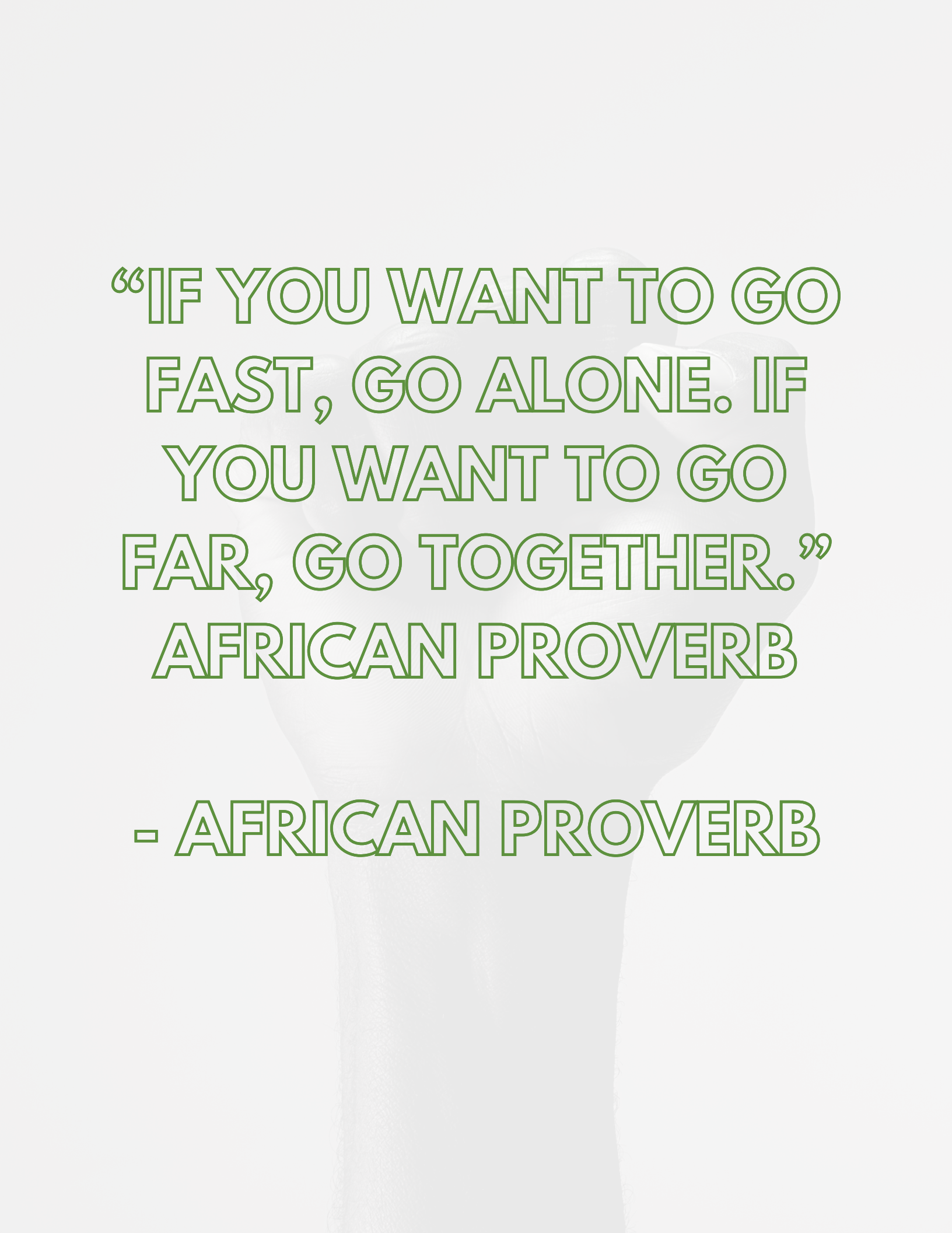




MAKING REPARATIONS

A TOOLKIT





“IF YOU WANT TO GO
FAST, GO ALONE. IF
YOU WANT TO GO
FAR, GO TOGETHER.”
AFRICAN PROVERB

- AFRICAN PROVERB

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HOW TO USE THIS TOOLKIT

This toolkit is intended to be as accessible as possible. For that reason, please see below to learn more about how to navigate this resource. The goal of this toolkit is to provide a roadmap on how to achieve reparations in your community.

You will find a host of information on the history of reparations, what the term means in a variety of contexts, what it looks like depending on the harm, and who and what you can look to, to build your organizing foundation. Whether you are new to organizing or well-versed, this toolkit is for YOU!

In connection to The Big Payback, we have seen that the road to reparations has not been without struggle. But it is a struggle that we have all inherited when we are called to show up for others. As best stated by the great Assata Shakur:

**“It is our duty to fight for our freedom.
It is our duty to win.
We must love each other and support each other.
We have nothing to lose but our chains.”**

So we urge you to take this opportunity to show up. Let us learn how to show up and show out in support of one another. All power to the people.



If you are accessing or using this document virtually, any time you notice an arrow and a piece of text underlined in green, you will be able to click it to be taken directly to a source of information.



If you are accessing or using this document virtually any time you notice a 'play' symbol, you are being asked to revisit the film at the mentioned timecode to help you reflect on the discussion questions.

A WORD FROM **ROBIN RUE SIMMONS: FOUNDER & CHIEF EXECUTIVE
OF FIRSTREPAIR**

The demand for reparations for people of African descent has been a multi-century movement. The crimes of the trans-Atlantic slave trade and all its legacies have devastated Black communities in America and sustained racial gaps for over four hundred years.

History shows that social change in our country frequently starts at the local or state level. Local actions influence national progress, and we are seeing this hold true in the case of reparations. Think about school desegregation and gay rights.

FirstRepair is working to inspire, educate and equip leaders, stakeholders, partners, and allies who are advancing local reparations policies that remedy historic and ongoing anti-Black practices.

Reparations is a complex and protracted process. The way to repair the harms done by our city governments is to identify and acknowledge them and actively commit to repair them. We will continue building on the bold leadership and sacrifices of the many who have come before us, and we hope to be able to collaborate with more of you in 2023.

Collaboration is key. Let's work together and make more progress.

Robin Rue Simmons
Founder & Executive Director



IF NOT NOW...WHEN?

In many popular time-travel reads or shows, like “Back to the Future” or Octavia Butler’s Kindred, each time a character went back to the past, their actions could, and often resulted in changes to the future - “a disruption in the space-time continuum.”

If this fictional tale were possible, reparations would involve time-traveling to the point where enslavement, discrimination, and oppressive government rulings would converge, and collective thoughts, actions, and words could disrupt our rollercoaster journey to reparations.

While we may not be able to thrust you into a time-jumping car or whirlwind, we have good news for you. You can time-travel through archival materials, rally the thoughts and words of your community, and begin the journey to reparations today. You can change the future.

Here’s how a local politician, in Evanston ill, changed the future.

THE SUCCESS OF THE NATION’S FIRST GOVERNMENT-FUNDED REPARATIONS PROGRAM IN EVANSTON, ILLINOIS, HINGED ON THE FOLLOWING FACTORS:

- A determined Alderwoman, daring to dream big, believed in her community and ancestral guidance.
- The creation of “people-powered energy,” was sparked by public awareness, buy-ins, and the fierce urgency of now.
- A conscious effort to work inside the system, adjusting the levers and encouraging justice to flow towards the desired results.
- A community-focused education campaign to help residents understand the history of displacement, disruption, and the benefits of reparations.
- Identification of additional scholarly resources and funding sources without incremental taxes on impacted communities.



WHY NOW?

The 'Making Reparations Toolkit' was assembled from several resources to create a process through which your organization can create action plans to repair the harms of enslavement, racism, adverse policies, positions, and rulings in your community.

To this end, the following organizations, articles, and other resources were referenced to guide the development of this instrument:

- **National African American Reparations Commissions (NAARC)**
- **National Coalition of Blacks for Reparations in America (N'COBRA)**
- **“Coming to the Table” Reparations Guide**
- **“A Toolkit for Reparations in the Community,” Subcommittee on Reparations, Episcopal Diocese of Racial Justice Commission of Massachusetts**
- **Reparations Now Toolkit, Movement for Black Lives**
- **NAACP Reparations Resolutions**

ABOUT FIRST REPAIR



ROBIN RUE SIMMONS
FIRSTREPAIR
FOUNDER & CHIEF
EXECUTIVE

First Repair, a 501(c)(3) organization, was founded by Robin Rue Simmons, a former Evanston, Illinois, alderman and the architect of the nation’s first government-funded reparations program.

Simmons’ “solutions only” leadership style has inspired the services of FirstRepair, including sharing best practices, creating tools, and developing a viable model to advance local reparations policy.

The First Repair Reparations Toolkit provides guidance and resources to educate and equip leaders, stakeholders, and allies who advance local reparations policies.

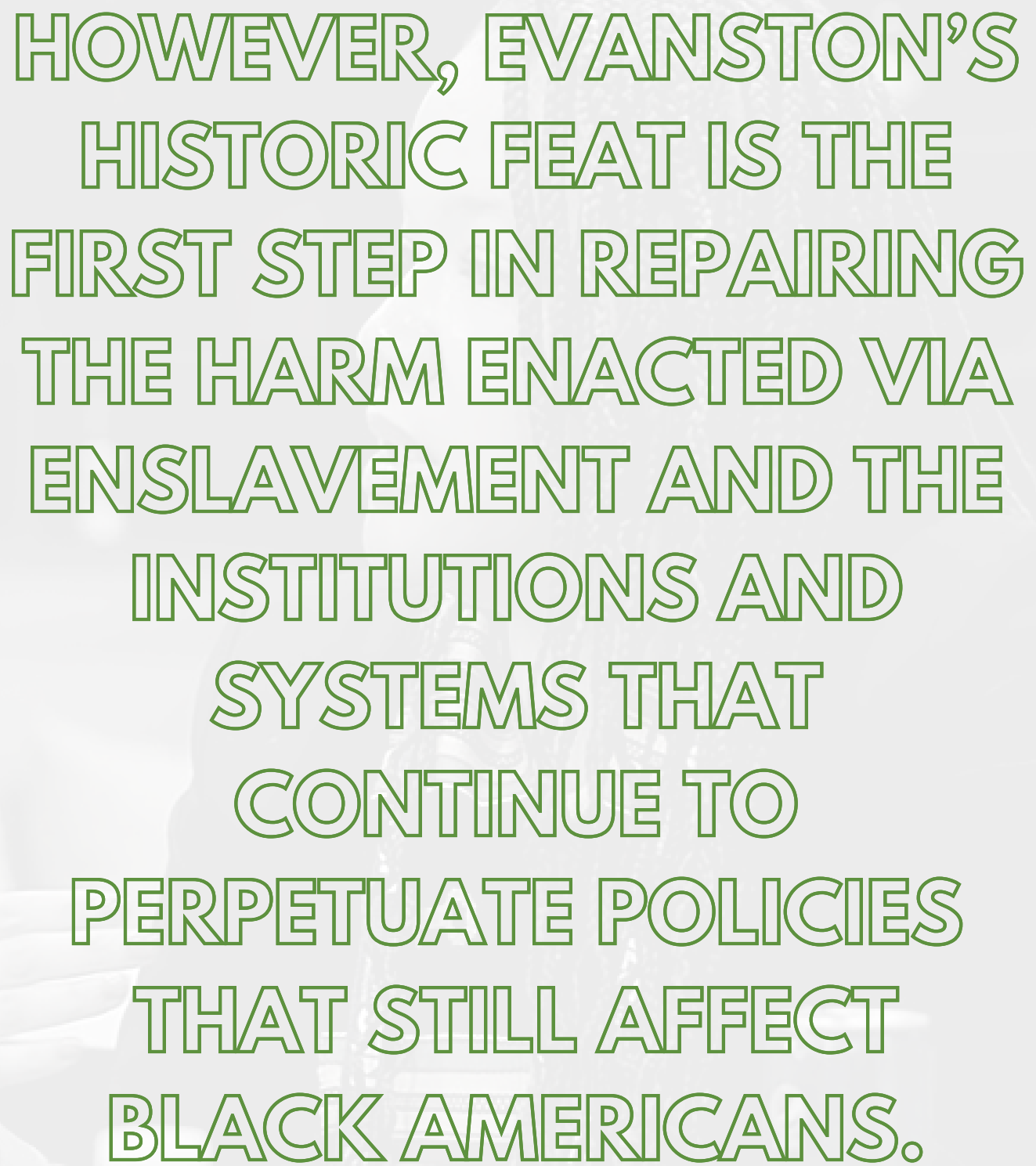
FOLLOWING ROBIN RUE SIMMONS AND EVANSTON’S FOOTSTEPS, THE REPAIR TOOLKIT CONSISTS OF THE FOLLOWING SECTIONS:

SECTION 1: Ancestral Guidance - Use archives and local resources to inform your Reparations strategies; harm report, action Plans, etc. Acknowledge the shoulders you stand on.

SECTION 2: People-Powered - Power concedes nothing without a demand; success will come from the ground -up.

SECTION 3: Syllabus - Curricula, templates, and other learning resources for interactive reparations in your community.

SECTION 4: Resources - Archive materials, articles, books, and other resources for action steps.



HOWEVER, EVANSTON'S
HISTORIC FEAT IS THE
FIRST STEP IN REPAIRING
THE HARM ENACTED VIA
ENSLAVEMENT AND THE
INSTITUTIONS AND
SYSTEMS THAT
CONTINUE TO
PERPETUATE POLICIES
THAT STILL AFFECT
BLACK AMERICANS.

A BRIEF HISTORY OF REPARATIONS



REPARATIONS FOR ENSLAVEMENT IS THE APPLICATION OF REPARATIONS TO VICTIMS OF ENSLAVEMENT AND/OR THEIR DESCENDANTS. THIS CONCEPT COVERS REPARATIONS IN LEGAL PHILOSOPHY AND REPARATIONS IN TRANSITIONAL JUSTICE.

The nation's first attempt at reparations dates back to 1865, close to the end of the Civil War.

Emancipation of the formerly enslaved left many families in financial limbo: little or no education, no property or money, and no clear path to economic independence.

Charged with repairing this wrong, Union General William T. Sherman and President Abraham Lincoln's Secretary of War, Edwin Stanton, issued Special Field Order 15. This order dictated that 400,000 acres of property, confiscated from Confederate landowners, would be distributed to Black families in 40-acre plots.

An article in the National Farmers Union estimated the value of the 40 acres for those 40,000 formerly enslaved people at \$640 billion in 2020.

This, many would argue, was the nation's first attempt at reparations. The impact wasn't long-lasting.

After President Lincoln's assassination in April 1865, VP Andrew Johnson assumed his role. The newly appointed President rolled out an Amnesty Proclamation on May 29, 1865, restoring all property rights except those enslaved to Confederates.

As a result, Black families were abruptly evicted from the land as former Confederate owners returned home.

But "40 acres and a mule" was not the first or last attempt at reparations or the act of rescinding them.

AS EVIDENT IN THE ILLUSTRATED CHART ON REPARATIONS INITIATIVES, THE STRUGGLE FOR REPARATIONS HAS BEEN FOUGHT IN COMMUNITIES, THE GOVERNMENT, AND THE COURTS.

Since this first attempt at reparations and its immediate reversal, U.S. citizens of African descent have spent a generation's worth of time, blood, sweat, and tears in search of repairs against the injustice and inhumane condition of enslavement and its aftermath:

NOTABLE ATTEMPTS INCLUDE:

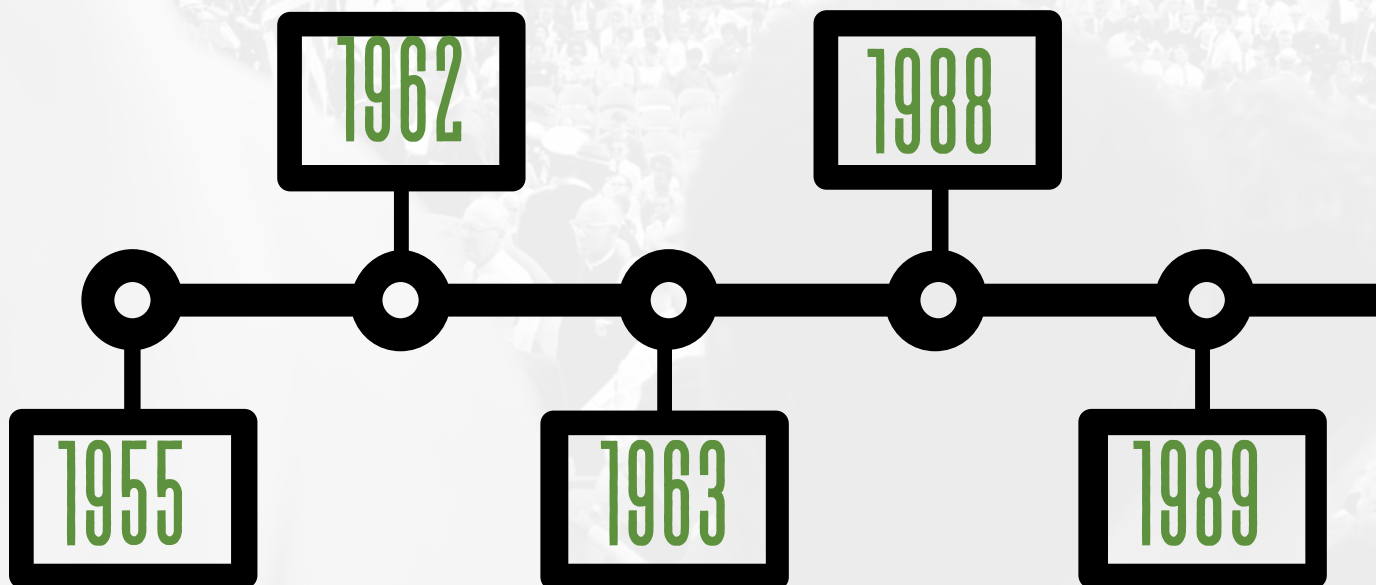
1955: Reemergence of grassroots organizing around the demand for reparations;

1962: Queen Mother Moore and [Dara Abubakari](#) ← form the Reparations Committee, which delivered a communiqué to the UN;

1963: An organized petition received 1 million signatures in support of the fight for reparations;

1988: [Massachusetts State Senator](#) ← Bill Owens filed a reparations resolution with the state legislature in Mass;

1989: Congressman John Conyers' H.R.40 - Commission to Study and Develop Reparation Proposals for African-Americans Act introduced;



1955: Reemergence of grassroots organizing around the demand for reparations;

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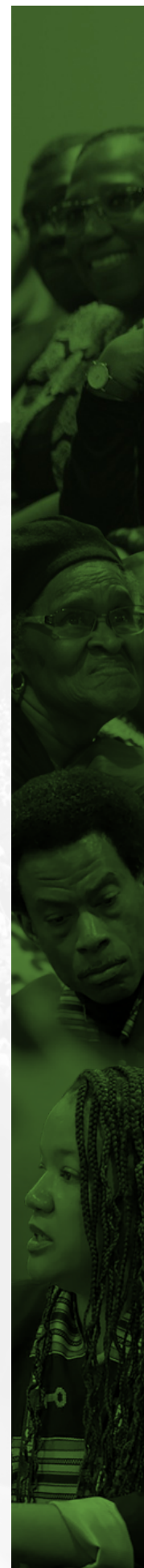
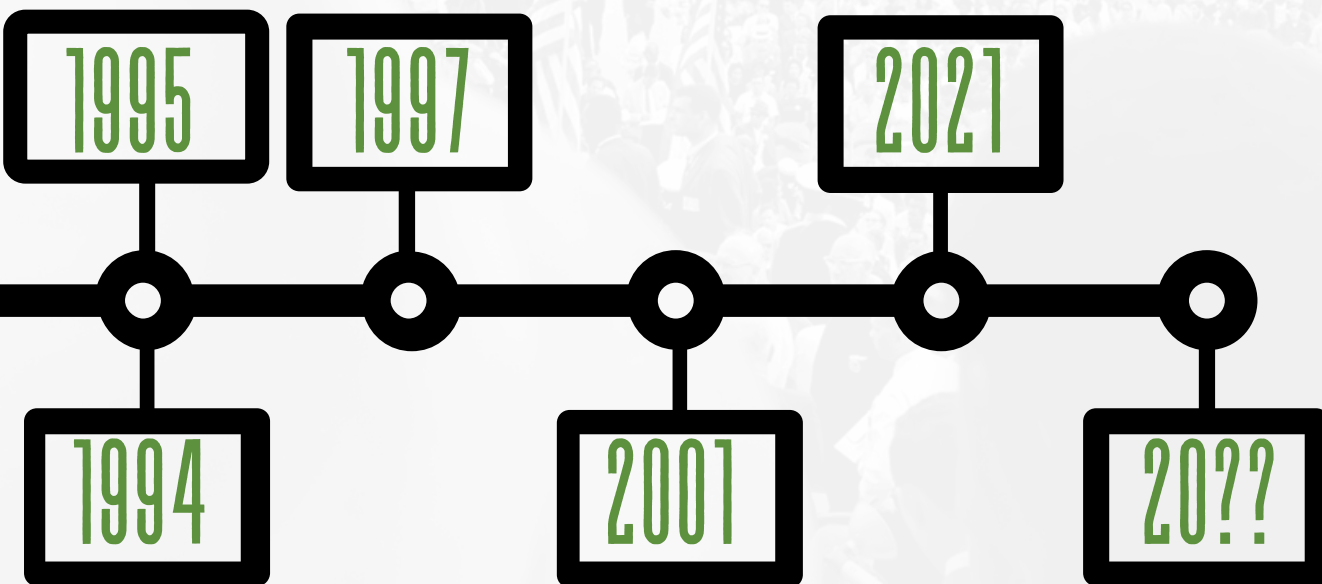
1988: Massachusetts State Senator Bill Owens filed a reparations resolution with the state legislature in Mass;

1989: Congressman John Conyers' H.R.40 - Commission to Study and Develop Reparation Proposals for African-Americans Act introduced;

As evident in the aforementioned timeline, the struggle for reparations has been fought in communities, the government, and the courts. That is why Evanston's historic progressive stands starkly against the rest.

From the first installment of \$400,000 delivered to Evanston's Black residents via Resolution 37-R-21 to [House Resolution 40](#) ← clearing the U.S. House Judiciary Committee for the first time, we are making leaps and bounds during tumultuous times.

But when have we yet to make leaps and bounds during rough times?



THERE'S AN INTERNATIONAL TEMPLATE FOR REPARATIONS!

THE UNITED STATES OWES AFRICAN-AMERICANS REPARATIONS FOR SLAVERY. COMPENSATION IS NECESSARY TO COMBAT THE DISADVANTAGES CAUSED BY 245 YEARS OF LEGALLY ALLOWING THE SALE OF PEOPLE BASED ON THE COLOR OF THEIR SKIN.

In 2016, a United Nations panel ruled that reparations were due to descendants of enslaved people worldwide, concluding that

According to the [United Nations](#), ← adequate reparations fall into five distinct components:

- Cessation and Guarantees of Non-Repetition
- Restitution
- Compensation
- Satisfaction
- Rehabilitation

“

Cessation and Guarantees of Non-Repetition – How federal and state laws and policies that continue to disproportionately and negatively affect African Americans as a group, and those that perpetuate the lingering effects, materially and psycho-social, can be eliminated.

”

“

Restitution – How can the injuries resulting from matters described [from findings] be reversed and provide appropriate policies, programs, projects, and recommendations to reverse the injuries?

”

“

Compensation – How is any form of compensation to the descendants of enslaved Africans calculated in consideration of the commission's findings? What form of compensation should be awarded, through what instrumentalities, and who should be eligible for such compensation?

”

“

Satisfaction – How the Government of the United States will offer a formal apology on behalf of its citizens for the perpetration of gross human rights violations and crimes against humanity on African slaves and their descendants.

”

“

Rehabilitation – How, in consideration of the commission's findings, any other forms of rehabilitation for African descendants be warranted, and what the form and scope of those measures should take?

”

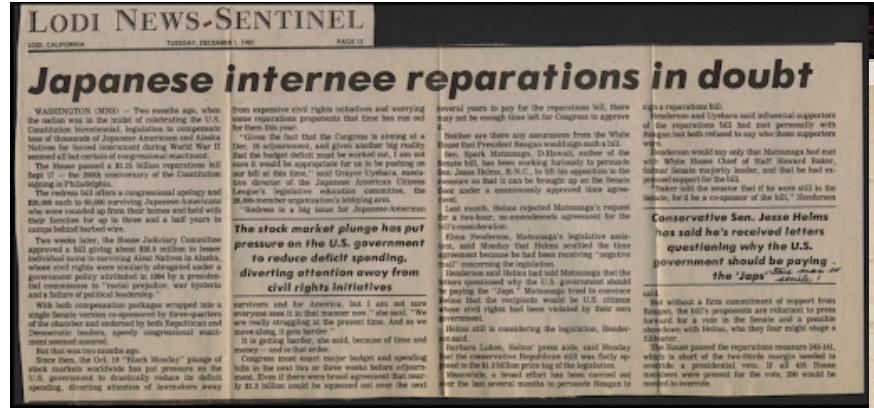
REPARATIONS ARE **NOT** A NOVEL CONCEPT

There are quite a few examples of how reparations have been paid to the United States or global citizens.

From 1971 to 1986, six Indigenous nations received some form of reparations.

In 1990, more than 100,000 Americans of Japanese descent placed in internment camps during World War II received \$1.2 billion under a law signed in 1988 by President Ronald Reagan.

In 1990, victims of the syphilis experiment at Tuskegee University received settlement funds that went to hundreds of Black patient survivors, their wives, widows, or their children.



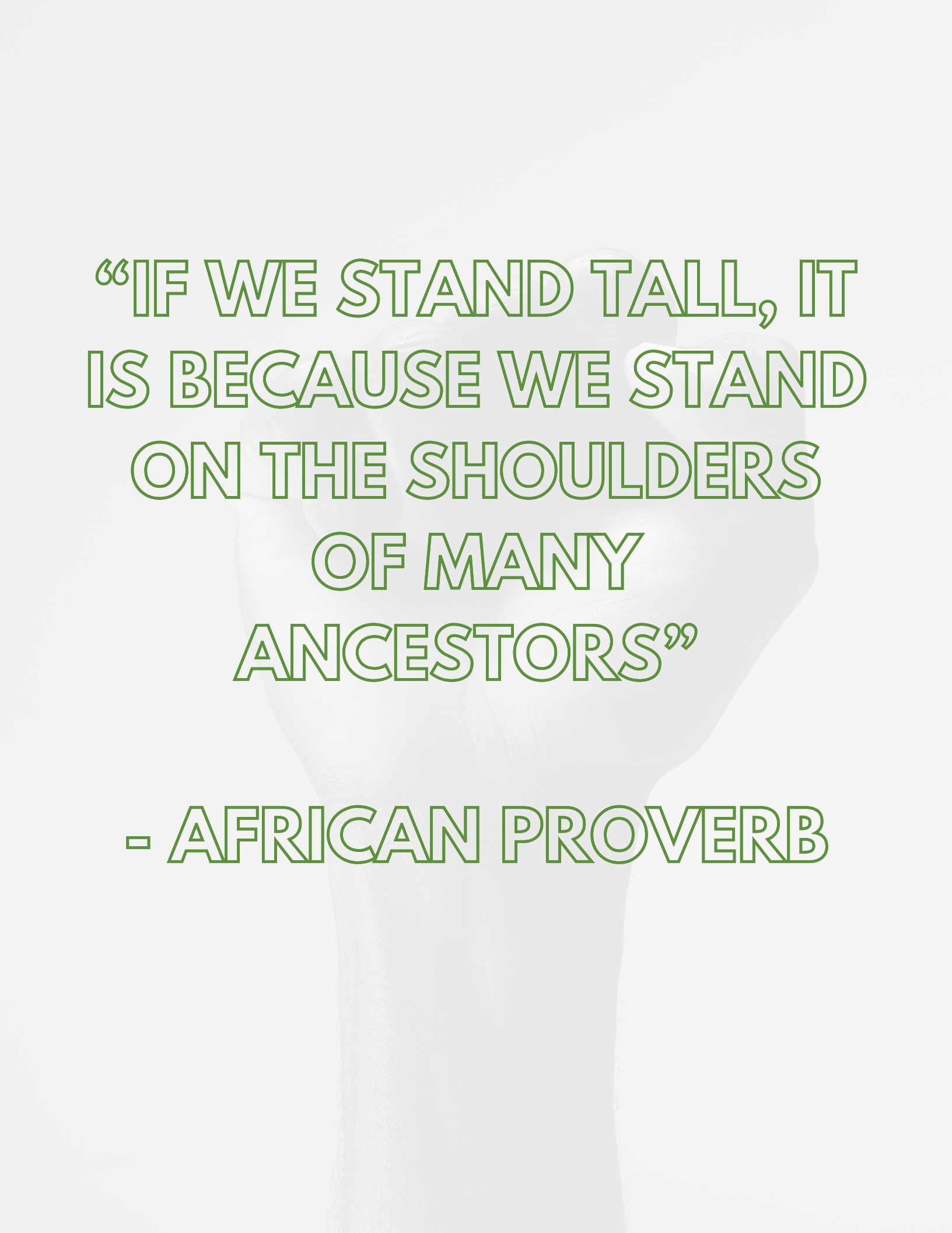


In 2010 and 2021, reparations were paid to Black farmers.

In 2015, the Obama administration paid reparations to Jewish Holocaust victims, which would be doled out over a 5-year timespan.

In 2022, a once Black-owned beach called Bruce's Beach was returned to the descendants of the Bruce family in a landmark move signed by Governor Gavin Newsom. As of January 3rd, 2023, the beachfront property is currently in the process of being sold back to Los Angeles County for an agreed amount of \$20 million.

Contrary to popular notions, reparation is not just the federal government's domain, nor is it only about money. Reparations may be carried out by heads of state, legislators, local councils and commissions, nonprofits, or business groups.



“IF WE STAND TALL, IT
IS BECAUSE WE STAND
ON THE SHOULDERS
OF MANY
ANCESTORS”

- AFRICAN PROVERB

REPARATIONS PATH

Based on our review of a body of research on community-focused reparations (affordable housing, community investments, education reform, erasing unfair criminal records, etc.), as well as the creation and passage of commissions to study reparations, across select cities, here are the two primary tracks for reparations:

TRACK #1: STATE OR LOCAL MUNICIPALITIES

- Utilize people-powered (grassroots activations, symposiums, conferences, etc.) to convince local elected officials to vote in favor of a commission,- a reparations task force to review and create reparations proposals to repair harms done to Blacks and other people of color.
- Generally, the task force uses historical information (census records, plantation documents records, personal family history, institution records, national and local legislations, etc), and resulting inequities to create an interim “Harm Report”.
- This report is shared with the community, stakeholders, elected officials, institutions, etc., through a series of community forums, corporate presentations to institutions, and colleges, as well as closed sessions for elected officials.
- Through this process, feedback is garnered, revisions are made, and a final “Harm Report” is created: budget, timeline, qualifications, funding sources, proposed compensations, repairs, etc.)
- The final, and most challenging step, is to have legislators vote to authorize a commission, or enact laws, giving reparations to African Americans.

TRACK #2: COMMUNITY-FOCUSED

- A small group of individuals, institutions, or corporations, bond together to make a case for reparations, raise funds for awareness, etc.
- The group uses historical information (census records, plantation documents records, personal family history, institution records, national and local legislations, etc), and other inequities to create an interim “Harm Report”.
- The “Harm Report” is used as a catalyst to propose community-focused reparations, across a # of social and economic initiatives, or to convince local elected officials to vote in favor of a commission,- a reparations task force to review and create reparations proposals to repair harms done to Blacks and other people of color.
- The organization/group utilizes a series of strategies and tactics, marketing, and other outreach initiatives to create moral and political foundations for achieving reparations.
- While the ultimate outcome is to have legislators vote to enact laws, giving reparations to African Americans, the group can use the results of the Harm Report, working with institutions and individuals, to enact reparations at the community level.



SEARCHING HISTORY

Before you delve into archival work, remember the work you're about to do is a continuum; you are not the first to do it and won't be the last.

As you prepare for reparations, remember that this process has to be unique to your community's history, your organization's resources, and the beneficiaries of this process. Center your discussions around what reparations are, what reparations mean to you in this context; for whom and for what purpose you are beginning this work for reparations.

The history of your chosen community might have proposed reparations reforms and details pertinent to your fight. This work has been voiced and led by community leaders, stakeholders, archivists, activists, historical societies, museums, libraries, and more.

To create an evidence-based harm report, you'll need the support of the people or organizations listed above. It's your job to seek them out, connect with them, and collaborate.

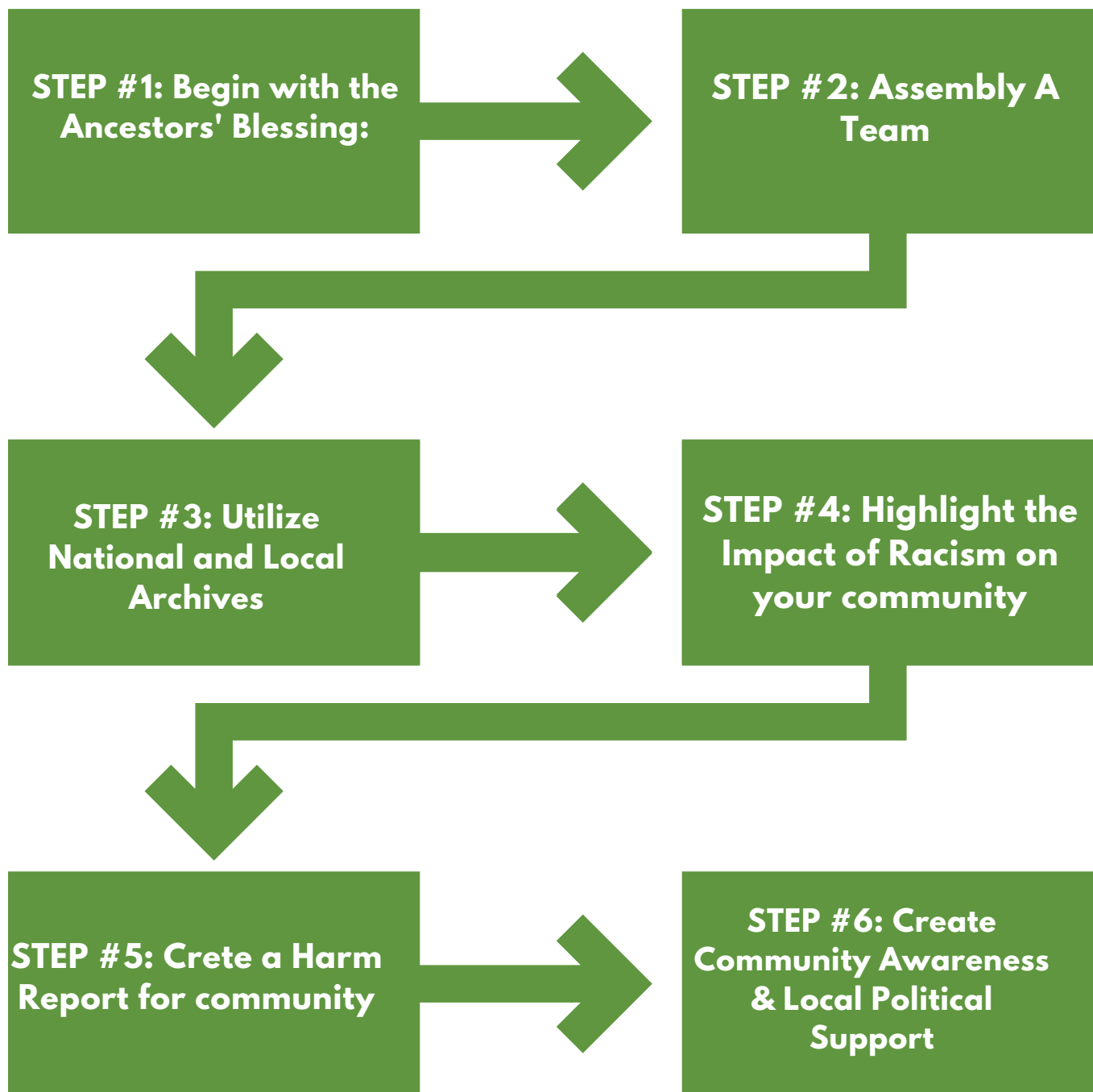
Research, acknowledge and share personal family, community, state, and national histories of race openly and honestly. Document your community's history with enslavement, real estate covenants, redlining, predatory lending practices by banks and financial institutions, eminent domain rulings, and restrictive legislation. Recognize that systemic racism and legacies of enslavement are alive and well.

Read authors such as Ta-Nehisi Coates and Randall Robinson to better understand national reparations issues.

YOUR REPARATIONS JOURNEY

OF COURSE, THE TRACK FOLLOWED BY YOUR ORGANIZATION IS BASED ON YOUR RESOURCES AND WHERE YOUR STATE OR LOCAL MUNICIPALITY IS IN THE REPARATIONS PROCESS.

REGARDLESS OF THE TRACK SELECTED BY YOUR ORGANIZATION, HERE ARE A SERIES OF STRATEGIES, TACTICS, AND TASKS TO ENSURE THE DEVELOPMENT AND DEPLOYMENT OF A REPARATIONS CAMPAIGN.



BEGIN WITH THE ANCESTORS' BLESSING

Before you begin your reparations journey, remember the work you're about to do is a continuum; you are not the first to do it and won't be the last.

Center your discussions around what reparations are, what reparations mean to you in this context; for whom, and for what purpose you are beginning this work for reparations.

Remember the shoulders you stand on. Before each meeting, project, or presentation, you should, with great humility and deep gratitude, acknowledge the contributions of your predecessors in this initiative; honor their strength, endurance, and sacrifices.

Below, is the Ancestor acknowledgment, repeated at the beginning of each Evanston Reparations Committee.

ANCESTORS' ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

"We honor those enslaved African people whose forced labor was exploited for generations to help establish the economy of our region and the United States.

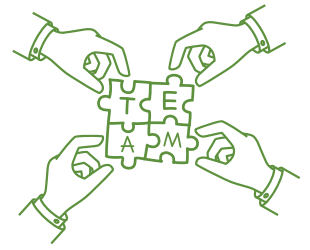
We honor those Black Ancestors who persevered despite the discriminatory laws and practices that created a racial caste system, legitimized anti-black racism, and continue to plague our community today. It is only by recognition and understanding of these errors, begun during our nation's origins and continuing today, that we can hope to correct our path.

We acknowledge this exploitation of not only minds and labor, but of our humanity. We grieve for those Black Ancestors who, despite their contributions to this city's wealth and freedom, were never recognized, fairly compensated, nor allowed to fully realize their own sovereignty. Because of their work, we are here and will invest in the descendants of that legacy, and through this process, we work to repair some of the harms caused by the City of Evanston.

We also hope our focused attempts at reparations will serve as an example to the United States Government and prompt other institutional accomplices to begin the process of repair."



ASSEMBLY OF A TEAM



As stated earlier, Evanston's success was built upon prior initiatives. Your community probably has a similar history of leaders and activists bringing attention to long-overdue reparations.

The success of your reparations initiatives hinges on the ability to use these prior initiatives, people, and processes, as well as people-powered energy, to build a broad coalition of organizations, individuals, and institutions to study past injustices and propose ways of addressing them.

To this end, the following strategies are designed to create a committee of like-minded folks, to create strong moral and political foundations from which a viable reparations movement can be built.

Begin the process by creating a written framework; outline the campaign's mission, goals, objectives, and desired outcomes.

We recommend starting with a small working group of trusted advisers and forming sub-committees led by persons with education or experience with assigned topics. Proposed sub-committees should include one or more of the following:

OPERATIONS

- Treasurer
- Secretary
- Communications/Marketing
- Grant/Sponsorship

COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT

- Outreach
- Membership
- Partnership

POLITICAL OUTREACH

- Local elected leaders
- Nationally Elected Leaders
- International government/institutions

COLLEGES/INSTITUTIONS

OUTREACH

- Local
- State

UTILIZE NATIONAL AND LOCAL ARCHIVES

While we have many resources and tips for you, we suggest that you begin your reparations journey in the archives. Ancestors, those who lived before us and have passed on, have left significant artifacts behind.

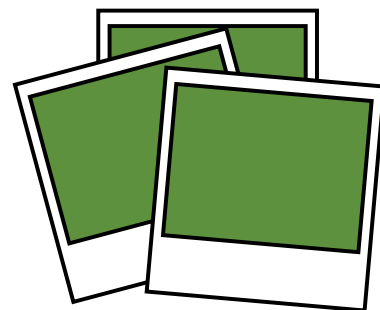
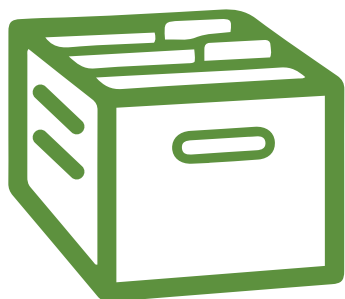
Take a moment and speak with an elder of your family or community. Ask them questions and be ready to listen. If possible, ask to see pictures, certificates, or any documentation that lets you know our ancestors were here. It is upon us to configure a different life in remembrance of those who prayed we would have it. In her essay, scholar and author, Saidiya Hartman says:

"Loss gives rise to longing, and in these circumstances, it would not be far-fetched to consider stories as a form of compensation or even as reparations, perhaps the only kind we will ever receive."

But we must not stop at the stories. We must use them to power our communities to fight against injustice and create better futures. With the stories, we must call out the harm that has been done to us.

Once the "Harm Report", or an interim one, has been developed, leverage resources, members, community, and elected leaders, to implement a series of community forums, corporate presentations to institutions, and colleges, as well as closed sessions for elected officials.

While the ultimate outcome is to have legislators vote to enact laws, giving reparations to African Americans, your group can use the results of the Harm Report, working with institutions and individuals, to enact reparations at the community level.



HIGHLIGHT THE IMPACT OF ENSLAVEMENT, RACISM, ETC. ON YOUR COMMUNITY

The first iteration of many of the reforms you saw on the U.S. reparations timeline began with a report of harm. Reports of harm survey the ongoing and compounding harms experienced by African Americans due to slavery and its lingering effects.

Several resolutions passed by the City Council in 2019, established a commission to study harms as a result of past Evanston rulings, policies, and practices.

A report entitled [“Evanston Policies and Practices Directly Affecting the African American Community, 1900-1960 \(and Present\)”](#) ← provided ample documentary evidence for reparations from the City.

In a subsequent vote, a Reparations Committee of the City Council selected the first residents to receive reparations under the Restorative Housing Program on January 13th, 2022, and the establishment of the Evanston Reparations Community Fund.

A [similar report](#) ← produced by a California Task Force to Study and Develop Reparation Proposals for African Americans outlined several state and federal harms Blacks, as enslaved people and later as American citizens, were subjected to.



HIGHLIGHT THE IMPACT OF ENSLAVEMENT, RACISM, ETC. ON YOUR COMMUNITY

The interim report indicated that the history of slavery, its ensuing policies, and adverse legislations and systems, created substandard education and living conditions for Blacks in the US, as well as in the state of California.

The task force identified five areas that could eventually become legislations, with state-funded repairs: housing discrimination, mass incarceration, unjust property seizures, devaluation of Black businesses, and health care.

OTHER HARM REPORTS INCLUDE:

[Evanston, Illinois Harm Report](#) ←

["A Matter of Truth": The Struggle for African Heritage & Indigenous People's Equal Rights in Providence, Rhode Island \(1620-2020\)](#) ←

OTHER CITIES HAVE CREATED OR VOTED ON LEGISLATION TO STUDY THE CITY'S HISTORY WITH MINORITY COMMUNITIES AND MAKE RECOMMENDATIONS FOR REDRESSING THIS HARM.

[City of Boston: 'An Ordinance Creating a Commission to Study and Develop Reparation Proposals for African Americans'](#) ←

[City of Wilmington Delaware: 'City Council Reparations Taskforce'](#) ←

[Reparations in Berkeley- 'Funding for a Consultant to Facilitate Community Process to Design and Implement a Local Reparations Plan'](#) ←

[The City of Asheville](#) ←

[Providence Rhode Island](#) ←



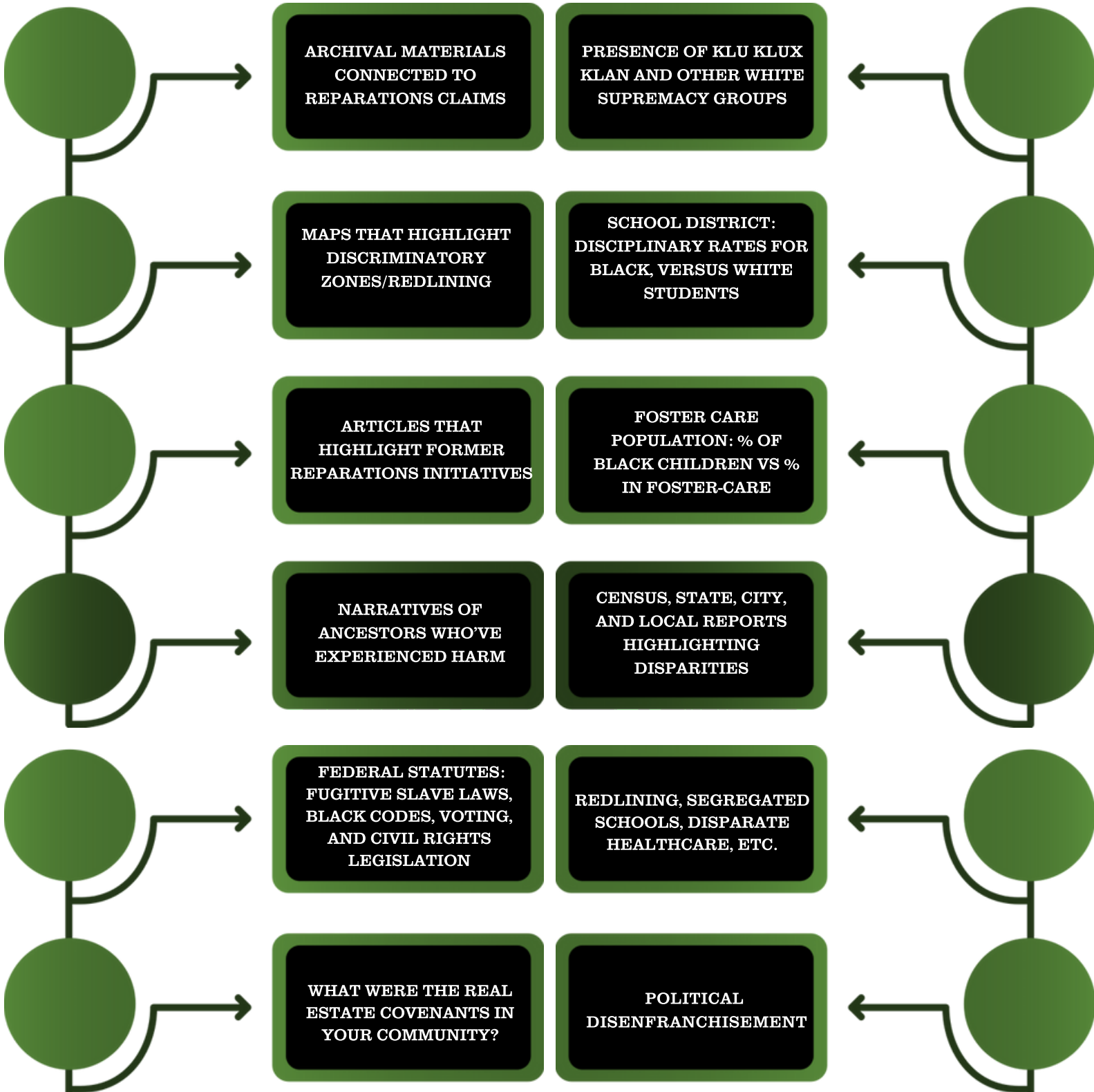
FOLLOW-UP QUESTIONS



- 1. How can a report of harm assist with your case for reparations?**
- 2. After viewing the example harm report and items you should be looking for, what other archival materials might assist with your case for reparations?**
- 3. What evidence-based example from Evanston’s Report of Harm resonated with you and your community? Why?**
- 4. What evidence-based example from California’s Reparations Interim report resonated with you and your community? Why?**

DEVELOP A HARM REPORT FOR YOUR COMMUNITY

WHERE SHOULD I BE LOOKING?





USE THE FOLLOWING PAGE TO JOT DOWN HISTORY-HOLDING INSTITUTIONS, HOW YOU CAN REACH OUT TO THEM, AND HOW THEY'LL HELP YOU GATHER THE INFORMATION YOU NEED.

HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

MUSEUMS

ARCHIVISTS

ACTIVISTS

PUBLIC HISTORIANS

LIBRARIES

GRIOTS

OTHER



USE THE POWER OF THE PEOPLE

As you embark on the next steps in building support for reparations, be mindful of the words of Frederick Douglass, “Power concedes nothing without a demand. It never did, and it never will.”

A review of various research studies on reparations concludes that most Americans do not support reparations.

A [Pew Research Center study](#) ← in 2021 concluded that 3 in 10 U.S. citizens believe that descendants of people enslaved in the U.S. should be repaid in some way, such as given land or money. About 7 in 10 (68%) say these descendants should not be repaid.



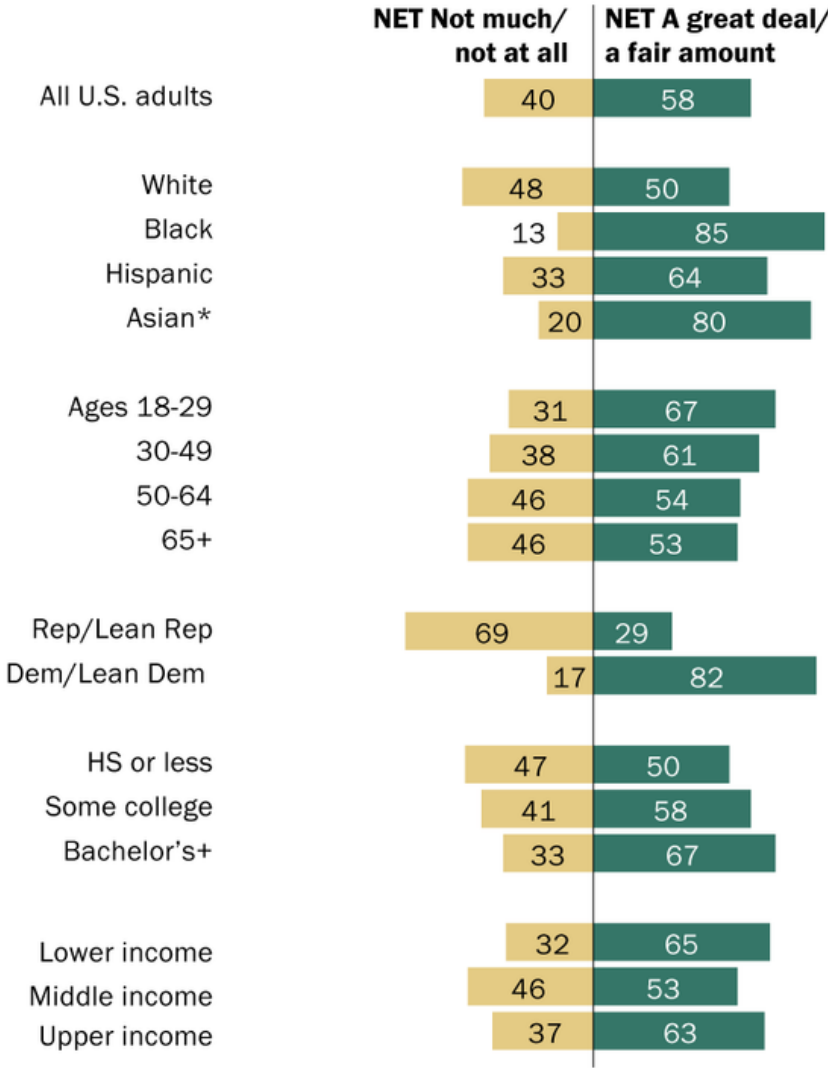
According to the study, while most African Americans (77%) believe they should be compensated for enslavement and the continued existence of racism, and other economic ills, there are observable differences between subgroups:

- 1 in 5 Black adults with a bachelor’s degree (21%), as well as Black adults with middle (21%) or upper incomes (20%), do not think descendants of enslaved people should be repaid.
- Black liberals (84%) and moderates (79%) are more likely than conservatives (71%) to say that descendants of the enslaved should be repaid.

The consensus, across a body of policy papers and research on reparations, concludes that while reparations can only be resolved via the courts and legislators, the struggle for reparations is a political issue and must be backed up by strong public support.

Black Americans most likely to say legacy of slavery affects Black people in the U.S. at least a fair amount

% of U.S. adults who say the legacy of slavery affects the position of Black people in American society today ...



* Estimates for Asian adults are representative of English speakers only.
 Note: Black adults include those who say their race is Black alone and non-Hispanic; multiracial, non-Hispanic Black; or Black and Hispanic. White and Asian respondents include those who report being only one race and are not Hispanic. Hispanics are of any race. "Some college" includes adults who have an associate degree and those who attended college but did not obtain a degree. Family income tiers are based on adjusted 2020 earnings. Share of respondents who didn't offer a response not shown.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Oct. 4-17, 2021.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER



ESTABLISH A MORAL FOUNDATION FOR REPARATIONS

To succeed, your reparations initiative must be community-focused, involving other groups or organizations sharing your mission, goals, and desired outcomes.

You do not have to reinvent the wheel. Conduct internal analyses to identify current members or affiliated persons and to create a project advisory team. Leverage your connections and invite other groups or individuals to form a manageable task force of professional and dedicated individuals.

With an interim Harm Report, hold a series of educational events, symposiums, and community gatherings, designed to promote the finding of the results, and to build consensus around reparations proposals:

- Held in partnership with local or national community groups, colleges and universities, chambers of commerce, religious organizations, civic groups, and other community stakeholders.
- Primarily in the evenings or weekends to maximize turnout
- Utilize a hybrid approach (in-person and online) to increase turn-out and provide anonymity for those who wish to remain so.
- Presentations/discussions should include financial and historical data to illuminate the generational wealth gap, barriers to economic mobility, and systemic racism.
- Create an interactive dialogue centered on the community's history and legacy of racism
- Listen, Listen, Listen.



IDENTIFY/BUILD A COALITION OF LIKE-MINDED INDIVIDUALS, INSTITUTIONS, AND ELECTED OFFICIALS. IDENTIFY GRANTS, FEDERAL FUNDING, OR NOT-FOR-PROFIT INITIATIVES:

INFLUENCERS

ELECTED OFFICIAL

COMMUNITY-FOCUSED ORGANIZATIONS

INSTITUTIONAL PARTNERS

GRANTS

FEDERAL FUNDING SOURCE

FOUNDATIONS

OTHER

THERE'S MORE THAN ONE AVENUE TO REPARATIONS

HERE ARE A FEW MORE OPTIONS THAT CAN BE USED TO PURSUE REPARATIONS FOR PAST INJUSTICES:

LITIGATION:

A review of reparations court cases, including Evanston's success, indicates that building a legal case for reparations can be a highly controversial and political topic. The legal process and the outcome will vary depending on the specific context and jurisdiction.

Generally, these are the steps involved, when seeking redress through the courts.

Gather testimony from community members, individuals, experts, and those who were harmed.

Establish liability and document that the harm was caused by the actions of a specific individual, group, or government entity.

Demonstrate that the harm is ongoing and has had long-term consequences, making a case for why reparations are necessary to heal and move forward.

Propose a compensation or other forms of remedy: education, housing, or financial assistance

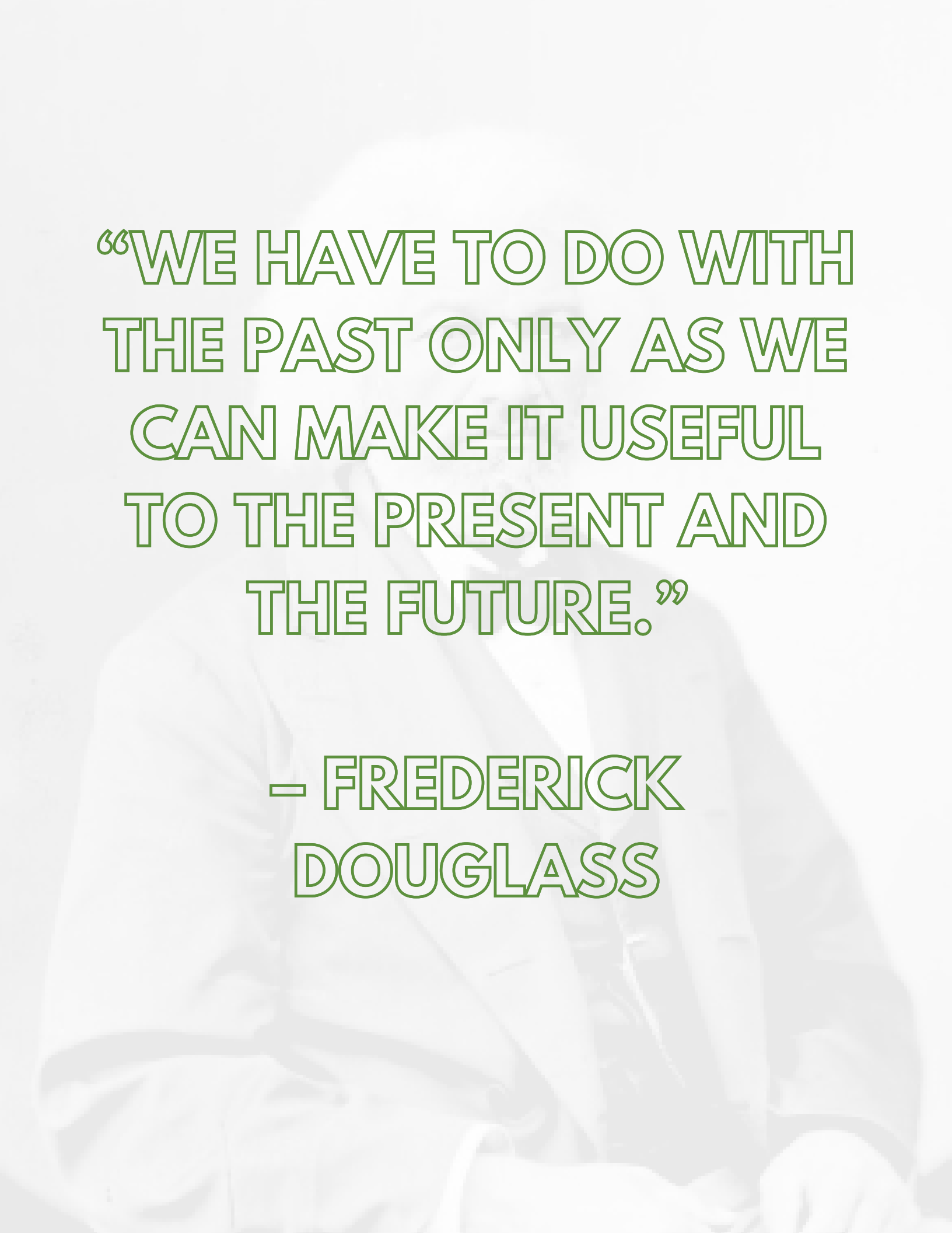
Litigate the case in court: presenting evidence, making arguments, and responding to counterarguments.

Given the layered and legal arguments required, this process is best handled by law firms and members of your organization with capabilities to ensure success.

Advocacy and Lobbying:

This process involves working with community groups, civil rights organizations, politicians, and other like-minded individuals to raise awareness of the need for reparations and to build support for legislation or policies that would conduct further studies on harm and proposed compensation for those affected by past injustices.

- **Educate the elective body:** conduct closed sessions or one-to-one conversations with local elected officials, congressional leaders, institutional leaders, etc.
- **Work with local colleges or universities** to develop additional harm reports.
- **Convince locally elected bodies** to approve a resolution to study reparations and proposals for making right and past wrong.
- **Build a grassroots movement** to create ballot initiatives and referendums for government actions on reparations

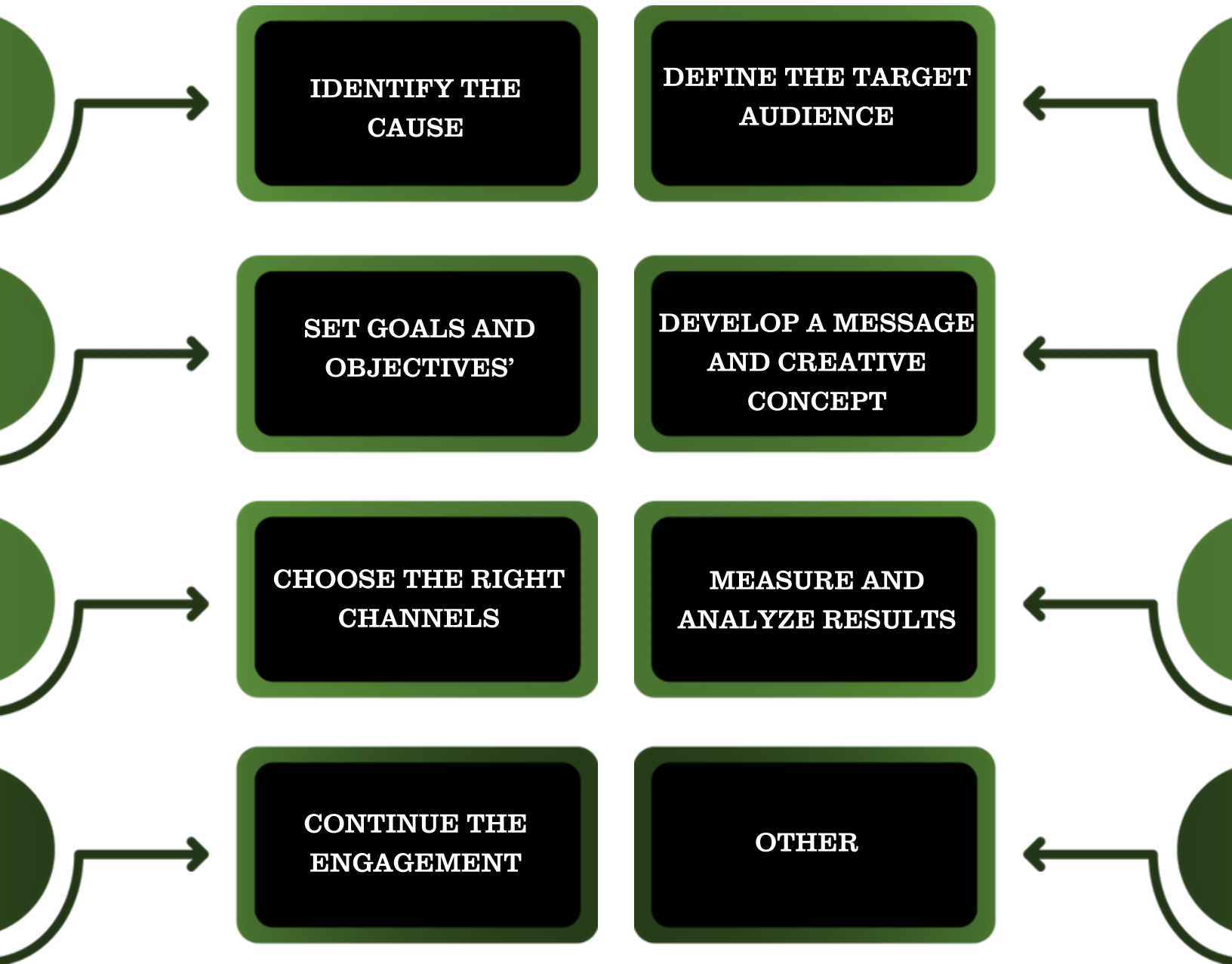


“WE HAVE TO DO WITH
THE PAST ONLY AS WE
CAN MAKE IT USEFUL
TO THE PRESENT AND
THE FUTURE.”

– FREDERICK
DOUGLASS

BUILDING A COMMUNICATIONS PLAN

The following template utilizes the variables and prompts below, to guide the development of an integrated communications program, designed to create awareness, and build community and political support for a reparations issue in your community.





GO TELL IT TO THE MOUNTAIN

Let's be honest. Americans do not widely embrace the topic of reparations. For some, reparations are a valid attempt to make amends for past wrongs, or at the very least understand harms done to a group of people: stolen from their homes, shipped across the Atlantic, and subjected to inhumane conditions. Others believe that Slavery was in the past, and seeking redress from generations not primarily involved, represents political correctness and “Woke” conversations taken to the extreme.

Further, while reparations, as a topic and concept, is popular among Blacks, there's no consensus on the best approach; some folks want a one-time, huge cash payment, while others advocate for free or reduced education for those impacted by Slavery and racism, some argue that reparations would not address the root causes of systemic racism and inequality.

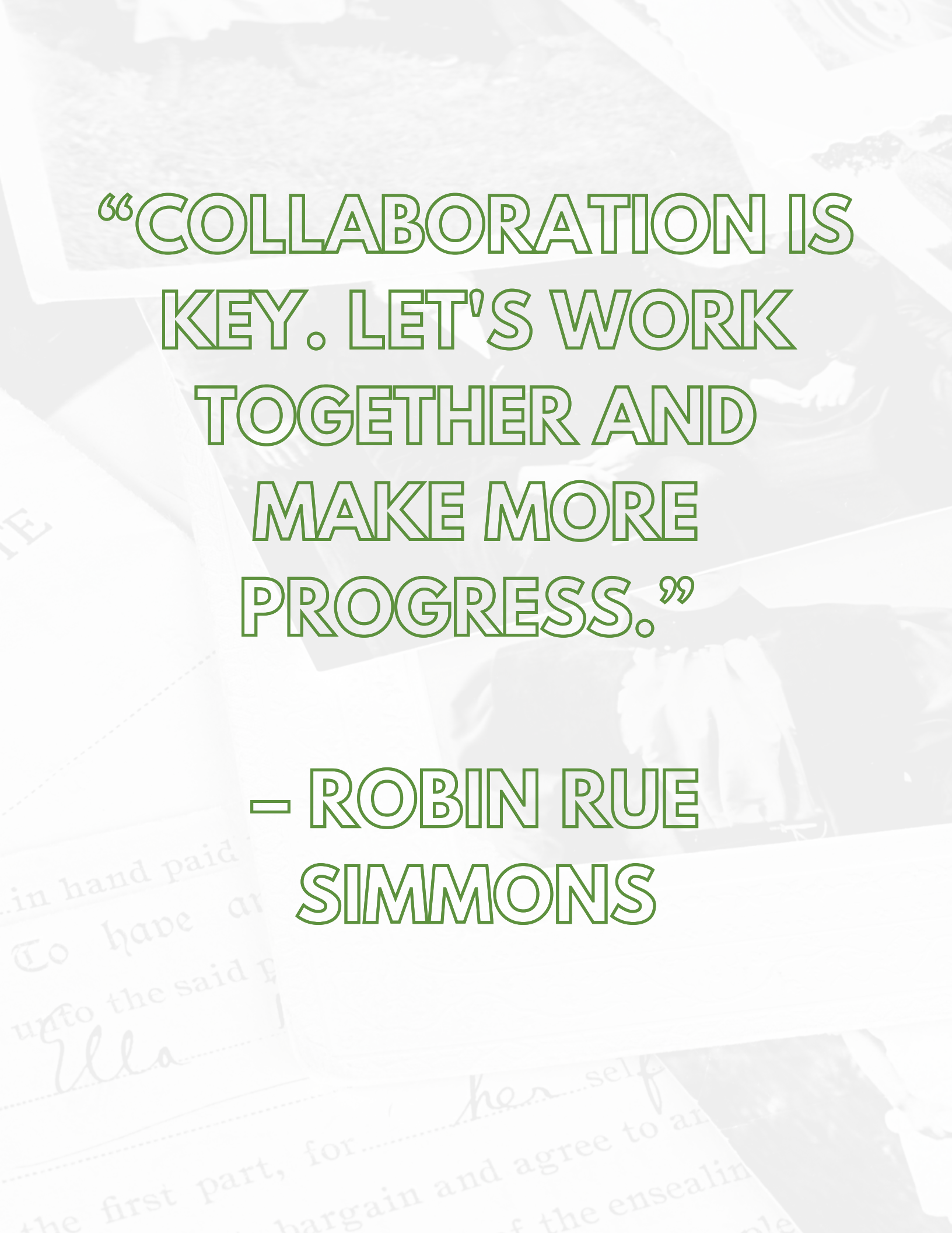
THESE CONCEPTS WERE BORN OUT OF A 2021 STUDY CONDUCTED BY PEW RESEARCH:

- Most Black Americans (73%) support the government providing reparations to Blacks for harm caused by Slavery
- A majority of white Americans (65%) oppose the idea
- About one-in-five Black adults with a bachelor's degree (21%) as well as Black adults with middle (21%) or upper incomes (20%) do not think descendants of enslaved people should be repaid

Against this backdrop, creating support for your reparations initiative has to be deployed using marketing strategies and tactics employed by large advertisers, well-funded, with traditional and non-traditional marketing platforms.

As with any well-planned and executed communications program, these elements should be a part of your cause marketing programs:

- Identify the cause
- Define the target audiences
- Set goals and objectives
- Develop a message and creative concepts
- Choose the right channels
- Measure and analyze results
- Continue the engagement

A collage of images showing people working together, with a document in the foreground containing legal text. The text on the document includes phrases like "in hand paid", "To have ar", "unto the said P", "Ulla", "the first part, for", "bargain and agree to ar", "of the ensealin", and "her self".

“COLLABORATION IS
KEY. LET’S WORK
TOGETHER AND
MAKE MORE
PROGRESS.”

– ROBIN RUE
SIMMONS

1890

1890-1916: The sell-out of Field Order #15; Callie House, National Ex-Slave Mutual Relief Bounty, and Pension Association;

1914 to Present: UNIA and the Garvey Movement;

1914

1948

1948: Genocide Convention Treaty, UN;

1950: Nation of Islam, Elijah Muhammad begins to voice their demands for Reparations; Robert Brock in the 1950s started Reparations Movement in Calif. and spent 40 years working on the issue;

1950

1951

1951: Paul Robeson, William Patterson, and W.E.B. Du Bois launch the 1951 Genocide Campaign;

1955: Reemergence of grassroots organizing around the demand for Reparations;

1955

1962

1962: Queen Mother Moore and Dara Abubakari form Reparations Committee – they delivered communique to UN;

1963: Organized petition of 1 million signatures in support of the demand for Reparations;

1963

1968

1968: Founding of Republic of New Afrika (RNA) with Imari Obadele;

1969: James Forman disrupts Riverside Church in New York and presents Black Manifesto Reparations demands;

1969

VISUAL

1972

Throughout the 1980s: the African Peoples Socialist Party sponsored nationwide Reparations hearings; Reparations Ray emerges in Detroit as a leading Reparations activist;

1987

1988: Massachusetts State Senator Bill Owens filed a Reparations Resolution with State Legislature in Mass;

1989

1993: The First Pan African Conference on Reparations was held in Abuja, Nigeria, April 27-29 and attended by African Americans

1994

1995: On October 16, during a brief NOI MMM presentation, Dr. Worrill mentioned the demand for Reparations, freeing all political prisoners, and support for African Centered Education.

1996

1998: Africa Group Resolution [states] that the Transatlantic Slave Trade was a Crime Against Humanity;

1972: National Black Political Convention, Reparations resolution passed by ten thousand people and presented to all Presidential candidates; African Liberation Day, 60, 000 people and issue of Reparations raised;

1980

1987 to Present: National Coalition of Blacks in America (N'COBRA) formed. It becomes the premiere Reparations org in the US; Dorothy Lewis Benton, founder of the Black Reparations Commission publishes two informative books on Reparations;

1988

1989: Congressman John Conyers' HR40 Study Bill introduced;

1993

1994: Lost and Found Nation of Islam/Silas Muhammad Petition for hearings at UN on Reparations;

1994, 1995: Florida legislature passes reparations settlement in Rosewood, Florida;

1995

1995: CATO Decision, California courts ruled against reparations lawsuit;

1996-1997: National Black United Front (NBUF) Genocide Campaign: Holocaust, Genocide – Reparations;

TIME LINE

1997

2000: Legal Strategist/Atty. Deadria Farmer-Paellmann launches campaign to expose corporate complicity in slavery; secures apology from Aetna, Inc.

2000: The Dec 12th Movement's role in following Malcolm X's idea of exposing the plight of African people before world bodies. They have played a leading role in organizing around the Transatlantic Slave Trade as a Crime Against Humanity an NGO for 15 years at the UN.

2000: Local municipalities adopt resolutions in support of HR40 during the most publicized Chicago Alderman Dorothy Hearing; Atty. Adjoa Aiyetoro, N'COBRA Lawsuit; RNA Reparations Lawsuit; Reparations/Assessment Discussion of Lawsuit: Cochran, Pires, Ogletree, Gary, etc.

2000: Mass discussions of Reparations and a variety of strategies unfold: Lawsuits, Trust Funds/education, Land set aside, International law, the release of political prisoners and other prisoners, economic development funds;

2001

2002: Attorney Deadria Farmer Paellmann sues more than 20 U.S. corporations for their predecessor companies profiteering from the Trans Atlantic Slave Trade. Millions for Reparations Rally Called by the Durban 400 on Aug 17th 2002 in Washington, DC. Attended by 50,000 people, viewed by millions on C-SPAN; March 21, Queen Mother Reparations Bill introduced by Councilman Charles Barron (NY) recognizing the Transatlantic Slave Trade as a Crime Against Humanity; Oct. 2nd, Chicago Slave Era Disclosure Act-Corporations must disclose their ties to slavery prior to conducting business;

1999: Tulsa Race Riot Commission established

2000

2001: Pan African Unity convenes on the Question of Reparations;

2001: The Durban 400 and the African and African American Descendants Caucus and Pan African Unity on the Question of the TransAtlantic Slave Trade, Slavery, Colonialism, and Apartheid being Crimes Against Humanity and that Reparations are owed to African people worldwide;

2001: Publication of Randall Robinson's "The Debt," which presents a powerful argument for Reparations for the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade;

2002

OF REPAR

2002

2003: February 26th, First Hearing of the Consolidated Class Action Corporate Lawsuit in Chicago Federal Court.

Lead Attorneys were Lionel Jean-Baptiste and Roger Wareham. Over a two-year period Millions For Reparations organized mass rallies on the streets and filled the courtroom; Dr. Raymond Winbush's book on the reparations question, "Should America Pay?"; Creation of Ndaba Movement by Dr. Conrad Worrill, former National Chair of NBUF. Over a period of one year, five cities in the U.S.-Chicago, Jackson, Miss., Houston, Baltimore, and Atlanta hosted mass meetings with Minister Farrakhan and Worrill educating thousands about reparations;

2004: March 20th, Nationwide NBUF Elected Officials Reparations Survey Scorecard Campaign; May 12th, 2004 Second Reparations Lawsuit filed by Bob Brown, Chicago;

2005

2006: Wilmington Race Riot Report published in N.C calling for reparations for the 1898 Wilmington Massacre;

2007

2002-2003: Reparations Lawsuits; the addition of corporate entities to target groups for Reparations lawsuits; Reparations Corporate Lawsuit filed March 26, 2002, in Brooklyn, NY; Tulsa Riot Reparations Lawsuit filed February 24, 2003, in Tulsa, Oklahoma;

2003

2003-2004: Other City Council Resolutions (following the Chicago Model) require corporations to disclose their ties to slavery, January 8th, Reparations Lawsuit filed by Bob Brown in Chicago, March 20th Phase IV of NBUF Genocide Reparations Petition Campaign, worldwide;

2004

2005: Millions More Movement organized by Minister Farrakhan endorses reparations for the Transatlantic Slave Trade;

2005-2007: The state of Illinois Transatlantic Slave Trade Commission was established and two reports were published;

2006

By **2007** all Reparations Lawsuits were dismissed on the U.S. legal concept of Statute of Limitations. Under International Law, this concept does not apply. That's why International Reparations organizing is important;

REPARATIONS

2008

2014: Institute of the Black World and the Carruthers Center For Inner City Studies led by Dr. Ron Daniels sponsored CARICOM Representatives at a major forum on Reparations at Chicago State University, on April 19, 2014. Prominent leaders spoke before Hillary Beckles – author of the profound book “Britain’s Black Debt.”; Minister Farrakhan, Dr. Rev. Jeremiah Wright, Dr. Iva Carruthers, Kamm Howard, and Worrill preceded Beckles's presentation on CARICOM’s Ten Point Reparations Program. More than 3,000 were in attendance; The Atlantic Monthly magazine publishes Ta-Nehisi Coates’ “A Case For Reparations”; discussions continue around his article exposing real estate rip-off of Black people on Chicago’s Westside in the ’50s and early ’60s;

2015

2018: Yvette Carnell and Antonio Moore establish #ADOS hashtag, stirs up great controversy regarding their Reparations conceptualization and positions; a great deal of their strategy is based on Duke University professor, Dr. William Darity’s research on African-American wealth gap disparities;

2019

2008: Institute of the Black World sponsored the State of the Black World Conference on September 8, 2008, in New Orleans, major reparations workshop held with reparations scholars, organizers, and activists from throughout the United States;

2008-2016: Reparations Movement conflicted on strategy related to President Barack Obama’s tenure in office. N’COBRA, NBUF, and others continued to push HR40. N’COBRA sponsored through their National Plans of Actions, in Feb., each year around the country – Reparations Awareness Days;

2015: National African American Reparations Commission (NARRC) was established at York College in N.Y. Over three years NAARC and N’COBRA collaborated in upgrading HR40 beyond just a Study Bill;

2018

2019: U.S. House to hold reparations hearing on Juneteenth with testimony from Ta-Nehisi Coates and Danny Glover.



HEAR ROBIN SPEAK!

CLICK THE 'PLAY' ICON BELOW TO LEARN MORE!



ADDITIONAL RESOURCES

BOOKS/PODCASTS



- [NPR story on From Here to Equality](#) ←
- [Erika Alexander on Zerlina Maxwell](#) ←
- [The Big Payback Podcast](#) ←
- [The Breakfast Club Interview](#) ←
- [My Face Is Black Is True: Callie House and the Struggle for Ex-Slave Reparations](#) ←
- [From Here to Equality Book](#) ←
- [Black Reconstruction in America 1860–1880 by W. E. B. Du Bois](#) ←
- [Origin of Everything: The History of Reparations on PBS](#) ←
- [Henry Louis Gates Jr.'s “The Truth Behind 40 Acres and a Mule” on PBS](#) ←



ARTICLES/VIDEOS

- <https://www.npr.org/2020/06/17/879041052/william-darity-jr-discusses-reparations-racial-equality-in-his-new-book> ←
- <https://www.cityofevanston.org/government/city-council/reparations> ←
- <https://www.nbcnews.com/news/nbcblk/evanston-s-reparations-plan-noble-start-complicated-process-experts-say-n1262096> ←
- <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-63165668> ←
- <https://www.newyorker.com/news/us-journal/californias-novel-attempt-at-land-reparations> ←
- <https://www.nytimes.com/2022/12/01/business/economy/california-black-reparations.html> ←
- <https://naacp.org/resources/reaffirming-reparations-hr-40> ←
- <https://ny.pbslearningmedia.org/resource/reconstruction-black-codes/reconstruction-the-black-codes/> ←



WEB PAGES

- [NAARC 10-Point Reparations Plan](#) ←
- [CARICOM Reparations Ten-Point Plan](#) ←
- [Getting to Reparations: The 21st Century Reparations Manifesto of People of Afrikan Descent in America](#) ←



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