the Caribbean: the Caribbean has the "highest incidence of chronic diseases which stem from the nutritional experience, emotional brutality, and overall stress profiles associated with slavery, genocide, and apartheid."
- Eradicating illiteracy, as Black and Indigenous communities of the Caribbean were left in a state of illiteracy, particularly by the British.
- An African knowledge program to teach people of African descent about their roots.
- Psychological rehabilitation for healing and repair of African descendant populations.
- Technology transfer for greater access to the world's science and technology culture.
- Debt cancellation to address the "fiscal entrapment" that faces Caribbean governments that emerged from slavery and colonialism.

OPPORTUNITIES: If successful, this case could be a model for future reparations campaigns aimed at seeking reparations from other colonial powers.



**CASE STUDY THREE:
GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY**



TYPE OF REPARATIONS:

- Services
- Policy change
- Investment in institutions
- Education

MECHANISMS:

- Administrative

TARGET:

- Georgetown University

BENEFICIARIES:

Descendants of enslaved Africans held by Georgetown University who were sold by the university to prevent financial hardship.

OUTCOMES:

- Restitution:** Preferential admissions to Georgetown University for descendants of people sold by the university.
- Memorial:** Campus building names changed: one to the name of one of the slaves that had been sold; one to a free woman of African descent.
- Education:** Create a booklet called, "What We Know: Georgetown University and Slavery," which was distributed across campus and used in an on-campus teach-in.
- GU272 descendant groups formed.** One group sought legal representation, others are interested in pushing the university to do more, others are interested in establishing a foundation.



DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:



- What do you think about the fact that the student body agreed to raise student fees to pay into Georgetown's reparations fund? Should those resources come from student fees? Why or why not?
- What do you think about Georgetown offering "preferential admissions" to descendants of the slaves it sold? Should those descendants receive any other supports?

NOTES FOR DISCUSSION:

WHAT HAPPENED?

In 2014, pressure from the student body pushed Georgetown University to publicly acknowledge that the university had held slaves and sold 272 people in order to save the university financially in 1838. In 2015, Georgetown established a working group that came up with the following recommendations:

- Establish a working group of faculty, staff, students, and alumni.
- Create a booklet called, "What We Know: Georgetown University and Slavery," which was distributed across campus and used in an on-campus teach-in.
- Establish a memorial for the 272 people sold by the university.
- Rename campus buildings currently named for the presidents involved in the sale.
- Establish a Department of African American Studies.
- Create the Institute for Racial Justice and a Center for the Study of Slavery and Its Legacies (still not established in 2018).
- Give admissions preference to descendants of people sold. This applies to about 7,700 people (similar to legacy students, and with no financial assistance offered to attend).

CHALLENGES AND LESSONS LEARNED:

- Challenging to identify the descendants.
- Not all descendants have felt the reparations offered are sufficient.
- Some of the descendants wanted to play a larger role in determining the shape reparations would take, but they were not invited to participate in the working group; others want Georgetown to establish a foundation to support efforts of descendants and groups working to alleviate impacts of slavery; other descendants want support for family reunification; others think educational support for descendants needs to start during early childhood education so that people have a chance at even being competitive to take advantage of preferential admissions status.

OPPORTUNITIES: This model could be used as a starting place for other campaigns to demand reparations from private institutions.

STOP FORCED STERILIZATION
ALTA ESTERILIZACION FORZADA

**CASE STUDY FOUR: FORCED
STERILIZATION —
NORTH CAROLINA**

PUBLIC HEARINGS ON STERILIZATION —
FEB 12TH 10A STATE BUILDING 350 McALLISTER SF



TYPE OF REPARATIONS:

- Apology
- Policy change
- Financial compensation
- Memorial

MECHANISMS:

- Legislation
- Executive Order
- Budget appropriation

TARGET:

- State legislature
- Governor

BENEFICIARIES:

Living survivors who can establish by documentary evidence that they were involuntarily sterilized pursuant to an order of the North Carolina State Eugenics Board.

OUTCOMES:

- Apology to living survivors.**
- Memorial plaque and creation of traveling exhibit (unfunded).**
- Policy change: Eugenics Board closed (1974); law allowing forced sterilization repealed (2003).**
- Public Education: Public school curriculum is supposed to include history of eugenics, but has not been widely implemented.**
- Compensation: \$10 million fund divided equally (approximately \$45,000 per survivor) among living survivors with provable claims against the State Eugenics Board. Compensation received by survivors does not count toward calculations of eligibility for state benefits or state tax liability.**





DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:



- How could survivors have been more involved in the struggle for reparations for sterilization in North Carolina? How might that have changed the process and outcomes?
- How could this struggle for reparations have made stronger connections between forced sterilization and anti-Black ableism (historic and structural violence against Black people who are—or are framed as—disabled)?
- What challenges do we see in seeking reparations for harms experienced predominantly, but not exclusively, by Black people?
- How can we specifically highlight the ways many harms committed are directly connected to slavery and anti-Blackness even though they may impact non-Black people or may have started after the passage of the 13th Amendment? *For instance, shackling incarcerated pregnant people while giving birth is driven by the fact that the majority of women historically and currently incarcerated are Black women—and, therefore, the treatment of incarcerated people giving birth is rooted in the assumption that the people experiencing this treatment will be Black women.*
- How can we address documentation challenges in our demands for reparations, particularly where the documentation of harm is in the hands of the state or records are likely to have been destroyed?



NOTES FOR DISCUSSION:

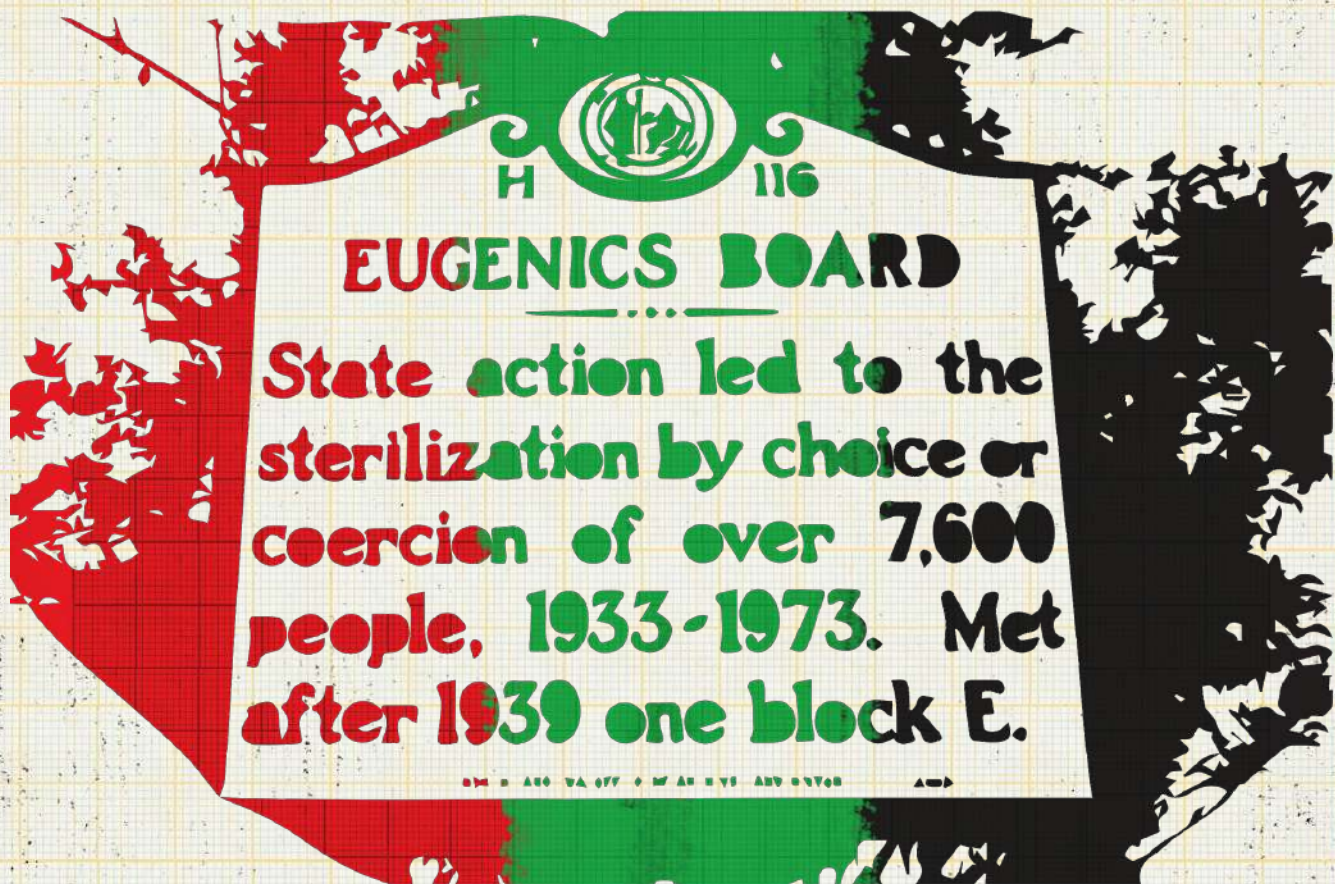
WHAT HAPPENED? Between 1929 and 1974, the North Carolina State Eugenics Board ordered the sterilization of 7,600 people against their will. Hundreds more were sterilized under orders issued by county governments based on petitions by local doctors and social workers. Eighty-five percent of people overall, and 98% of people sterilized in the 1960s, were Black. More than 75% of forced sterilizations in North Carolina occurred at the height of the Jim Crow era.

North Carolina's sterilization program was first challenged through two lawsuits filed against the state in 1973 and 1974 by Black women sterilized under threats of institutionalization or termination of welfare benefits. The lawsuits did not produce compensation from the government, but raised awareness of the issue, leading to **policy change**: the Eugenics Board was closed in 1974, and the state law that allowed forced sterilization was eventually repealed in 2003.

Thirty years after the lawsuits were filed, the Winston-Salem Journal newspaper published a 5-part series on the eugenics program in 2002, prompting North Carolina state representative Larry Womble to call the practice a "holocaust" and demand an apology, acknowledgment, and compensation. The Governor of North Carolina issued an **apology** later that year, and established a Eugenics Study Committee charged "with exploring the history of the [eugenics] program, ensuring it was never repeated, and making recommendations on how to assist program survivors." After the Committee released its recommendations, a **memorial** was created in the form of a traveling Eugenics Exhibit and a Eugenics Board Historical Marker. Additionally, the history of eugenics was to be added to North Carolina public school curriculum as part of **public education** efforts.



Representative Womble introduced a bill in 2003 calling for compensation for people subject to forced sterilization, and every year thereafter until 2013. In 2010, the Governor set aside \$250,000 to establish the House Select Committee on Compensation for Victims of the Eugenic Sterilization Program to develop a proposal for compensation, including health care, counseling, and educational assistance. Once established after some delay, the Committee heard testimony from survivors and family members, but did not include any survivors in the decision-making process. The Committee recommended \$50,000 in compensation per person to living survivors of forced sterilization, and that the funds not be counted as income for the purpose of calculating state taxes or benefits. It also recommended that mental health services be provided for survivors, and revival of the traveling exhibit. After a long legislative debate, the Governor signed a budget including a \$10 million compensation fund for living survivors.

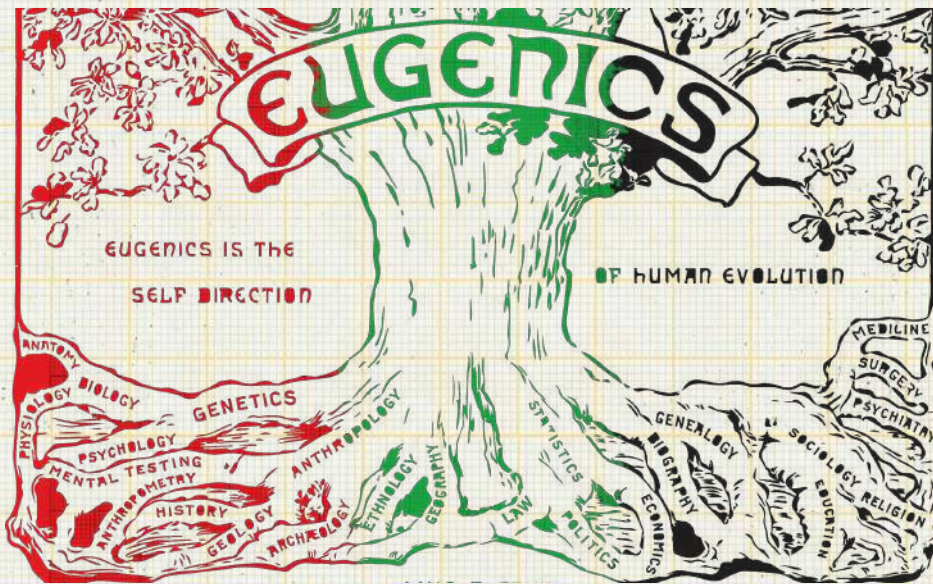


CHALLENGES AND LESSONS LEARNED: The fight for comprehensive reparations for people who were sterilized against their will in North Carolina faced several challenges, including:

- A state budget crisis.
- Concerns that the state would face unlimited liability if there was no cap on the compensation fund.
- A sense that taxpayers were being asked to pay for past wrongs committed by others.
- Many people who were forcibly sterilized were no longer alive when compensation was offered in 2013 to living survivors of a practice that took place between 1929 and 1974. No compensation was available to the descendants of people harmed by the practice.
- Many survivors were unable to provide documentary proof that they qualified for compensation because many records had been lost or destroyed.
- Many survivors or their guardians signed consent forms under threat of being denied welfare entitlements or being institutionalized (although the reparations law created a presumption that minors and adults deemed "incompetent" under the law were involuntarily sterilized).
- Reparations were **not** provided for people sterilized under orders by county officials that were not officially sanctioned by the State Eugenics Board.
- Survivors were given a relatively short time period to file a claim, and no official efforts were made to conduct outreach to survivors.
- Individual survivors received a relatively small amount of compensation.

Due to these challenges and more, the number of people who received compensation (220-250) was small compared to the number of people who were harmed (more than 7,600). Payments are exempt from state tax and income eligibility requirements for state and federal programs, but are still counted as income for the purpose of federal taxes.

The State of North Carolina is one of two of the 33 states that operated forced sterilization programs to provide financial compensation to survivors. The State of Virginia issued an apology and recently approved legislation providing for a \$400,000 compensation fund to pay the 11 survivors remaining out of over 7,600 people subjected to forced sterilization approximately \$25,000 each.

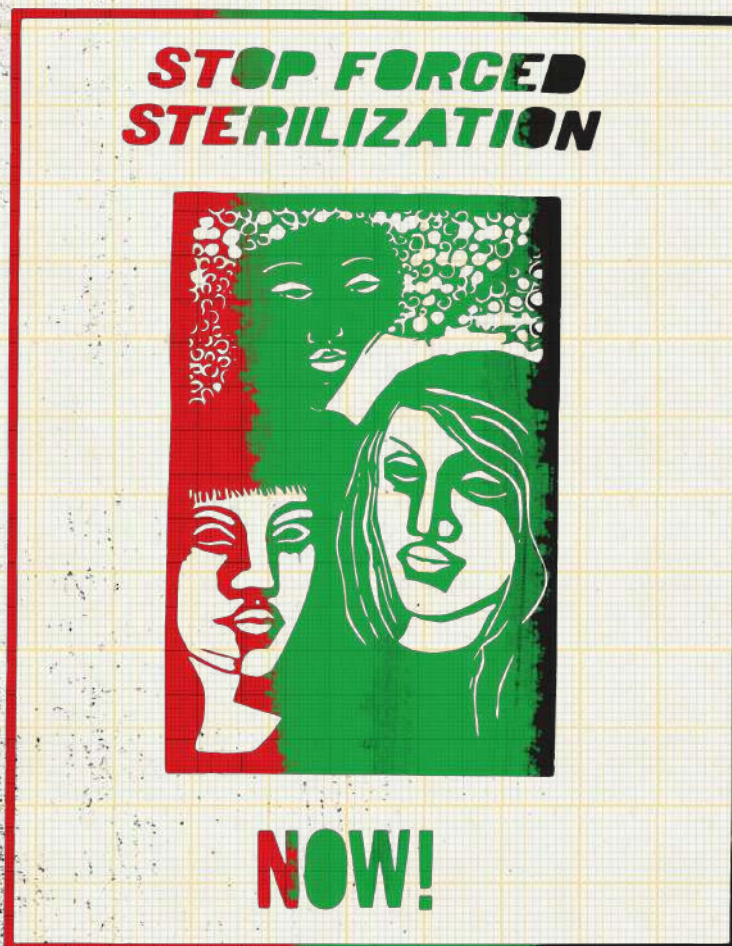


California is currently considering passage of AB 1764, which would provide compensation to people sterilized under California's state-sponsored sterilization program between 1909 and 1979, as well as to survivors of involuntary sterilizations in women's state prisons after 1979. The California legislation would be the first to offer compensation to survivors of involuntary sterilizations at a women's penal facility.

These represent some of the few instances in which Black women received or would receive reparations for reproductive harms which could be characterized as a "badges and incidents" of slavery because they are connected to abuses experienced by enslaved African descended women, and represented an exercise of total control over Black women's reproductive autonomy and bodily integrity. This was also one of the only instances where reparations were paid for forced sterilization, which is a common manifestation of ableism and harm to Black disabled people.

However, the struggle for reparations for forced sterilizations presents some complicated questions for those pursuing reparations as part of struggles for Black liberation. First, reparations for state forced sterilization programs are not exclusively owed or given to Black people, but to all individuals who are able to prove they were sterilized against their will, including white people. In fact, legislators actively promoted the fact that white people would be receiving benefits under the legislation in order to avoid perceptions that only Black people would receive compensation.

Secondly, the movement to obtain reparations for forced sterilization in North Carolina was not driven or led by the survivors, but rather by legislators, governors, and other system players without a direct stake in the outcome—and competing interests with survivors.



Third, the reparations ultimately obtained were limited to monetary compensation to living survivors who were able to prove entitlement through documentary evidence, and did not reach the hundreds of people who were illegally sterilized pursuant to county orders. Survivors only had three years to make a claim. The total amount of compensation was also capped at \$10 million, regardless of how many people came forward, creating a disincentive for survivors to seek out others, as that would reduce everyone's compensation. Although survivors received an apology and a permanent memorial of the program was created, the healing and educational services for survivors and their families originally recommended by the Task Force never became a reality and changes to the public school curriculum were never fully implemented.

ACTIVITY: REPARATIONS CASE STUDIES

DESCRIPTION:

In this exercise, participants will be given a scenario and will be asked to respond to the scenario by developing a set of reparations demands and a plan for seeking to have those demands met. Each group will be given the same short, pre-written scenario, relevant to the specific group of participants, laying out the harm being done to Black people in the scenario, the generational impacts of the harm, and contemporary expressions of the harm (note: you can use the case studies from this toolkit as scenarios).



OBJECTIVES:

To support participants to understand the foundational elements of reparations claims.

To encourage participants to articulate and think collectively about the range of means through which reparations may be won.



TIME REQUIRED:

45-90 minutes



MATERIALS:

Pre-written scenarios (enough copies for each group)

Easel pads, markers, and tape



PARTICIPANTS:

8-Unlimited



SET-UP AND

TECHNOLOGY:

Not needed



FORMAT:

Small Groups. Break participants into groups of 2-4 depending on the number of participants. Ask each group to gather and do the following:

- Identify someone to write down the group's demands and plan, and someone to report back to the large group.
- Read the scenario together.



- Develop reparations demands to address the harm outlined in the scenario, keeping the five conditions of reparations in mind:
 - Cessation and guarantees of non-repetition
 - Restitution
 - Compensation
 - Satisfaction
 - Rehabilitation

Describe what mechanisms or tools the group recommends to compel the demands to be met (i.e. legislation, executive orders or resolutions, budget allocations, direct action, media campaigns, etc.).

Give each group at least 30 minutes to develop demands and make plans, and at least 10 minutes to share their demands and plans with the larger group. *Note:* facilitators should be careful to calculate time for report backs from all small groups into the overall time allotted for this exercise.



TIMELINE

This is an incomplete list of reparations demands and payments made in the United States by the federal government, states, cities, religious institutions, and colleges and universities.¹

1783: Belinda Sutton, kidnapped as a child in what is now Ghana and sold into slavery, successfully petitioned the Massachusetts state legislator for reparations from the man who claimed to own her, who was one of the major financial contributors to Harvard. Belinda inspired a movement by Harvard Law students in 2017.

1865: Union Army General Sherman issued Special Field Order #15, which gave 40,000 former slaves 40 acres each of captured land from South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida. The order was later overturned by President Andrew Johnson, who ordered the land returned to Confederate landholders.

1866: The Southern Homestead Act was signed into law, through which, "ex-slaves were given 6 months to purchase land at reasonable rates without competition from white southerners and northern investors. But, owing to their destitution, few ex-slaves were able to take advantage of the program. The largest number that did were located in Florida, numbering little more than 3,000... The program failed."

1870: Sojourner Truth circulated a petition requesting Congress to provide land to the "freed colored people in and about Washington" to allow them "to support themselves." Yet, Truth's efforts were not successful. Former slaves in the United States got no land or financial support after the end of slavery.

1878: Henrietta Wood won restitution for slavery. According to Caleb McDaniel, "[t]hough born enslaved in Kentucky in 1818 or 1820, Wood had been living as a free woman in Cincinnati in 1853 when she was kidnapped and re-enslaved by a white Kentuckian named Zebulon Ward; she ended up living in slavery until after the Civil War. But in 1869, Wood returned to Cincinnati and filed a lawsuit against Ward for \$20,000 in damages and lost wages. A federal court handed her a verdict for \$2,500, an amount worth \$60,000 today. It is the largest known sum ever awarded by a U.S. court in restitution for slavery."

1894: The National Ex-Slave Mutual Relief and Bounty and Pension Association was formed by a formerly enslaved woman, Callie House, and challenged the United States to pay pensions to former slaves. By 1898, it had enrolled 300,000 African Americans to demand pensions from the federal government. The Association called for \$15 per month, and \$500 in bounty for all formerly enslaved people over seventy, with staggered and decreasing benefits for younger former slaves who could still work.

1890-1903: Six ex-slave pension bills went before Congress; none were passed.

1914: Marcus Mosiah Garvey and Amy Ashwood Garvey formed the Universal Negro Improvement Association and began a movement for repatriation to Africa.

1915: When organizing efforts were consistently being stymied by federal attacks, Callie House "instigated and paid for a reparations lawsuit" that called for the federal government to pay \$68,073,388.99 to African Americans out of the Treasury that had been collected from cotton taxes between 1862 and 1868.

1957-1959: Queen Mother Audley Moore presented a petition to the United Nations demanding land and billions of dollars in compensation, as well as repatriation to Africa. She later published *Why Reparations? Reparations Is the Battle Cry for the Economic and Social Freedom of More than 25 Million Descendants of American Slaves*.

1962: Queen Mother Audley Moore formed the Reparations Committee of the United States Slaves, Inc., with Dara Abubakari. In 1962, they delivered a communiqué to the United Nations demanding that the United States government be forced to pay reparations.

1969: The "Black Manifesto" was launched in Detroit. Penned by James Forman, former Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) organizer, and released at the National Black Economic Development Conference, the manifesto demanded \$500 million in reparations from predominantly white religious institutions for their role in perpetuating slavery. About \$215,000 was raised from the Episcopalian and Methodist churches through rancorous deliberations that ultimately tore the coalition apart.

1988: President Ronald Reagan signed the Civil Liberties Act, which provided \$1.2 billion (\$20,000 a person) and an apology to each of the approximately 60,000 living Japanese Americans who had been interned during World War II. Additionally, \$12,000 and an apology were given to 450 Unangans (Aleuts) for internment during WWII, and a \$6.4 million trust fund was created for their communities.

1994: The State of Florida approved \$2.1 million for the living survivors of a 1923 racial massacre that resulted in multiple deaths and the decimation of the Black community in the town of Rosewood.

1995*: The Southern Baptists apologized to African American church members for the denomination's endorsement of slavery.

1997*: President Bill Clinton apologized to the survivors of the United States government-sponsored syphilis tests in Tuskegee, Alabama.

2001: The Oklahoma legislature passed, and Governor Keating signed, a bill to pay reparations for the destruction of the Greenwood, Oklahoma community by white supremacists in 1921 in the form of low-income student scholarships in Tulsa; an economic development authority for Greenwood; a memorial; and medals to the 118 known living survivors of the destruction of Greenwood.

2002*: Governor Mark Warner of Virginia issued a formal apology for the state's decision to forcibly sterilize more than 8,000 of its residents.

2002: Edward Fagan filed a class-action lawsuit in the name of Deadria Farmer-Paellmann and other people in similar situations. Fagan's lawsuit requested a formal apology and financial reparations from three United States companies that profited from slavery. Among these corporations was Aetna Insurance Company, which held an insurance policy in the name of Abel Hines, Farmer-Paellman's enslaved great-grandfather. Although the case was dismissed in 2004, the United States Court of Appeals for the Seventh Circuit later allowed the plaintiffs to engage in consumer protection claims exposing the companies named in the lawsuit for misleading their customers about their role in slavery.

2005*: The United States Senate approved, by voice vote, S.R.39, which called for the lawmakers to apologize to lynching victims, survivors, and their descendants, several of whom were watching from the gallery. No financial reparations were given.

2005: Virginia, five decades after ignoring Prince Edward County and other locales that shut down their public schools in support of segregation, made a rare effort to confront its racist past, in effect apologizing and offering reparations in the form of scholarships. With a \$1 million donation from billionaire media investor John Kluge and a matching amount from the state, Virginia provided up to \$5,500 to any state resident who was denied a proper education when public schools shut down. More than 80 students have been approved for the scholarships and several thousand were potentially eligible.

2008: The United States House of Representatives issued an apology to Black Americans for the institution of slavery, and the subsequent Jim Crow laws that discriminated against them.

2014: The State of North Carolina set aside \$10 million for reparations payments to living survivors of the state's eugenics program, which forcibly sterilized approximately 7,600 people.

2015: The City of Chicago signed into law an ordinance granting \$5.5 million in cash payments, free college education, priority for city employment, and a range of social services, including the creation of a healing and organizing center on the South Side of Chicago, to 57 living survivors of police torture. Explicitly defined as reparations, the ordinance includes a formal apology from Mayor Rahm Emanuel and a mandate to teach the broader public about the tortures through a memorial and public school curriculum.

2016: The State of Virginia, one of more than 30 other states that practiced forced sterilizations, followed North Carolina's lead to award \$25,000 to each survivor.

2016: Georgetown University acknowledged that the school profited from the sale of slaves and "reconciled" by naming two buildings after African Americans and offering preferred admission to any descendants of slaves who labored at the university.

2017*: Congressman John Conyers, D-Michigan, introduced a newly revised bill H.R.40, Commission to Study and Develop Reparation Proposals for African Americans Act, which was initially proposed to the House of Representatives in 1989 and every year since. The bill was introduced "[to] address the fundamental injustice, cruelty, brutality, and inhumanity of slavery in the United States and the 13 American colonies between 1619 and 1865 and to establish a commission to study and consider a national apology and proposal for reparations for the institution of slavery, its subsequent *de jure* and *de facto* racial and economic discrimination against African Americans, and the impact of these forces on living African Americans, to make recommendations to the Congress on appropriate remedies, and for other purposes."

* the asterisk denotes apologies from government institutions and other organizations

REPARATIONS PAID BY OTHER COUNTRIES

1952: Germany: \$822 million to Holocaust survivors: German Jewish Settlement

1988: Canada: \$230 million: Japanese Canadians

1990: Austria: \$25 million: Holocaust Survivors

2008: Canada: Reparations to survivors of Indian Residential Schools

2014: France: More than 700 claims have been filed under an agreement between the United States and France in which French officials have agreed to pay out \$60 million for the deportations of World War II prisoners to Nazi death camps carried out by SNCF, France's railway system. In exchange, the United States government agreed to ask courts to dismiss any lawsuits against SNCF or the French government.

2015: Japan: \$8.3 million to provide elder care to Korean "Comfort Women" survivors and a renewed apology.

2016: France: The State Department paid or approved 90 claims for a total of \$11 million in reparations by France to former WWII prisoners who were carried to Nazi Death Camps in French trains—the first French reparations paid to Holocaust survivors in the United States.

2017: Canada: Reparations for abduction of Indigenous children into the child welfare system.

¹ This timeline specifically borrows heavily from the booklet *Black Reparations Now! 40 Acres, \$50 Dollars, and a Mule, + Interest* by Dorothy Benton-Lewis, "Black and Blue Chicago Finds a New Way to Heal" by Yana Kunichoff and Sarah Macaraeg, *YES Magazine*, Spring 2017; and *Long Overdue: The Politics of Racial Reparations: From 40 Acres to Atonement and Beyond* by Charles P. Henry, 2007, NYU Press.

ACTIVITY: REPARATIONS TIMELINE

DESCRIPTION:

Create a timeline using the collective knowledge in the group. Use the timeline above to supplement the timeline you created and discuss major milestones in the ongoing fight for reparations. Once you complete the timeline, discuss the questions below.



OBJECTIVES:

To build knowledge in the room about major milestones in the fight for reparations, and to add to that knowledge.



TIME REQUIRED:

20-40 minutes



PARTICIPANTS:

5-Unlimited



MATERIALS:

Butcher Paper or whiteboard, post-it notes, pens



SET-UP AND TECHNOLOGY:

Not needed



FORMAT:

Individual reflection followed by large group discussion. Draw a timeline up on a whiteboard or butcher paper that begins in 1492 and ends in the present. Invite participants to write up key moments in history that they believe are critical to racial justice in the United States.

If participants are stuck and need some inspiration, pass out the timeline from the previous pages and discuss some of the historical moments included to help them spark their own thoughts.

Next, ask participants to write down on post-it notes some examples of reparations they are aware of. Use the above abbreviated list to fill in the timeline and engage participants in a discussion of the following questions:

- Why did we begin by focusing on historical moments relevant to racial justice in the United States before discussing the history of reparations?
- Where do you see your ancestors, your family, and/or yourself represented or involved in this timeline?
- How much of the history of reparations did we know? How much did we not know?
- What does this timeline tell you about our fight for reparations?
- Are there any lessons you want to apply to our current fight for reparations? If so, what?



ADDITIONAL ACTIVITIES

ACTIVITY: APOLOGY AND REPAIR

DESCRIPTION:

This activity is an opportunity for participants to examine the apology issued from the House of Representatives in 2008 and discuss how they could use the points in the letter to advocate for reparations.



OBJECTIVES:

To articulate a case for reparations and reflect on the adequacy of the 2008 House of Representatives apology.



PARTICIPANTS:

3-Unlimited



FORMAT:

In small groups, read the below apology and discuss the questions below.



DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:



- What are your thoughts about this apology for slavery and Jim Crow that was passed as a resolution in the House of Representatives in 2008? What do you appreciate about the apology? What is missing or lacking?
- This apology does not mention a need for reparations for Black people. Write a response letter using the points offered in the apology to make a case for reparations.
- How do you think Harriet Tubman, Callie House, or Sojourner Truth would feel if they could have read this apology? What do think their responses would be to this apology?

NOTES FOR DISCUSSION:

In 2008, the U.S. House of Representatives issued an apology to Black Americans for the institution of slavery, and the subsequent Jim Crow laws that discriminated against them. The following is the text of the Resolution written and introduced by Congressman Steve Cohen (D-TN):

U.S. Apology for Slavery, Jim Crow

July 29, 2008

Thank you, Mr. Speaker, and Mr. Chairman. It is with pride that I introduce this resolution with 120 co-sponsors from both sides of the aisle. It is with pride that I serve as a member of this institution, in this building that was built with slave labor, and for which the new Visitors Gallery will be known as Emancipation Hall. It was a gentleman from this side of the aisle, the party of Lincoln, Representative Zach Wamp from my state, and this side of the aisle, Representative Jesse Jackson Jr., who eloquently spoke to a subcommittee of which I'm a member, urging the remembrance and recognition of the work of the slaves who helped construct this magnificent capitol building and have the entryway named Emancipation Hall.

This country had an institution of slavery for 246 years and followed it with Jim Crow laws that denied people equal opportunity under the law. There was segregation in the south and other places in this country, at least through the year 1965 when civil rights laws were passed. There were separate water fountains for people, marked white and colored, there were restaurants, there were separate hotels, there were job opportunities that were not available to African-Americans. There were theaters that were segregated.

It's hard to imagine, in 2008, that such a society existed and was sanctioned by law, that the laws of the nation provided for segregation and enforced slave fugitive slave laws. In fact, the history of slavery goes not just through the Emancipation Proclamation and the 13th, 14th, and 15th amendments to our constitution, but as so eloquently written, just yesterday, in "The Baltimore Sun" in an editorial by Mr. Leonard Pitts Jr., that slavery existed up until about World War II, but it was a form of slavery where people were bought and sold for debts, it was slavery by another name. In a book called Slavery By Another Name by Douglass Blackman, a correspondent for the Wall Street Journal, when he talked about a convict leasing system in the south where in poor black men were routinely snatched up and tried on false petty or nonexistent charges by compliant courts, assessed some fine they could not afford, and then put into the servitude of an individual who bought them. This system continued up until World War II.

The fact is, slavery and Jim Crow are stains upon what is the greatest nation on the face of the earth and the greatest government ever conceived by man. But when we conceived

this government and said all men were created equal we didn't in fact make all men equal, nor did we make women equal. We have worked to form a more perfect union, and part of forming a more perfect union is laws, and part of it is such as resolutions like we have before us today where we face up to our mistakes and we apologize, as anyone should apologize for things that were done in the past that were wrong. And we begin a dialogue that will hopefully lead us to a better understanding of where we are in America today and why certain conditions exist.

In 1997, President Clinton talked to the nation about the problem this country had with race. And he wanted a national dialogue. He considered an apology for slavery. I happened to run into President Clinton at that time, at the Amtrak station here in Washington and discussed with him having an apology for Jim Crow as well as slavery. I encompassed that in a letter dated July 2, 1997 that as a state Senator in Tennessee I wrote to President Clinton. In that letter, I urged him to have a slavery apology and a Jim Crow apology and to mark it on the 30th Anniversary of the Assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, and that event tragically took place in April of 1968 in my city and that the appropriate time for President Clinton to have that apology would be on that 30th anniversary.

In going through my papers as I was elected to congress, I found this letter and I thought about it and I said to myself, you're a member of congress, you don't need to wait on a response

from the President of the United States, which my friend, the president's office, failed to make a response. I can take action myself. So I introduced the resolution in February of 2007 with 120 sponsors joining me as time went on. It is important on this day that we admit our error, that we apologize. I've been in this body and voted with the rest of the body on unanimous voice vote to encourage, this past year, the Japanese Government to apologize for its use of Chinese women as "comfort women" during the war. And not a voice was raised questioning that resolution which passed unanimously on us calling on a foreign country to apologize for its use of "comfort women." Twenty years ago this congress passed a bill apologizing for the internment of Japanese citizens during World War II. In fact, subsequent to the consideration of this resolution, the distinguished lady from California, Ms. Matsui, has a resolution recognizing and celebrating the 20th anniversary of the passage of that bill.



This Congress did the right thing in apologizing for the imprisonment of Japanese-Americans during World War II and in encouraging the Japanese Government to apologize for the use of "comfort women." But the fact that this government has not apologized to its own citizens, African-Americans, for the institution of slavery and for the Jim Crow laws that followed and accepted that fact and encouraged changes in our dialogue and understanding in the actions of this country to rectify that is certainly a mistake. And today we rectify that mistake. This is a symbolic resolution but hopefully it will begin a dialogue where people will open their hearts and their minds to the problems that face this country, from racism that exists in this country on both sides and which must end if we're to go forward as the country that we were created to be and which we are destined to be. So it is with great honor that I speak on this resolution and urge the members of this body to pass this historic resolution, recognize our errors, but also recognize the greatness of this country, because only a great country can recognize and admit its mistakes and then travel forth to create indeed a more perfect union that works to bring people of all races, religions and creeds together in unity as Americans part of the United States of America. Mr. Speaker, I thank you for the time and I urge my colleagues to vote unanimously to pass this resolution today. Thank you.

<http://bit.ly/Congress-Apologizes-for-Slavery>



ACTIVITY: REPARATIONS FROM THE MASTERS HOUSE

DESCRIPTION:

This exercise allows participants to apply a Black queer feminist abolitionist lens to reparations. The exercise is borrowed from our comrades in Wildfire Project.



OBJECTIVES:

Practice applying an abolitionist and Black queer radical feminist reparations lens.



TIME REQUIRED:

30-45 minutes



PARTICIPANTS:

15-20 people



MATERIALS:

Flip chart paper and markers



FORMAT:

Small groups.



SET-UP AND

TECHNOLOGY:

No technology required

The facilitator should reveal four flip charts:

- 1) white supremacy/race;
- 2) capitalism/class;
- 3) hetero-patriarchy/gender and sexuality;
- 4) picture of a house.

Give the following instructions to the participants:

- Let's engage a Black queer feminist reparations lens. For each flip chart, come up with one thing that needs to be **abolished**; one way money from an institution, the state, or a lineage/family could contribute to "repair;" or a vision of a new house.
- Break into **3 groups**: one per flip chart (or six if too many people). Each group has 10 minutes to brainstorm more examples.
- Groups have 1-2 minutes each to share back.

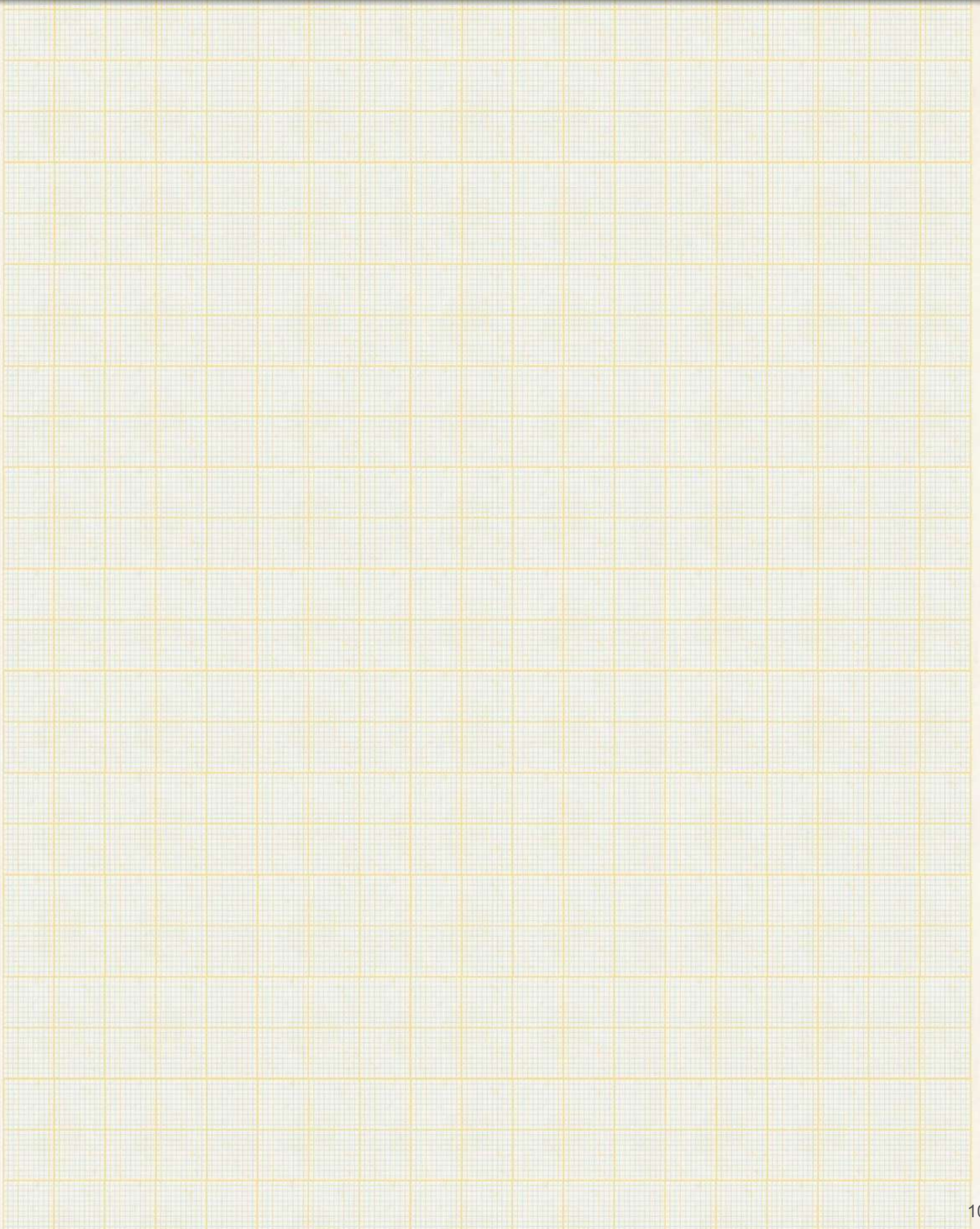
We will call the source of all harm "The Masters House."

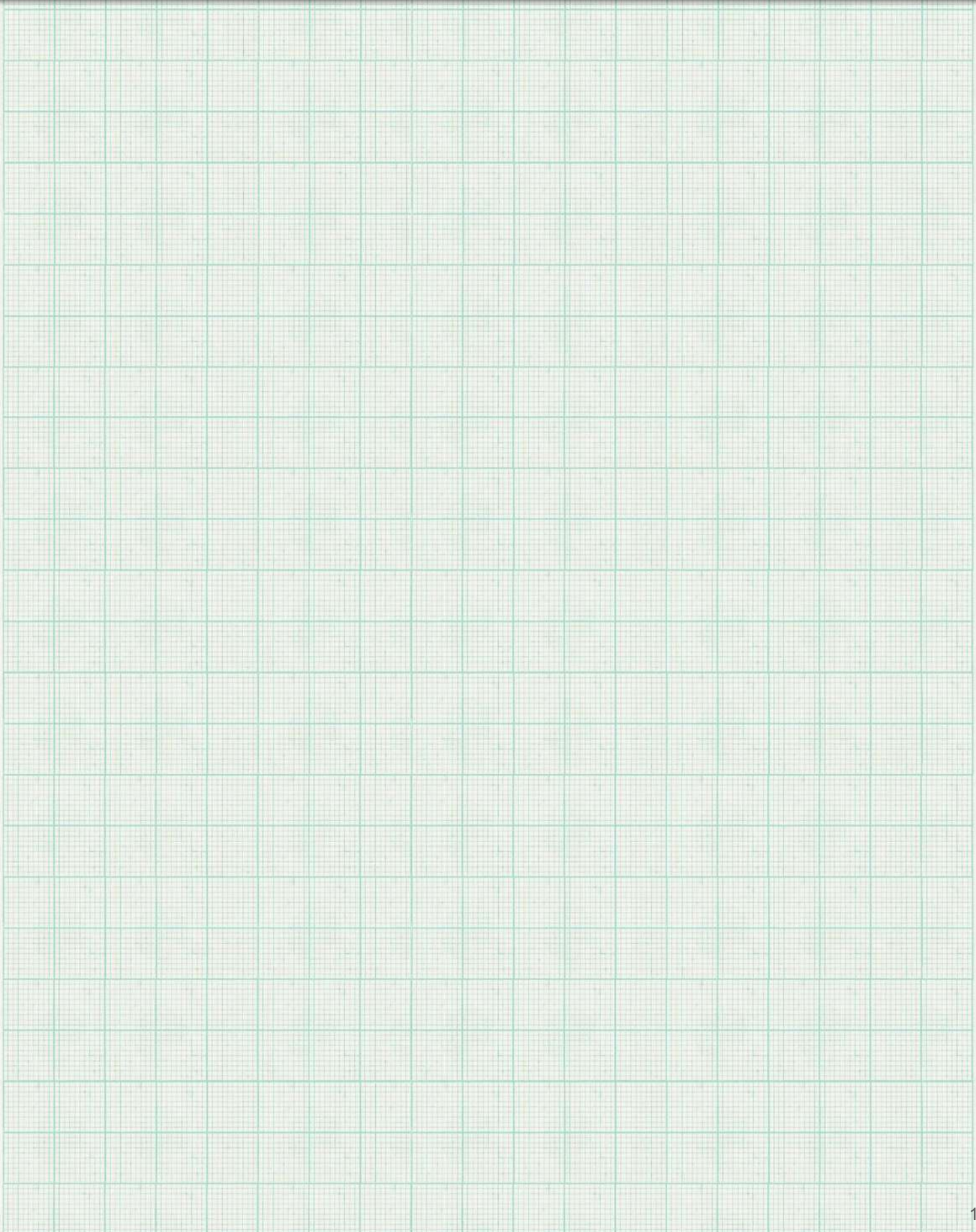
Building the master's house first required displacing people in both Africa and the land now known as the United States, through genocide, kidnapping, and enslaving people.

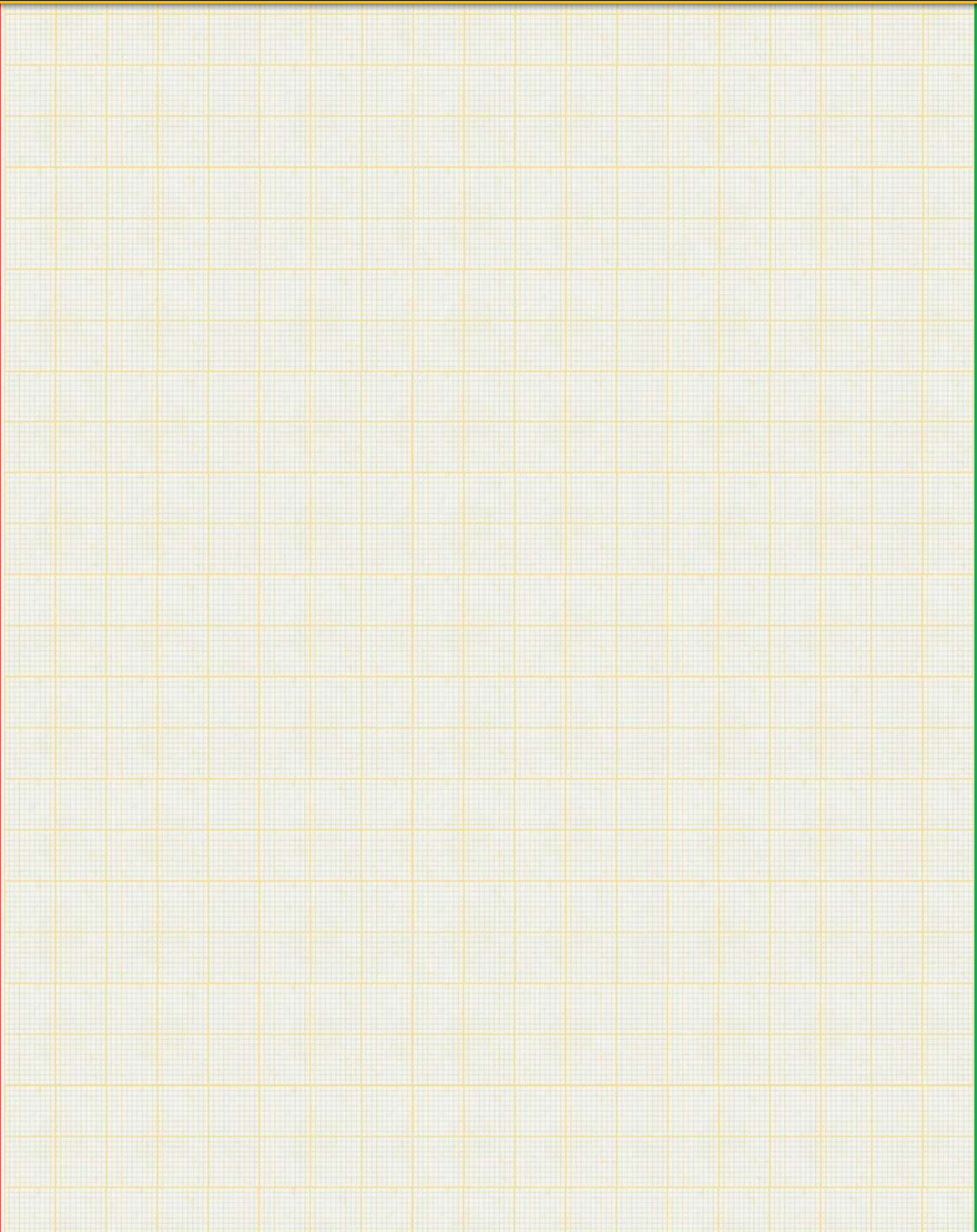
Then, in order to build the house on the stolen land, the intersecting oppressions of **white supremacy**, **heteropatriarchy**, and **racial capitalism** were required. Throughout history and still today this oppression continues to keep the master's house in place.

If reparations must dismantle the master's house, what are all the areas that must be addressed, repaired, abolished?









> GLOSSARY

- **ABLEIST/ABLEISM:** As defined by the Harriet Tubman Collective: a system that places value on people's bodies and minds based on societally-constructed ideas of normalcy, intelligence, and excellence. These ideas are deeply rooted in anti-Blackness, eugenics, and capitalism. This form of systemic oppression leads to people and society writ large determining who is valuable or worthy based on people's appearance and/or their ability to satisfactorily produce, excel, and "behave." Importantly, you do not have to be disabled to experience ableism.
- **BADGES AND INCIDENTS OF SLAVERY:** Ongoing perceptions, discrimination, violence, or state or private policy or action 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.



- **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 passed to their children at birth.
- **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).

- **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.

- **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.

- **GREAT MIGRATION:**

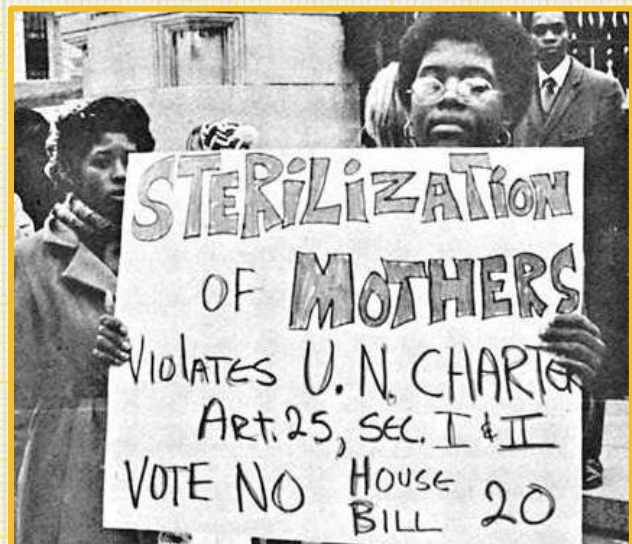
The migration of over 6 million Black people from Southern states to urban areas of the North, Midwest, and West, which occurred between 1916 and 1970 in response to state and state-sponsored terror and discrimination.

- **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.

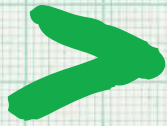


- **JIM CROW:** A derogatory term to refer to a Black man. The Jim Crow period (1877 to the mid-1960s) refers to the period during which segregation and other laws explicitly regulating the behavior of Black people and people of color were in operation, and enforced through policing, criminalization, and racial terror.
- **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.
- **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.
- **REDLINING:** The systematic denial of credit, insurance, or loans to particular communities on a discriminatory basis. The term was coined by sociologist James McKnight in the 1960s based on how lenders literally drew a red line on maps around the neighborhoods they would not invest in based on demographics. 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.
- **REPATRIATION:** Returning a person to a place they were removed from or forced to flee due to a violation of human rights.



- **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.
- **STATUTE OF LIMITATIONS:** A statute prescribing how much time people have to bring certain types of legal actions. Statutes of limitations restrict people's ability to sue people for violations or to indict them for crimes they may have committed if too much time has passed.
- **TRANSATLANTIC SLAVE TRADE:** The kidnapping, transportation and sale of African people in the Americas, which operated from the 1500s to 1808.
- **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.
- **WAR ON DRUGS:** A concerted, militarized campaign led by the United States 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.





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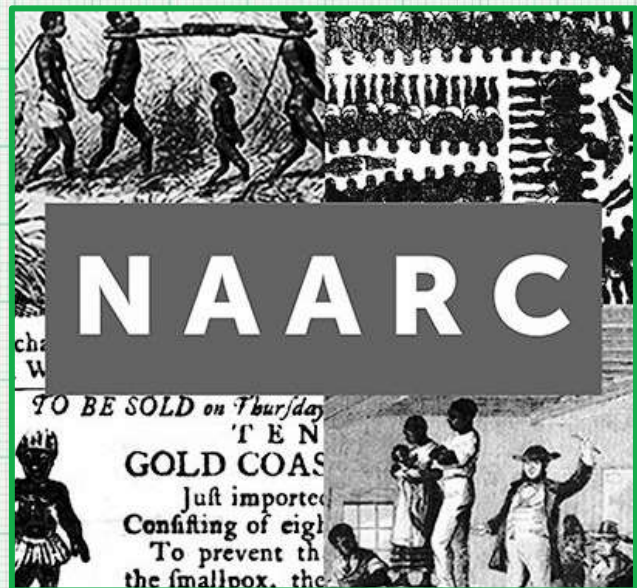
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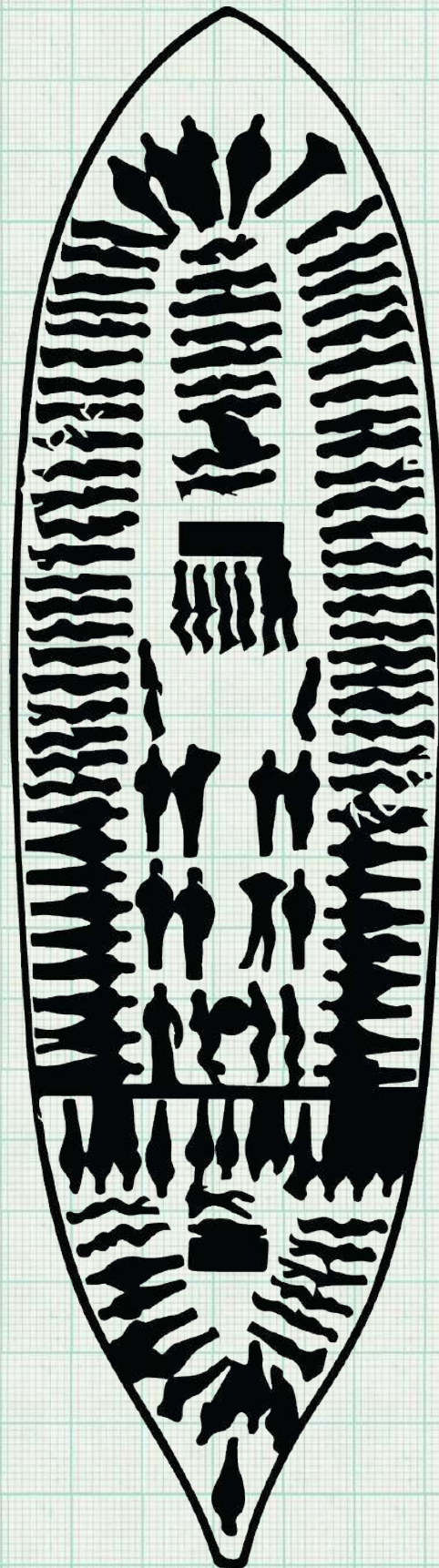
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