



**3<sup>rd</sup>**

**Conference**

**ON REPARATION NOW!**

*"What is the role of the Trade Union Movement within the campaign?"*



**Saturday**  
**.22nd MOSIAH (August) 2009.**

**INFORMATON PACK**

**'OUR MIDDLE PASSAGE HAS NEVER ENDED'**

# 200 Souls lost on overcrowded river boat

An open Letter to Michelle and President Barack Obama! Written by Marleine Bastien, written on behalf of Luscene Augustin and Chandeline Leonard

We are the parents of Luana Augustin, the 8 month-old baby who drowned about May 13, 2009 during the treacherous voyage that changed our lives forever.

Our baby has been freezing in a morgue at the Medical Examiner's Office in West Palm Beach for almost three months now. Why, you ask? Don't we want to bury our baby girl, hold her in our arms one last time? Since we arrived in this country, we've had a hard time sleeping. It is not because of the noise from the other detainees. It is expected.

We are living with hundreds of other honest, hard-working men and women who left our country! Many died. 9 bodies were found, including our baby Luana.

Others will forever be buried in the womb of the Atlantic Ocean. Since our arrival, we've been detained. We yearn to be free to bury our baby girl. Nou tounen Zonbi nan kan-an. (Creole for "We've turned into zombies at the camp.") We can't sleep, we can't eat. Dlo nan je nou paka seche" (*The tears are never dried from our eyes.*)

Our cousin told us that the morgue called regarding our baby and three others. She needs to find a solution for these unclaimed bodies. They've been very understanding, very humane. But we understand. It has been almost three months!

President Obama. Madame Michelle Obama: We know you wonder why we chose to leave Haiti in those conditions, without any documents. Well, if you were in our situation, you probably would have done the same thing. Just imagine waking up every day and not knowing whether you will live to see another day! You might have an altercation with someone more powerful than you. Bang. You're dead.

Who will go to jail? It depends on who committed the crime. If it is a gwo zouzounn (a powerful person), then you're doomed. In Haiti, the wheels of justice are stuck somewhere. Did you know that some of my **brothers and sisters have been sitting in jail there since 2004? No charges, no hearing. Well, I heard that they were supporters of President Aristide.**

Whether you liked the man or not, this is wrong. The seed of democracy cannot grow in a land of injustice. You either charge or release.

Can you imagine waking up daily and not knowing whether you'll find a small piece of bread to feed your baby? You're so emaciated. Your milk has dried up. Our family used to send us money from the U.S, but they stopped. Many no longer work because they are facing deportation! They have no driver's licenses, no working papers. What are we to do? Is it a crime to look for a better life, a future for one's children? Is it a crime to dream?

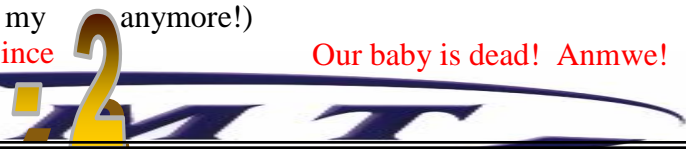
We dream of being in Haiti. Our house is full of people. They are saddened by the loss of our little Luana. They cry with us, they comfort us. They bring us pumpkin soup. They bring us bouillon. They bring us pain patate (sweet potato pie). They hold us tight, they cry. We cry. The entire village is there. It is our culture.

Then they walked with us through a single trail down the mountain to the small cemetery. The road to it is so narrow! We ran past it as children. We didn't want the zombies to catch us. My husband's brother carries the little pink coffin on his head. Then he passes it on to my brother, then to a cousin. All the men in the village wait their turn to carry our Luana. The women cry. They pull out their hair. They are overcome by grief.

It's 4 a.m. The bell rings. The guards bang on the iron door with a heavy metal. The noise is infernal. Who cares? We are not humans. Time to wake up.! Half an hour to shower then to the breakfast line. We can't eat. Our throats are constricted by the pain. Make the line or go on isolation for misbehaviour. It was only a dream. Back to reality. Our baby is dead for almost three months. We can't bury her because we are detained by the U.S. government. What a tragedy!

Mr. President, Madame Obama: Our baby is dead, our baby is dead. Anmwe! Anmwe! (Help! Help!) Nou pa kapab anko! Nou pakab anko! (We can't take it anymore!)

**Our baby is dead! Anmwe!**



EXTRACT FROM

## Britain to track slave trade money



Henry (left) and Shepherd.

THE BRITISH government has earmarked over £600,000 for the [University College](#), London (UCL), to carry out an in-depth study to measure how monies accrued from the slave trade were spent.

The study will look into those British companies and institutions established from the profits of slavery. The government has said that the study should highlight how the owners were involved and how they contributed to the provision of social services.

**Encouraging development** [University](#) of the West Indies (UWI) professor of history, Verene Shepherd, has hailed the development as encouraging.

"This major project has the potential to add strong support to the reparation movement," Shepherd said. She added: "It will place the matter of culpability for African enslavement - that great crime against humanity - squarely on the table and will allow an unambiguous naming of those who benefited from the labour and productive skills of enslaved Africans in the Caribbean."

Meanwhile, another UWI professor, Barry Chevannes, who is chairman of the National Commission on Reparations, told **The Sunday Gleaner** that he was looking forward to the research.

"It is an exciting piece of research. It is the kind of study which will certainly enrich the work of the commission and something that we will be very interested in," Chevannes told **The Sunday Gleaner**.

But Government minister Mike Henry, a champion in the fight for reparation, is not salivating at the [grant](#) by the British government to research the beneficiaries of the slave trade.

"It is a sleight-of-hand approach," Henry told **The Sunday Gleaner**.

"They already know who are the beneficiaries of the slave trade. They have enough material to show who benefited. This money should go towards paying the descendants of the slaves, rather than studying to escape the responsibility, or to reduce what they must be asked to pay," Henry added.

Henry said that up to last week, he discussed the matter with an international Lawyer and he intended to pursue the issue of slavery and reparation at the International Court of Justice.



# 12:00

## Conference will open with Afrikan Drummers



We are at war! Afrikan Drums are calling you. Calling you to war  
 Calling you to war War for Justice War to put right over 4 hundred years of injustice.  
 Bring with you all of your weapons of war and justice.  
 Bring along with you all, clear minds focus on fighting for justice  
 Bring along your clear minds of balance, judgment and justice.  
 Bring with you the will and stamina to fight to the bitter end.  
 Bring along your solidarity for those who do not yet know that they are in a war.  
 Bring along your solidarity for those who have fall before us.  
 Bring along your solidarity for those who are yet to be born and enter the fight.  
 Bring along your hope and determination that we should fight such a fight so that  
 those yet to come will never have to enter such a fight.  
 Bring along your might powers you might people. Bring along your might power  
 Such powers that no other need hear the drums calling them to war.

# 12:10

## RMT BEM's Chair Introduction & Welcome



*Recognises that the enslavement of Afrikans are among the worst violations of human rights in the history of humanity, bearing in mind particularly their scale and duration.*

*Is deeply concerned that it has taken the international community almost two hundred years to acknowledge that this was a crime against humanity and should always have been so.*

*Recalls that 'slavery' and the 'slave trade' were declared a crime against humanity by the World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance, held in Durban, South Africa from 31<sup>st</sup> August to 8<sup>th</sup> September 2001, at which the RMT sent a delegation. Acknowledges that the slave trade and the legacy of slavery are at the heart of situations of profound social and economic inequality, hatred, bigotry, racism and prejudice, which continue to affect Afrikan descendants and all people today.*

*This AGM asks that we help in countering the continued impact of Afrikan enslavement by supporting the Afrikans call for reparation.*

*Recognises the knowledge gap that exists with regard to the consequences of enslavement, and on the interactions, past and present, generated among the peoples of Europe, with people from Africa, Asia and the Americas, including the Caribbean.*

Why are we here? How has a relatively small number of BEM Activists managed to get the RMT to not only hold this conference, but also turned it into an annual event. The motion that started it all:-

*"That this Annual General Meeting reaffirms the Universal Declaration of Human Rights which proclaimed that no-one shall be held in slavery or servitude and that slavery and the so-called 'slave trade' shall be prohibited in all their forms.*

*Recalls that the transatlantic 'slave trade', which operated between the fifteenth and late nineteenth centuries involved the forced transportation of millions of Afrikans to the Americas and Europe, thereby enriching the imperial powers of the time.*

*Honours the memory to those who died as a result, in to the horrors of the middle passage and in countless revolts against enslavements and resistance to enslavement.*

*Urges the Union to help to develop educational programmes, designed to education future generations and understanding of the lessons, history and consequences of slavery and the 'slave trade'.*

# Setting the Agenda

**12:20**

**Judy Richard**

**UNISON Delegate to Geneva & GAC IWC Representative**



## **The role of the trade union**

Judy has been on Liberation road for many years. One of the Founder members of NALGO - Now Unison - Black Members Committees, Judy has continued her role in organising Black Trade Unionist. A Founder members of Global Afrikan Congress (GAC) and delegate to it first conference in Barbados, she is now one of two Afrikans living in europe on the GAC's international Working Committee (IWC) ensuring that the voice of european trade unions is heard within all Reparation campaigns.

**12:40**

**Vaughan Gething**

**Former President TUC Wales and a Thompson Lawyers**



## **The Legal implication of winning Reparation**

A number of British government official have repeatedly refused to apologies for Afrikan enslavement claiming that this would make the state liable for legal action against it. Is this true? Should it matter to us? Vaughan was the first every Black president of the Wales Trade Union Congress (TUC) elected for a year till May 2008. He is also a partner at Thompson Solicitors and person responsible to speak on the subject of Reparation. So what is the role of the trade union and how can our Comrades in the legal section of the movement help the campaign?

**13:00**

**Brother Omowale**

**Global Pan Afrikanist, Afrikan Teacher and Educator**



## **History of Toussaint L'Ouverture and Haiti**

Haiti, and its history is a 'touchstone' of any real campaign for Reparation. The revolution carried out in Haiti by enslaved Afrikan women and men working in concert, was a world shattering event. It represented the all time single most important symbol of Afrikan people's resistance to imperialism's genocidal chattel slavery form of exploitation. The victorious Haitian revolution lasted from 1791 – 1804 and during that time Afrikan revolutionaries' defeated British imperialism twice, French imperialism twice, Spanish imperialism twice and on top of that they defeated the class of lighter skinned Afrikans in Haiti when they made the error of trying to re-impose slavery on the island (Man's Unconquerable Mind).

**13:20**

*Short Questions and Answers to Vaughan, time permitting.*

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13:30

# Keynote Speaker



## Saladin Mohammed

Black Trade Unionist in the deep south of the United States not only have to fight racism on the street and from the bosses within the boardrooms, but they are also expected to fight racism in the union halls as well.

Northern base trade union Leadership are refusing to organise in the South

because *'Black members have too many problems, and are harder to organise'*! They ignore the open attacks and violations upon the pay and condition of these very same workers by their own bosses. This makes the need for a rank and file, *self organised group*, any progressive rank and file organisation, very clear. This has been fulfilled over many years by Black Worker for Justice (BWFJ)

Saladin Mohammed is a retired member of the United Electrical Workers Union (UE), and one of the Founding members of BWFJ after whom BWJ-e in the UK is an offshoot, along with others.

Saladin is Coordinator of the UE's International Worker Justice Campaign, having being an activist in the US and international struggle for Black liberation and workers power for over 40 years.

Saladin was a delegate to the 3<sup>rd</sup> UN World Conference Against Racism (WCAR), the founding conference of EARN (European Anti Racist Network) and a international delegate to the TUC Black Workers Conference on more than one occasion.





**14:30**

*Questions, Answers and Contribution (QAC)*

At this point of the agenda, delegates will be given their chance to ask all the Presenters questions (with the exception of Vaughan Gething) getting answers and making contributions.

**15:00**

**Establishing structures and the work ahead**

**UNITING THE MOVEMENT BEHIND THE REPARATION CAMPAIGN**

**OPEN DISCUSSION**

*Every UK trade union and most, if not all of those in Europe have policy to fight against racism, and would have at one time or another have been part of the decision to support the calls for Reparation either as part of a TUC Black Workers conference or the annual National congress. Yet, almost 3 years after a well know and major trade union such as the RMT has agreed to join the campaign for Reparation, non of the others have joined us, No Black structure within these union have made no meaningful effort to joined us, and no national structure have been establish. Conference is being asked to make recommendation and give solutions to the following:-*

- 1) Establishing a National network of trade union 'Reparationist'
- 2) How we can help to build links with the Afrikan community
- 3) Agree a means, whereby supporters and warriors can readily and easily identify themselves and each other as someone associated with the campaign for of the Reparation.

**16:00**

**SOCIAL**

**SPONSORED BY Trade Union Solicitors Thompson**

**Directly After Conference**

**Pinner Cafe No. 44 Directly Oposite Unity House**

**7**

**RMT**



The RMT's first Conference on Reparation was held on the 23<sup>rd</sup> August 2007 at the University of South London with guest speaker Ray Windbush author of the book *"Should America Pay"* which was also on sale at the conference and now forms a part of the RMT reference reading list.

Along with our International Speakers were a wide array of Local Presenters and academics such as Dr Robert Beckford, Dr Lez Henry, Dr Kimani Nehusi and Omowale who will be with us again this year making a presentation on Haiti.

As Haiti was and will always be the main foundation of our Campaign, we also invited Yanus Bakhsh of UNISON to address the conference on racism.

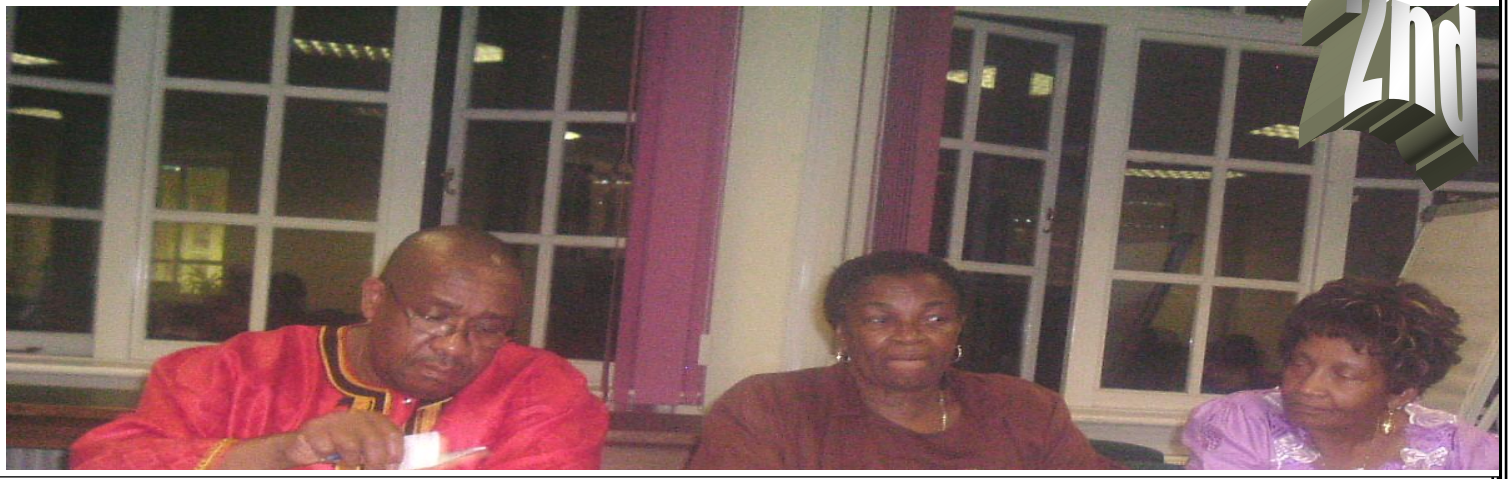
The meetings was also address by both Bob Crow RMT's General Secretary, and John Leach National President, and Bob was part of a panel discussion along with Regional Council's Political Education Officer and Barbara Hermans BEM Activist to answer question on what will the trade union movement contribute to the campaign for Reparation. During this session the proposal was put forward that one way could be to hold an annual conference.

There were also five workshops on:-

- Afrikan History, before the "Interruption".
- The White working class and their fight against Enslavement
- The History of Reparation and the crimes against humanity,
- Company & Families who profited from enslavement
- Post Traumatic Slave Syndrome.



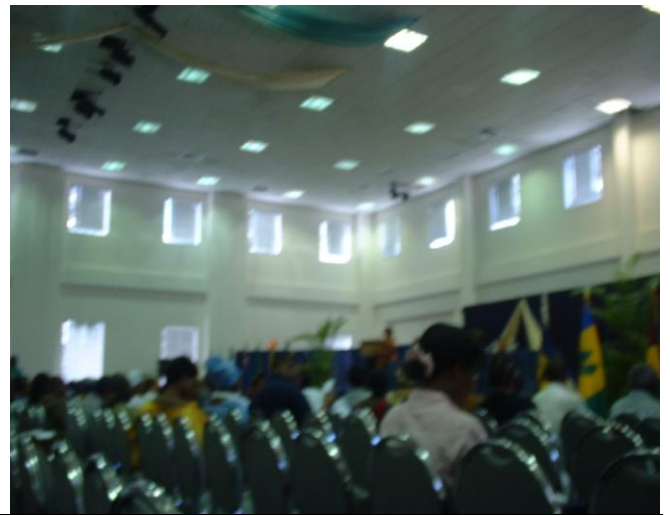




**In 2007**, Black and Ethnic members (BEM) within the RMT were so engrossed in the first and very successful Cleaners Grade strike on London Underground that we almost forgot about the Annual Reparation conference.

It is a testimony to the RMT and its BEM Activists that within a few week, in July, indeed while we were fighting a rearguard battle with the cleaning companies against mass sacking of our Activists, we were still able to find time to organised so that we could have International Speakers in attendance. This time from Canada, Cikiah Thomas the International Chair of Global Afrikan Congress and one of the organisations sponsoring this year's conference along with ARM (African Reparation Movement). Our 2nd Speaker was Queen Mother Dorothy Lewis former Co Chair of N'COBRA (North America Congress Black Reparation Activists)

After a very poorly attended conference on the 23<sup>rd</sup> August, we were also able to organise a speaking tour for the two Speakers so that they could address other trade union branches and other Reparation & Community organisations.



Conference in 2008, as this year, is being held in the Board room of Unity House





## Global Afrikan Congress Congressuk

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### THE MINIMUM EXPECTATION FROM DURBAN II

Global Afrikan Congressuk (GACuk) are campaigning to ensure the following are the very minimum outcome to our demands of Durban II; Review process.

1. Language agreed upon during the 2001 United Nations World Conference Against Racism in Durban, South Afrika which declared the Trans Atlantic Slave Trade as a “*Crime Against Humanity*” must be restored in the United Nations official document
- 2 The specific word “*Reparations*” and the specific phrase “Trans Atlantic Slave Trade” must be restored to the document
- 3 A permanent forum must be established by and for those who define themselves as “Afrikan” or “African Descendants”

We further note and recognised that the above represent standing still.

We will have returned to where we started in 2001.

This standing still will give the international community more time to continue doing nothing while our people continue to fall victim to global racism.

Our campaign within the UK, has gained the support of some Members of Parliament (MPs) who have endorsed the Early Day Motion (EDM) below.

We continue to campaign for the support of others members.

“That this House recognises the importance of the forthcoming Durban Review Conference to be held in Geneva in April 2009; recalls the declaration of the previous World Conference Against Racism held in Durban in 2001 which emphasised the importance of the provision of effective remedies, recourse, redress, and compensatory and other measures at the national, regional and international levels, aimed at countering the continued impact of slavery and the slave trade; and urges the Government to support proposals for action at the Review to ensure that the recommendations of the Durban Declaration and Programme of Action are put into practice.”

To date none of the few Afrikans elected to the House of Commons have carried out any role related to the Durban Declaration and program of Action.

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It is feared that the elevation of most into government has been a process whereby they will be seen and not heard, where they have been led to believe that 'the accepted humble calf sucks the most milk'. This has not been our experience of British politic. When they realise this their time will have passed.

Afrikan people in the UK are being driven toward forced integration with demands such as 'Britishness' test that many born in this country could not pass. These amount to prolonged and continued enslavement for which reparation are due. Reparation is at the heart of our organisation.

Global Afrikan Congress is an international Non Government organisation with Chapters around the world in all of the recognised global regions.

In Durban I South Afrika, the Genesis of our organisation was conceived within the Afrikans and Afrikan Descendant's Caucus (AADC) who were responsible for leading the campaign and ensuring that when the US and other States started to attack smaller nations delegations in Durban on the issue of Reparation and Colonialism we were there and in place to counter these attacks.

A year later in 2002 at the United Nations Afrikans and Afrikan Descendent World Conference Against Racism in Bridgetown Barbados, our international Global Afrikan Congress was born.

Whilst the world had it's head turned after September 11, toward towards the so called "war against Terrorism" the Global Afrikan Community did not lose sight of the gains that had been made in Durban I.

Whilst the events at our shaky birthday cannot be ignored, our creation and continued existence are testaments to our triumph within the face of those who would not wish to see our people progress.

Out of Barbados came our Bridgetown Protocol which can be found at [www.globalafrikancongress.org](http://www.globalafrikancongress.org). Our website also reports on our second conference in Suriname South America where we agreed our constitution.

Gee Bernard  
GACuk Co Chair and Delegate



[www.globalafrikancongress.com](http://www.globalafrikancongress.com)

**Co – Chairs** Gee Bernard/Kimani Nehusi, **Youth Dean** Crumbie, **Publicity** Dr Abo Jaatata, **Secretary** Glenroy watson, **Elder** Martha Osamor and Anthony Gill, **Treasure** Martin Seaton, **Membership Secretary** Alex Ellington, **Spiritual Priestess** Ifayoriju **Campaign Coordinator** Minka Adofo, **Press Officer** Funmi Alders **Educational** Eddie Beresford







## Reparations and A New Global Order: A Comparative Overview

by Professor Chinweizu

A paper read at the second Plenary Session of the First Pan-African Conference on Reparations, Abuja, Nigeria, April 27, 1993

Contemplating the condition of the Black World is vexatious to the spirit: that is probably the strongest impetus which has brought us all here today.

For many centuries, and especially in the last five, the black skin has been a badge of contempt. or instance, it used to be said in Brazil that if you are white and running down the street, you are an athlete; but if you are black and running down the street, you are a thief! And in most parts of the world today, if you are white and rich, you are honoured and celebrated, and all doors fly open as you approach; but if you are black and rich, you are under suspicion, and handcuffs and guard dogs stand ready to take you away.

Yes, the black skin is still the badge of contempt in the world today, as it has been for nearly 2,000 years. To make sure it does not remain so in the 21st century is perhaps the overall purpose of our search for reparations.

We are gathered here today, thinkers and activists who want to change Black People's condition in the world. What things do we need to change, both in the world and in ourselves, if we are to accomplish the mission of reparations? What changes must we make in structures, in psychology, in historical consciousness and much else?

We might begin by noting that Blacks are not the only people in the world who are seeking, or who have sought, reparations. In fact, by only now pressing our claim for reparations, we are latecomers to a varied company of peoples in the **Americans, in Asia, and in Europe. Here is a partial catalogue of reparations, paid and pending, which are 20<sup>th</sup> century precedents for reparations to the Black World.**

In the Americas, from Southern Chile to the Arctic north of Canada, reparations are being sought and being made. The Mapuche, an aboriginal people of Southern Chile, are pressing for the return of their lands, some 30 million hectares of which were, bit by bit, taken away and given to European immigrants since 1540. The Inuit of Arctic Canada, more commonly known as the Eskimo, were in 192 offered restitution of some 850,000 sq. miles of their ancestral lands, their home range for millennia before European invaders arrived there.

In the USA, claims by the Sioux to the Black Lands of South Dakota are now in the courts. And the US Government is attempting to give some 400,000 acres of grazing land to the Navaho, and some other lands to the Hopi in the south-west of the USA.

In 1938, the US Government admitted wrongdoing in interning some 120,000 Japanese-Americans under Executive Order 9066 of 1942, during WW II, and awarded each internee \$20,000. Earlier on, and further afield, under the Thompson- Urrutia Treaty of 1921, the USA paid Colombia reparations, including the sum of \$25 million, for excising the territory of Panama from Colombia for the purpose of building Panama Canal.

In Asia, following WW II, Japan paid reparations, mostly to the Asian countries it had occupied. By May 1949, \$39 million had been paid from Japanese assets in Japan, and another unspecified amount had been paid from Japanese assets held outside Japan. And Japan was obliged to sign treaties of reparations with Burma (1954), the Philippines (1956), and Indonesia (1958). More recently, the Emperor of Japan has **apologised to Korea for atrocities committed there by the Japanese, and North Korea is asking for \$5 billion in reparations for damages sustained during 35 years of Japanese colonisation.**

In Europe after WW II, the victors demanded reparations from Germany for all damages to civilians and their dependants, for losses caused by the maltreatment of prisoners of war, and for all non-military property that was destroyed in the war. In 1921, Germany's reparations liability was fixed at 132 billion gold marks. After WW II, the victorious Allies fled reparations claims against Germany for \$320 billion. Reparations were also levied on Italy and Finland. The items for which these claims were made included bodily loss, loss of liberty, loss of property, injury to professional careers, dislocation and forced emigration time spent in concentration camps because of racial, religious and political persecution. Others were the social cost of war, as represented by the burden from loss of life, social disorder, and institutional disorder; and the economic cost of war, as represented by the capital destroyed and the value of civilian goods and services foregone to make war goods. Payments were made in cash and kind -- goods, services, capital equipment, land, farm and forest products; and penalties were added for late deliveries.

Perhaps the most famous case of reparations was that paid by Germany to the Jews. These were paid by West Germany to Israel for crimes against Jews in territories controlled by Hitler's Germany, and to individuals to indemnify them for persecution. In the initial phase, these included \$2 billion to make amends to victims of Nazi persecution; \$952 million in personal indemnities; \$35.70 per month per inmate of concentration camps; pensions for the survivors of victims; \$820 million to Israel to resettle 50,000 Jewish emigrants from lands formerly controlled by Hitler. All that was just the beginning. Other, and largely undisclosed, payments followed. And even in 1992, the World Jewish Congress in New York announced that the newly unified Germany would pay compensation, totalling \$63 million for 1993, to 50,000 Jews who suffered Nazi persecution but had not been paid reparations because they lived in East Germany.

'With such precedents of reparations to non-Black peoples in four continents, it would be sheer racism for the world to discountenance reparations claims from the Black World.

But our own search for reparations must, of necessity, be tailored to our peculiar condition, to our peculiar experience. Some others may need only that their ancestral home range be returned to them; some others that they be compensated for the indignities of internment and the loss of citizen rights; some others that acts of genocide and other

atrocities against their people be atoned or and paid or; some others that lands excised from their territory be paid for.

We, however, who have experienced all of the above and more, and experienced them for much longer than most, and therefore suffer chronically from their effects -- we must take a more comprehensive view of what reparations must mean for us. We must ask not only that reparations be made for specific acts, or that restitution be made of specific properties; we who have been such monumental victims are obliged to also ask: What sorts of system, capitalist as well as pre-capitalist, with their values and world outlook, made this long holocaust possible; and what must be done to transform these systems into some other kind where holocaust could not be inflicted on us? Unless we address and effectively answer that question, our quest for reparations would be flawed and incomplete. We must therefore look into the nature of the old existing global order and see what needs to be done to change it for the better.

The hallmarks of the old global order, which was initiated by the voyage by Columbus may be summarised as a propensity for perpetrating holocaust, a devotion to exploitation, and a passion for necrophobia. It has inflicted holocaust, through genocide and culturecide -- but not only on the Black World; it has visited exploitation, through slavery and colonialism -- but not only on the Black World; but it has reserved for the Black World a special scourge: that virulent strain of racism known as Negrophobia!

That old global order just described is not a thing of the past; It is still very much with us. In different parts of the world today, In 1993, even as we sit here in this hall, Blacks are still being subjected to the holocaust of genocide and culturecide (as in the Sudan); to the exploitations of slavery (as in Mauritania), and of colonialism and neo-colonialism (as in every part of the Black World; and to negrophobia, in all its forms and degrees, throughout the entire globe.

To end this dreadful condition and to make all the appropriate repairs, i.e. reparations, we need to move from this old global order, where holocaust happened to us, to a different global order where holocaust will never happen to us.

We need to move from this old global order.

Which sucks resources out of our veins and piles debt upon our heads, to a different global order in which our enormous resources shall serve our own prosperity.

We need to move from this old global order, which is permeated with negrophobia, to a new global order that is cleansed of negrophobia, one where we would live in dignity and equality with all the other races of humanly

Now, what are we, the Black World, going to contribute to the making of these changes?

Let me begin by noting that reparation is not just about money: it is not even mostly about money; in fact, money is not even one percent of what reparation is about. Reparation is mostly about making repairs. self-made repairs, on ourselves: mental repairs, psychological repairs, cultural repairs, organisational repairs, social repairs, institutional repairs, technological repairs, economic repairs. political repairs, educational repairs, repairs of every type that we need in order to recreate and sustainable black societies. For the sad truth is that five centuries of holocaust have made our societies brittle and unviable. And as the great Marcus Garvey warned over 50 years ago, if we continue as we re, we are heading for extinction.

More important than any monies to be received; more fundamental than any lands to be recovered, is the opportunity the reparations campaign offers us for the rehabilitation of Black people, by Black people, for Black people; opportunities for the rehabilitation of our minds, our material condition, our collective reputation. our cultures, our memories, our self-respect, our religious, our political traditions and our family institutions; but first and foremost for the rehabilitation of our minds.

Let me repeat that the most important aspect of reparation is not the money the campaign may or may not bring: the most important part of reparation is our self-repair; the change it will bring about in our understanding of our history, of ourselves, and of our destiny; the chance it will bring about in our place in the world.

Now, we who are campaigning or reparations cannot hope to change the world without changing ourselves. We cannot hope to change the world without changing our ways o seeing the world, our ways o thinking about the world, our ways of organising our world, our ways of working and **dreaming in our world.**

**All these, and more, must change for the better.**

The type of Black Man and Black woman that was made by the holocaust -- that was made to feel inferior by slavery and then was steeped in colonial attitudes and values -- that type of Black will not be able to bring the post-reparation global order into being without changing profoundly in the process that has begun; that type of Black will not be even appropriate for the post-reparation global order unless thoroughly and suitably reconstructed. So, reparation, like charity, must begin with ourselves, with the making of the new Black person, with he .making of a new Black World. How?

We must begin by asking ourselves: What weaknesses on our side made the holocaust possible? Weaknesses of organisation?

Weakness of solidarity? Weaknesses of identity? Weaknesses of mentality? Weaknesses of behaviour? If we do not correct such weaknesses, even if we got billions of billions of dollars in reparations money, even 1 we got back all our expropriated land, we would fritter it all away yet again, and recycle it all back ,into alien hands.

We must therefore find out what deficiencies in our sense of identity what quirks in our mentality, what faults in our feelings solidarity made it possible for some of us to sell some of us into bondage; still make it possible for us to succumb to the divide and conquer tactics of our exploiters; make it possible for all too many of us to be afflicted with Negro necrophobia -- our counterpart of the self-hating disease of the anti-Semitic Semite. Twenty years ago, when I was writing *The West and the Rest of Us*, I gave it a subtitle: "White Predators, Black Slavers and the African Elite". That was to serve notice that we cannot overlook our complicity, as Black Slavers and as the African Elite, in what happened, and is still happening to us. We must, therefore, change ourselves in order to end our criminal complicity in perpetuating our lamentable condition.

Beyond all that, we must discover where we now are in our history. We must recognise that in 36 years of independence, reckoning from Ghana's in 1957 (just four years short of the 40 years the Israelites spent in the wilderness!), we have been blundering about in the neo-colonial wilderness. And we must ask: Why did Moses lead his people into the wilderness and keep them wandering about for two generations?

**I do not believe that he, a learned man raised in the pharaoh's court, did not know the direct route to his people's Promised Land.**



I believe it was a dilatory sojourn whose tribulations were calculated to cure his people of the legacy of slavery.

You can't make a free people out of slaves without first putting them through experiences that would purge them of the slave mentality.

We, in our own wilderness years, need to take conscious steps to purge ourselves of the legacy of a 500 year holocaust of slavery and colonialism. In that way, when we finally arrive at our own Promised Land a Black World cured of the holocaust legacy -- we would be ready for the new liberated phase of our long adventure on this Earth.

To help us get our bearings in this wilderness phase, I would suggest four main measures:

1. **The creation of Holocaust Monuments in all parts of the Black World**, as reminders of what we have been through and are determined never again to go through. Efforts already being made in this area should continue and be added to. I am thinking, for instance, of the Goree Island Project in Senegal, and the Slave Route Project in Benin Republic. But let me recommend a major monument here in Abuja, this new capital rising in a zone that, in the past, witnessed intensive slave raiding for the trans-Sahara slave trade. We should erect here a monument complex that portrays scenes from the Black Holocaust, scenes taken from all parts of the world; a great Black Holocaust Monument that shall serve as the Black World's counterpart of the Wailing Wall of the Jews in Jerusalem.
2. **The institution of a Holocaust Memorial Day**, to be observed each year throughout the Black World, as a day of mourning and remembrance. with solemn ceremonies at local holocaust monuments. Perhaps this date, April 27, on which we have assembled here, should be designated the Holocaust Memorial Day of the Black World.
3. **The creation of a Black Heritage Education Curriculum**, to teach us our true history, and thereby restore our self-worth as descendants of the pioneers of world civilisation, and supply us with the antidote to the White Supremacist Ideology and its damaging effects. This would produce a post-holocaust Black personality, one cured of the debilities inflicted by the holocaust experience.

4. **The creation of a Black World League of Nations**, with its complex of institutions, to take care of our collective security, to foster solidarity and prosperity among us, and to prevent the infliction of any future damage on any part of the Black World.

These measures, and others like them, would teach us who we are what we have been and ought to become, and would promote and concretise Black World solidarity. Having made such internal changes in ourselves and in our world, we would be better able to foster in the entire global order two key changes:

- a. A different view of global history, particularly of the last 500 years, and of the millennia before 525 BC -- that calamitous year when Black Egypt fell permanently to white invaders, leaving all of Africa open for incursions from West Eurasia; and
- b. structural changes that would block the possibility of future damage of the sorts for which we now seek reparations.

To conclude, let me note that, for us, no global order would be truly new without apologies for ancient wrongs, without an end to continuing wrongs, without reparations, without restitutions, without the creation of systems and mechanisms that would ensure that the holocaust we have been through never happens again. Our crusade for reparations would be completed only when we achieve a global order without necrophobia, without alien hegemony over any part of the Black World, and without the possibility of holocaust. From our perspective, a global order which failed to meet such conditions would not really be new or adequate: It would be an order serving us the same old bitter wine in some new bottle.

From here today, I foresee a day when we too shall get back our expropriated lands; I foresee a day when we too shall get compensation for our losses and our pains; I foresee a day when negrophobia and the conditions which foster it shall have vanished from the earth. But between now and that day, much work waits to be done. The most serious part of that work is the work of self rehabilitation. And so I say: *"Black Soul, Heal Thyself, and all shall be restored to you"*.

# Making the Case for Reparation

When Chattel enslavement ended - not in 1807 as some would like us to believe – but in 1838, it was simply replaced by bonded enslavement whereby these same ‘freed’ Afrikan were forced to work on the very same plantation from which they had been ‘freed’.

Worst still, the people who had for so many years been exploiting, brutalizing, raping and murdering them were compensated for these crimes, by the very same government who wanted to claim credit for their freedom.

Not one Afrikan has ever been compensated!

For us, as Trade Unionist, the argument is very simple, if we put aside the vicious, inhuman and barbaric way in which Afrikan people were treated - but we must never forget it - Workers were not paid; Deferred wages “*getting lashes instead salary*”. When these wrongs were finally admitted, Afrikans were still not paid. Instead, the exploitation simply continued as another form of enslavement. **Nuff said! Case made?**

## It would seem not!

This conference has been called to reflect the continuing effect that the enslavement of Afrikan people has had on the Black working class in particular and a global working class.

In 2001 the UN World Conference Against Racism declared enslavement of Afrikan people a crime against Humanity. (you there Mr. Brown?) This means it has no statute of limitation and Reparation must be obtained.

In February 2006, the Church voted to apologise to the descendants of victims of enslavement, recognising the damage done.

## It's a start, but is an apology enough?

The Bank of England made capital available for ships voyages and the City became the financial centre of the trade in slave. Even the term ‘*being in the Black*’ was associated with when the organisation concerned had ‘**Blacks**’.

Lloyds of London insured slave voyages. There were cases where Captains dumped their ‘*entire cargo*’ overboard because they had not stored enough food. They later won sizable claim from insurance companies.

Alexander and David Barclay were ‘*slave traders*’ who operated in the West Indies, and later founded Barclay’s Bank with their profits. Likewise Sir Francis Baring had major financial interests in slavery.

His family eventually founded Barings Bank.

Would an apology from the benefactors and descendant of the above be enough to indemnify the wrongs committed?

There are countless examples of these benefactors still pedalling their wares of oppression globally, never proffered regrets.

Our annual conference is always held in August because in 1791, a brave group of Afrikans on the island of San Domingo rose up and fought against the heinous crime of enslavement. This was the richest and cruellest colony in the Western Hemisphere. More than one third of Afrikans died within a few years of being taken there. Led by Toussaint L’Ouverture they took on the then Super Powers of France, England and Spain and were victorious and in January 1804 they established the first free Afrikan state outside of Afrika, called Haiti. This tiny but power nation was broken with revenge attacks and reparation payment to France, to the point where today it cannot feed its own people.



Global Afrikan Congress

