



**INTERNATIONAL NETWORK OF SCHOLARS AND
ACTIVISTS FOR AFRIKAN REPARTIONS**

GLOBAL REPORT

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INTRODUCTION

The International Network of Scholars and Activists for Afrikan Reparations (INOSAAR) is a collaborative trans-Atlantic project coordinated by the University of Edinburgh (UK) and Wheelock College (now at Boston University, USA) in collaboration with activists based in Europe, West Afrika and Abya Yala (as the Americas are sometimes referred to by indigenous peoples). Funding to support its creation was provided by the Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC) through their Research Networking Grant scheme under the highlight notice relating to the United Nations International Decade for People of African Descent (IDPAD, 2015–24). Our central purpose has been to create an international network dedicated to reparations and other forms of transitional justice for the enslavement and genocide of peoples of Afrikan descent. We included in this definition the invasion of the Afrikan continent by colonial powers (notably Britain and France) in the quest for new areas of political and cultural influence and economic expansion, and the subsequent oppression and deformation of Afrikan identities that arose from these histories. Our work is therefore situated within the context of the international recognition given in conclusion to the UN World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance (UNWCAR) that ‘slavery and the slave trade, including the transatlantic slave trade, were appalling tragedies in the history of humanity [...] and are a crime against humanity and should always have been so.’¹

Over the course of this project, we have brought together activists and academics, state and non-state actors. Through a series of workshops and seminars, culminating in a major international conference held in Benin in West Afrika, we have explored the challenges of building solidarity around reparations in multiple ways. First, we have focused on expanding our collective understandings of the possible meanings of reparation. Through this, we have worked to address some important gaps in current research on reparations by expanding the principle focus on legal and economic arguments through the incorporation of cultural, spiritual, environmental and psychological approaches to reparations. Second, we have encouraged cross-community collaborations by consulting with, and working alongside, grassroots activist groups and state and non-state actors who are engaged in the struggle for reparations and reparatory justice. The participation and contributions of these diverse groups have been central to shaping the INOSAAR’s agenda in terms of our collective contribution to building the International Social Movement for Afrikan Reparations (ISMAR) and the People’s

¹ Article 13 of the Durban Declaration and Programme of Action, UN World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance, 31 August–8 September 2001, <https://www.un.org/WCAR/durban.pdf> (accessed 12 June 2019), p. 6. For a critical reading of the wording of Article 13, see Hilary Beckles, *Britain’s Black Debt: Reparations for Caribbean Slavery and Native Genocide* (Jamaica: University of West Indies Press, 2013).

Reparations International Movement (PRIM).² As such, the INOSAAR represents a concrete example of academic and community engagement that is rooted in the praxis of decolonization, pluriversality and cognitive justice, or the equity of all knowledges. Third, we have promoted the importance of Afrikan knowledge systems for conducting scholarship and activism relating to reparations for enslavement, and have therefore critically engaged with the limitations of western-centric knowledge systems.

The purpose of this report is to give an overall account of the work we have conducted during the build-up to the grant and throughout its two-year lifespan, including reflections on the lessons we have learnt from bringing together different actors engaged in the quest for reparations. The process of reporting on this work offered us the opportunity to think through our key priorities going forwards, including our vision for the future of the INOSAAR beyond the AHRC grant and our plans for further activities. The contents of this report are of relevance to any person, organization or any institution interested in academic-community working relations, the struggle for reparations and reparative justice and/or the process of decolonization.

The report will begin by situating the work of the INOSAAR within a much broader historical timeframe that is linked to the recent re-emergence of calls for reparative justice for the crimes against humanity relating to Afrikan enslavement. It will then outline the specific history of the creation of the INOSAAR and our aims and objectives, before summarizing our key achievements and activities to-date. This will be followed by an analysis of some of the key lessons that we have learned as a result of our meetings and discussions, and some of the ways that we have sought to confront and overcome any internal tensions in order to build solidarity and uphold our shared Principles of Participation that are rooted in the concept of cognitive justice. Finally, we will outline our vision for the future direction of the INOSAAR in response to the three strategic pillars of the IDPAD: recognition, justice and development.

DEFINING REPARATIONS WITHIN THE LONG HISTORY OF FREEDOM STRUGGLE

The struggle for reparations and reparative or restorative justice for the trafficking, enslavement and colonization of Afrikan peoples, with all their attendant legacies of racial and national oppression, has

² The People's Reparations International Movement (PRIM) refers to the collectivity of a broad alliance of social forces among peoples all over the world, consisting of a broad array of constituencies, with a range of ideological orientations, working in diverse ways, and acting with some degree of organization and continuity to: obtain redress for historical atrocities and injustices, which have contemporary consequences; repair the harms inflicted; and rehabilitate the victims in the process of effecting and securing the anti-systemic objectives of reparations.

a long and varied history that dates from the beginnings of chattel enslavement itself.³ It is a struggle that is interwoven into the histories of Afrikan-led resistance to enslavement in both the former colonies and on the continent. However, the contemporary understanding of reparations hinges upon the framework of human rights discourse that emerged after the Second World War, when the legal concept of a crime against humanity was first determined. In international law, reparations might take a number of different forms, including restitution (or the return of property to those from whom it was wrongfully appropriated); different forms of compensation; rehabilitation; and satisfaction, involving symbolic measures of redress to address immaterial and symbolic harms, such as an apology, official acknowledgement of wrongdoing, or commemorative activity.⁴ It is within this international setting that many activists operating at national and regional levels have sought to justify and assert their claims using ‘a global language that seeks to find a shared understanding of what it is to be human in the wake of major human rights abuses.’⁵

There are, however, multiple initiatives to gain reparations that predate post-war international legislation. One of the earliest examples is the 1726 letter written by Fiaga Agaja Trudo Audati, which was addressed to King George I, but was not delivered until 1731 to King George II, by a specially designated Dahomey Ambassador called Adomo Tomo and the British merchant and former employee of the Royal African Company, Bullfinch Lambe. The original letter demanded an end to chattel enslavement and trafficking, and its repair through an alternative ‘Scheme of Trade’ by means of setting up ‘local plantation agriculture’ within Ouidah.⁶ According to an account written at the time of the letter, this scheme would not only ensure that captives were no longer ‘carried off’ and enslaved, but was also deemed to be ‘quite foreign to the former Slave Trade.’⁷ The desire to find

³ Note that sections of the following summary have been taken with permission from two publications: Nicola Frith and Joyce Hope Scott, ‘Introduction: National and International Perspectives on Movements for Reparations,’ *Journal of African American History*, 103 (2018), 1–18; Nicola Frith, ‘Reparations for Slavery in the French Republic: A National Debate?’, *Bulletin of Francophone Postcolonial Studies*, 8 (2017), 1–12.

⁴ These definitions were provided by Katarina Schwarz during her intervention on ‘Reconsidering Legal Redress for Historic Injustice: The Impact of Multiple Modalities of Reparatory Justice in International Law’ in Porto-Novo, 20 September 2018.

⁵ Nicola Frith and Kate Hodgson, ‘Slavery and its Legacies: Remembering Labour Exploitation in the Francophone World,’ in *At the Limits of Memory: Legacies of Slavery in the Francophone World*, ed. by Nicola Frith and Kate Hodgson (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2015), pp. 1–21 (p. 11).

⁶ Walter Rodney, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* (Baltimore: Black Classic Press, 2011; first publ. 1972), p. 81.

⁷ Note that the original letter is referenced in John Atkins’s account of *A voyage to Guinea, Brasil and the West Indies; in His Majesty's ships, the Swallow and Weymouth* (London: Ward and Chandler, 1735), <https://archive.org/details/voyagetoguineabr00atki/page/n7> (accessed 10 July 2019). In this text, Atkins describes Agaja’s (the King of Dahomey) conquest as motivated by a desire to rescue his own people from slavery and as having waged a revolution against the so-called ‘Slave Trade’; Atkins, pp. 119–22. It is for this reason, that Akinjogbin describes Agaja as a leader inspired by a desire to put an end to slavery (despite the fact that, in later life, Agaja was forced back into trafficking as a means of self-defence); I. A. Akinjogbin, *Dahomey and its Neighbours, 1708–1818* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967). Note that the translation of the original letter that arrived several years later in the UK and was presented before Parliament was deemed to be a fraud,

an alternative represents an important historical initiative taken on the Afrikan continent and addressed to the Monarchy of England by one of the key abolitionists and freedom-fighting leaders. Despite his armed revolutionary resistance to the horrors of the *Maangamizi* (a Kiswahili term referring to the Afrikan Holocaust, or Hellocaust, and its links to chattel, colonial and neo-colonial enslavement), Agaja was eventually compelled by European powers, and their armed mercenary puppet allies in Afrika, to succumb and participate in the trafficking.

Another key landmark can be traced back to 1783, when Belinda Sutton, an Afrikan-born woman enslaved by the Royall family, began a series of petitions to the Massachusetts General Court to claim a pension from the estate of Isaac Royall Jr.⁸ Simultaneously, across the Atlantic in the UK, the formerly enslaved Afrikan abolitionist, Attobah Kwodjo Enu, became the first published Afrikan author in English to denounce the so-called 'trade' and 'to pronounce the Afrikan human right to resistance against enslavement, as well as to advocate in writing the demand for reparations including restitution' (1787).⁹

It is worth noting that the Haitian Revolution (1791–1804) began just a few years later and was significant for being the first successful anti-slavery and anti-colonial insurrection led by self-liberated Afrikans against their French enslavers. As such it holds the special status of being the first black Republic to liberate itself from enslavement and represents a defining moment in the battle against colonial oppression and occupation. It also has a special place in the history of reparations since the newly formed Haitian Republic was forced to pay 150 million French francs to compensate the enslavers for their losses, in exchange for which France would recognize Haitian independence and stop the threat of reinvasion. However, rather than leading to emancipation, this financially crippling agreement (noting that the debt represented five times the average annual value of Haiti's exports) tied the Haitian Republic to France by requiring the newly independent state to borrow the capital required to repay the debt from the French banks. The debt would not be fully repaid until 1947. As Joachim has noted, this was a "'whole new way" of granting emancipation or recognizing Independence,' based on a 'neo-colonial charter before the letter.'¹⁰ It also set the course for the later

suggesting that Bullfinch Lambe had betrayed Agaja's proposal; see Robin Law, 'Further light on Bullfinch Lambe and the "Emperor of Pawpaw": King Agaja of Dahomey's Letter to King George I of England, 1726,' *History in Africa* 17 (1990), 211–26.

⁸ Raymond Winbush, *Belinda's Petition: A Concise History of Reparations for the TransAtlantic Slave Trade* (Bloomington, IN: Xlibris, 2009).

⁹ Southwark 2007 and Beyond (S2007B), *Abeng Soundings: Abolitionist Landmarks of our Freedom March. Chronology of some Abolitionist Landmarks of World History Relevant to the Maangamizi and Anti-Slavery Resistance* (Southwark Council, 2008), p. 52.

¹⁰ Original text: "'une manière toute nouvelle" d'octroyer l'émancipation ou de reconnaître l'Indépendance,' based on 'un charte de néo-colonialisme avant la lettre'); Benoit Joachim, 'La reconnaissance d'Haïti par la France (1825): naissance d'un nouveau type de rapports internationaux,' *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine*, 22 (1975), 369–96 (p. 370).

abolition acts, which would likewise perform the legal contortion of financially rewarding the enslavers for their crimes.

The refusal of those responsible to pay reparations to those formerly enslaved was also established in the nineteenth-century debates over abolition. For example, although the question of paying reparations to the formerly enslaved population was briefly raised by the abolitionist Victor Schœlcher in France, it was pushed aside in favour of indemnity payments to the enslavers in line with the precedent set by the 1833 Slavery Abolition Act in Britain. These political decisions, as Garraway notes, violated 'the principle of corrective justice according to which equality must be restored between wrongdoer and victim.'¹¹

Likewise, in the USA, the 13th amendment (1865) abolishing slavery at the end of the Civil War resulted in compensation payments being made to the enslavers, while those who has been enslaved were left with nothing. Abolition, in this case, resulted in the establishment of a US federal government agency known as the Freedmen's Bureau, which was supposed to administer reparations. One such plan was General William T. Sherman's Field Order #15, a proposal in the form of '40 acres and a mule' for formerly enslaved families. However, the Bureau failed on numerous fronts, not least of which (as W.E.B. Du Bois comments) was 'to carry out to any considerable extent its implied promises to furnish the freedmen with land.'¹² Its untimely closure in 1872, long before its work was complete, left 'a legacy of striving for other men,' which stimulated the early Afrikan-American struggles for reparations that continue to the present-day.¹³

One of the most well-known examples being the work conducted by Callie House, a woman formerly enslaved in Tennessee. House became the leader of the National Ex-Slave Mutual Relief, Bounty and Pension Association (1898), one of the first organizations to campaign for reparations in the United States.¹⁴ To talk about reparations for Afrikan enslavement is therefore to talk about a longstanding and unmet claim that has yet to receive the serious attention of the former enslaving and colonial powers, and has yet to achieve a legal precedent within national and international courts.

The failure to supply land, and the insufficiency of most other attempts to resettle the formerly enslaved populations on their own land, resulted in many desperate Black men and women seeking alternatives to remaining on the land of their former oppressors, such as Benjamin 'Pap' Singleton's migration crusade enticing thousands of Black people out the South to the Oklahoma

¹¹ Doris L. Garraway, 'Memory as Reparation? The Politics of Remembering Slavery in France from Abolition to the Loi Taubira (2001),' *International Journal of Francophone Studies*, 11 (2008), 365–86 (p. 371).

¹² W.E.B. du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk* (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1994: first publ. Chicago: A.C. McClurg, 1903), p. 22.

¹³ Du Bois, p. 24.

¹⁴ Mary Frances Berry, *My Face Is Black Is True: Callie House and the Struggle for Ex-Slave Reparations* (New York: Vintage Books, 2006).

territory, as well as the creation of numerous black settlements and all-black towns being established in the Southern and Western states of the USA.¹⁵ Reparations for Afrikan enslavement has therefore always meant far more than just money, being intimately connected to the need for land, sovereignty and self-determination. As Delaney says, ‘every people should be the originators of their own schemes, and creators of the events that lead to their destiny.’¹⁶

If the exact conditions of abolition differed from one colony and colonial system to another, commonalities can nonetheless be identified in the repeated failure of imperialist and federal governments to provide the necessary socio-economic systems and socially protective structures for the freed population, and to find effective ways of encouraging social advancement to lead to de facto equality.¹⁷ By the beginning of the twentieth century, shared grievances among colonized and oppressed peoples led to the establishment of the first transnational efforts to unite diaspora and continental Afrikans through the Pan-African Conferences (PACs) held in 1900 (London), 1921 (London, Paris, Brussels), 1923 (London, Lisbon), 1927 (New York) and, most importantly, in 1945 (Manchester). These events (especially the fifth) effectively ‘marked the beginning of the end of European colonial rule in Africa and the Caribbean,’ as well as the consolidation of a growing pan-African social movement out of which contemporary movements for reparations would emerge.¹⁸

The Abuja Proclamation represents a key moment in this history. In December 1990, the First International Conference on Reparations, held in Lagos, led to the creation of the Group of Eminent Persons (GEP), set up by the Organization of African Unity (OAU). Its remit was ‘to pursue the goal of reparations to Africa,’ with precedents being offered by the ‘reparations to Jews for the Holocaust, and the movement in the United States for reparations to African-Americans.’¹⁹ Its lasting significance

¹⁵ Molefi Kete Asante and Ama Zama (eds.), *Encyclopedia of Black Studies* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2005), p. 132.

¹⁶ Cited in John T. McCartney, *Black Power Ideologies: An Essay in African American Political Thought* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1992), p. 16.

¹⁷ See, for example, Doug McAdam, *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency 1930–1970* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), which locates the roots of twentieth-century black insurgency in the US in the post-abolitionist period. See also Nelly Schmidt, *La France a-t-elle aboli l’esclavage?* (Paris: Perrin, 2009), which traces the plight of the former slave colonies and the ‘nouveaux libres’ (newly-freed) after abolition.

¹⁸ Kehinde Andrews, ‘We need to revive the revolutionary spirit of the Pan-African Congress,’ *The Guardian*, 15 October 2015, <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2015/oct/15/revolutionary-spirit-pan-african-congress> (accessed 18 August 2017). Note that Andrews’ enthusiasm for the PACs, and notably the fifth PAC, is significantly dampened in his book, *Back to Black: Retelling Black Radicalism for the 21st Century* (London: ZED Books, 2018). Marika Sherwood, ‘Pan-African Conferences, 1900–1953: What did “Pan-Africanism” Mean?’, *Journal of Pan-African Studies*, 4 (2012), 106–26.

¹⁹ Rhoda E. Howard-Hassmann, ‘Reparations to Africa and the Group of Eminent Persons,’ *Cahier d’Études Africaines*, 44 (2004), 81–97 (p. 84 and p. 87). Examples of African-American movements include the founding of the National Coalition of Blacks for Reparations in America (N’Cobra) in 1987 and congressman John Conyers Jr’s now infamous H.R.40 bill first submitted in 1989 and every year since: ‘H.R. 3745 Commission to Study Reparation Proposal for African Americans Act,’ 101st Congress (1989–1990), 20 November 1989, <https://www.congress.gov/bill/101st-congress/house-bill/3745> (accessed 11 September 2017).

lies, however, in having established ‘the legitimacy of a transnational movement for reparations.’²⁰ In 1993, a second conference was held in Abuja, sponsored by the GEP, which resulted in the issuing of the Abuja Proclamation calling ‘upon the international community to recognize that there is a unique and unprecedented moral debt owed to the Afrikan peoples which has yet to be paid.’²¹ In response, groups were formed at a national level, such as the Africa Reparations Movement in the UK (1993), led by the late MP Bernie Grant, whose early day motion called attention to the Abuja Proclamation and was signed by 46 Labour MPs.²² This then lay the groundwork for organizations such as the Pan-Afrikan Reparations Coalition in Europe (PARCOE) and historic initiatives, such as the Black Quest for Justice Campaign ‘Law as Resistance,’ which launched a ‘global strategy to effect Pan-Afrikan Reparations for Global Justice’ and resulted in the filing of a ‘Pan-Afrikan Reparations for Global Justice Class Action at the offices of the British Attorney General, Lord Goldsmith QC’ against the British head of state (2003).²³

The three-year preparatory period leading to the United Nations World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance (UNWCAR) would help to consolidate this burgeoning transnational movement, notably through the work of the Regional Conference for Africa and the Africa and African Descendants Caucus.²⁴ They issued calls before and repeatedly during the UNWCAR, the trace of which can be seen in Article 13 of the Durban Declaration.

The two decades since the Declaration have seen a proliferation of reparation campaigns that have often coincided with the different anniversaries relating to the abolition decrees. Since the late-1990s, these abolition-focused commemorations have provided the socio-political framework in which to generate public interest and raise awareness about the history of slavery. In 1998, France celebrated the sesquicentenary of the Abolition Act (1848) and was followed by the two-hundred-year anniversary of the UK’s Abolition Act (1807) in 2007. In 2015, the United States commemorated the 150th anniversary of the Thirteenth Amendment (1867) that abolished slavery and involuntary servitude, while also marking two hundred years since the Congress of Vienna (1815) declared its opposition to slavery.

²⁰ Michael T. Martin and Marilyn Yaquinto, ‘Reparations for “America’s Holocaust”: Activism for Global Justice,’ *Race & Class*, 45 (2004), 1–25 (p. 14).

²¹ ‘The Abuja Proclamation,’ <http://ncobra.org/resources/pdf/TheAbujaProclamation.pdf> (accessed 22 August 2017).

²² Bernie Grant, ‘Early Day Motion 1987: Abuja Proclamation,’ 10 May 1993, <http://www.parliament.uk/business/publications/business-papers/commons/early-day-motions/edm-detail1/?edmnumber=1987&session=1992-93> (accessed 22 August 2017).

²³ *Abeng Soundings*, pp. 147–48.

²⁴ Martin and Yaquinto, p. 14. See also the ‘Report of the Regional Conference for Africa (22–24 January 2001),’ <http://dag.un.org/handle/11176/234465> (accessed 22 August 2017) and the ‘WCAR Report of African and African Descendants,’ October 2001, <https://academic.udayton.edu/race/06hrights/OppressedGroups/AfricanDescendants/WCARReport01.htm> (accessed 22 August 2017).

Commemorative efforts have, in turn, resulted in different forms of official recognition that have taken place at local, national and international levels both within countries historically responsible for creating and sustaining the system of chattel enslavement and countries that have suffered as a result. These include state-sponsored and community-led commemorative activities around key dates in the abolitionist, resistance and/or independence calendar, official speeches by elected officials at the highest political levels, the renovation of museums and galleries with permanent and temporary exhibitions, the erection of statues, public art projects and plaques, the creation and/or rehabilitation of key sites of memory (for example, through the UNESCO Slave Route project²⁵) and national legislation to recognize the significance of slavery and the so-called slave ‘trade’ as crimes against humanity.²⁶

The re-emergence of calls for reparative justice has therefore gone hand-in-hand with this rapid proliferation of public memories of slavery.²⁷ Activism in this area has been most recently bolstered by the emergence of the transregional campaign being led by the Caribbean Community (CARICOM) Reparations Commission (CRC) and their calls for European governments to participate in the ‘Caricom Reparations Justice Programme.’²⁸ This was followed-up in 2017 by the inauguration of the world’s first Centre for Reparation Research at the University of the West Indies to facilitate the CRC’s 10-point plan. Beyond the regional level, international support has come from the UN, who not only declared the IDPAD in 2015 and named reparations as one of their strategic goals, but also sent a Working Group of Experts on People of African Descent to the USA and called upon the US State to engage in a process of reparatory justice for Afrikan-Americans.²⁹ This was more recently followed-up by an ‘Expert Workshop on Reparations, Racial Justice and Equality,’ convened at New York University

²⁵ UNESCO, ‘The Slave Route,’ <http://www.unesco.org/new/en/social-and-human-sciences/themes/slave-route/> (accessed 5 June 2019).

²⁶ Note that to-date France remains the only former enslaving power to have recognized ‘that the transatlantic and Indian Ocean slave trades and slavery [...] perpetrated from the 15th century onwards in the Americas, the Caribbean, the Indian Ocean and Europe, against African, indigenous Americans, Malagasy and Indian peoples constitute a crime against humanity’; Christiane Taubira, Loi n° 2001-434 du 21 mai 2001 tendant à la reconnaissance de la traite et de l’esclavage en tant que crime contre l’humanité, 21 May 2001, <https://www.legifrance.gouv.fr/affichTexte.do?cidTexte=JORFTEXT000000405369> (accessed 5 June 2019).

²⁷ This evolution has been identified by various scholars as a memorial ‘turn’ — one that includes a reckoning with multiple histories of trauma after the Second World War, notably the Holocaust — in which the previous silencing or repression of traumatic memories (or what Paul Ricoeur describes as a situation where there is ‘not enough’ memory) suddenly gives way to ‘too much’ memory, before arriving (in theory, at least) ‘at a peaceful state of remembrance’; Christine Chivallon, ‘Representing the Slave Past: The Limits of Museographical and Patrimonial Discourses,’ in *At the Limits of Memory: Legacies of Slavery in the Francophone World*, ed. by Nicola Frith and Kate Hodgson (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2015), pp. 25–48 (p. 27).

²⁸ Caricom Reparations Commission, ‘10-Point Reparation Plan,’ <http://caricomreparations.org/caricom/caricoms-10-point-reparation-plan/> (accessed 22 August 2017). See also Beckles, *Britain’s Black Debt* (2013).

²⁹ ‘Report of the Working Group of Experts in People of African Descent on its Mission to the United States of America,’ 18 August 2016, <https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/G16/183/30/PDF/G1618330.pdf?OpenElement> (accessed 8 September 2017).

on 29 May by the UN Special Rapporteur on contemporary forms of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, in which the INOSAAR participated.³⁰

Then on Juneteenth 2019 (or 19 June; a day that commemorates the emancipation of enslaved Afrikans in the USA) a first hearing of the House Judiciary Subcommittee on the Constitution, Civil Rights, and Civil Liberties was held at which prominent Afrikan American writers, activists and scholars were invited to testify on reparations. This historic moment represents a first step in debating reparations and in moving forward with Congressman John Conyers's H.R.40 Bill, first submitted in 1989 and every year since, to establish a 'Commission to Study Reparations Proposals for African Americans Act.'³¹

While none of these efforts has yet resulted in any deep-rooted engagement by those historically responsible, commemorations and anniversaries have nonetheless provided a door through which the histories and memories of slavery have entered the public space. At the same time, these histories and memories have been enclosed within a tightly-controlled, state-sanctioned apparatus that commemorates the past and celebrates abolition without addressing the longstanding consequences of the past that continue to be lived the present.³²

Indeed, it has often been the case that those willing to press the former colonizers to recognize that they have a case to answer risk dire political consequences. In 2004, for example, when Haiti marked its bicentenary of independence from French rule, President Jean-Bertrand Aristide called for the French state to pay back the 90 million gold francs that the newly formed Haitian Republic was forced to pay from 1825 to 1947 in exchange for the recognition of its new-found freedom. It is believed that these calls were in part responsible for the resulting coup d'état orchestrated by the USA in collaboration with France, which saw Aristide replaced by Gerard Tortue, who rescinded the call.³³ Similarly, Senator Jomo Thomas, Chair of the St Vincent and the Grenadines Reparations Committee, reported evidence of interference by western powers following the launch of the CRC. He stated in a TV interview that there had been a 'push-back from the neo-colonial powers [...] from the United States, Britain and Holland,' pointing out that it was not 'only state-to-state push-

³⁰ 'Special Rapporteur on contemporary forms of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance,' <https://www.ohchr.org/en/issues/racism/srracism/pages/indexsrracism.aspx> (accessed 13 June 2019). See the INOSAAR report on this event: <https://www.inosaar.llc.ed.ac.uk/en/blog/un-special-rapporteur-expert-workshop-reparations>.

³¹ 'H.R. 3745' (1989).

³² See, for example, Chivallon (2015); Nicola Frith, 'Saving the Republic: State Nostalgia and Slavery Reparations in Media and Political Discourses,' *Modern & Contemporary France*, 23 (2015), 213–32; Marcus Wood, *The Horrible Gift of Freedom: Atlantic Slavery and the Representation of Emancipation* (Athens, GA: The University of Georgia Press, 2010).

³³ Paul Farmer, 'Who Removed Aristide?,' *London Review of Books*, 26 (2004), 28–31.

back' but also 'a multilateral push-back from the institutions in the European Union, the World Bank, in the International Monetary Fund.'³⁴

The existence of international politico-economic structures that permit the former colonizers to eschew all responsibility for the past, while continuing to profit from their (waning) imperial power (facilitated through the international political economy, notably the World Bank), points to weaknesses within the international legal apparatus in terms of its ability to call nation-states to account, as well as the unprecedented scale of the task in hand. This has meant that governments have typically been able to dismiss and/or ignore the demands of organizations and campaigns, such as the Black Quest for Justice Campaign and the CRC.

For example, in the 2003 Black Quest for Justice Campaign, legal action to prosecute 'Her Royal Majesty Elizabeth II, Queen of the United Kingdom and Head of the British Commonwealth. The case was for the genocidal holocaust (*Maangamizi*) of the so-called 'transatlantic slave trade,' apartheid and other crimes against humanity from the era of chattel enslavement, through to colonialism and on into the present order of neocolonialism against Afrikan people, including those of Afrikan Descent worldwide. However, it could not be carried any further because it came up against the stipulation in British Law that Queen Elizabeth II (the Monarchy) is considered sovereign for legal purposes and is, as such, immune to prosecution as Head of the UK state.³⁵ The sovereign not only has immunity from prosecution, but it has become accepted, based on historic precedent and tradition, that he or she cannot be required to give evidence in court. This is technically the same for other heads of state, who enjoy this substantial legal privilege, at least during their terms of office. The Queen, of course, holds her office for life. In fact, no UK monarch, and by extension Head of the Commonwealth, has appeared in court since Charles I in 1649. So as argued by Kofi Mawuli Klu (PARCOE), 'the only use of law, including international law, that will meaningfully serve the cause of our Afrikan struggle for Reparations is that which conceptualises and effects *Law as Resistance*.'³⁶ This means utilizing the stipulations within existing law to fight for justice in such a way that will enable people to break those unjust stipulations and operations, and thereby advance towards new framings and operations of law that will equitably deliver more substantive justice.

We must therefore begin by appreciating the variety of alternative approaches and wealth of definitions that have arisen out of this gaping breach in justice. These definitions counter the reductive interpretation of reparations as demands for individual payments, or simply as a 'pay cheque,' through

³⁴ Interview with Senator Jomo Thomas, Insight with Rashid Rose Show, Sky 826, 7 May 2016.

³⁵ 'The Queen and Law,' <https://www.royal.uk/queen-and-law> (accessed 26 June 2019).

³⁶ Kofi Mawuli Klu, 'Charting an Afrikan Self-Determined Path of Legal Struggle for Reparations,' A draft paper for presentation at the Birmingham Working Conference of the Africa Reparations Movement, UK, 11 December 1993.

a strict economic framing that echoes the cold economics of the system of slavery itself. In addition to the wide-reaching and transformative monetary proposals, such as the ‘superfund’ suggested by V.P. Franklin, reparative justice covers a whole swathe of existing strategies: from those linked to litigation, legislation and other forms of transitional and social justice, such as affirmative action; to educational and museal initiatives, or cultural projects in literature, art and music; to psychological and spiritual forms of internal and community repair; to environmental efforts to reverse the devastating effects of extractivism in all its forms; to the more official and political frameworks of recognition, such as commemorative ceremonies, memorialization, public apologies and government-sponsored committees.³⁷

In recent studies, the definition of reparations for Afrikan enslavement has been further expanded to incorporate some of the historical actions undertaken by Black communities in their quest for restitution. Raymond Winbush, for example, argues that ‘slave rebellions can be considered the earliest and most violent expressions of reparations on the part of Africans because they sought to secure their denied freedom by any means necessary including retaliatory and defensive violence.’³⁸ The Haitian Revolution stands, of course, as the defining example of this, but to provide some of the earliest examples, in 1502, the first known Afrikan Maroon escaped his captors in Hispaniola (modern-day Haiti) and joined the indigenous population in their fight against the Spanish invaders.³⁹ In 1605 in Colombia, the maroon leader, Domingo Benkos Bioho, led the first recorded successful negotiation with the Spanish colonial authorities for the recognition of the Palenque community as a free town of Afrikans and their descendants.⁴⁰ These struggles were echoed on the continent. For example, in 1510, the Khoi fought and defeated the Portuguese in modern-day South Africa in the first recorded war between Afrikans and Europeans.⁴¹ The Afrikans who orchestrated these early revolts carried with them a consciousness of their homeland and its legacies, and, as such, ‘wanted to *repair the damage* done by their kidnapping from West Africa and the restrictions placed on them by laws that incrementally removed their rights as “citizens” and property owners.’⁴²

Likewise, other histories and narratives can be usefully re-envisioned through a reparative lens, resulting in scholars broadening their inquiries into the nature of reparations beyond the legal, political and economic perspectives which have dominated the discourse around the subject in recent decades. Two examples of areas for further investigation from this perspective are the arts and

³⁷ V.P. Franklin, ‘Introduction—African Americans and Movements for Reparations: From Ex-Slave Pensions to the Reparations Superfund,’ *Journal of African American History*, 97 (2012), 1–12.

³⁸ Winbush, p. 18.

³⁹ *Abeng Soundings*, p. 21.

⁴⁰ *Abeng Soundings*, p. 27.

⁴¹ *Abeng Soundings*, P. 21.

⁴² Winbush, p. 19. See also Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1995).

humanities, and activist or grassroots actions which might be characterized as reparatory. To begin with the arts and humanities, the Black Arts Movement can be reassessed by defining it, as Larry Neale suggests, 'as the aesthetic and spiritual sister of the Black Power concept [...] that proposes a radical reordering of the western cultural aesthetic' and entails the creation of 'a separate symbolism, mythology, critique, and iconology.'⁴³ This connects to a major liberatory concern of reparation scholars and activists today relating to the health of the Afrikan mind and spirit. In this respect, the Black artist, Neale notes, views his 'primary duty as one of speaking to the spiritual and cultural needs of Black people' by confronting the issues of living in a white supremacist society.⁴⁴

What emerges from this very brief overview is the need for a multidirectional and multidimensional definition of reparations that is open to a rich variety of approaches, while remaining focused on the need to repair the damage caused as result of slavery as a crime against humanity. This is all the more important since we are finally witnessing a period in which the urgency of reparative action is gaining political and social traction, particularly in the USA where Democratic candidates have, for the first time, included reparations within their political agendas, but also in Scotland where the University of Glasgow has signed a Memorandum of Understanding with the University of the West Indies to study the effects of slavery and possible reparations.⁴⁵

Reparations are not simply a long-overdue 'pay cheque' but a call for holistic repairs that seek to heal those within the black and Afrikan communities, guarantee the equal participation of all members of the human race (for example, through self-determination), eradicate the effects of Afrikan enslavement and the subsequent histories of colonialism and racial oppression, and find ways to rebuild respectful and egalitarian relations between all communities through the recognition of responsibility for the wrong committed and the harm inflicted. The IDPAD with its three pillars of recognition, justice and development offers a window of opportunity in which to properly engage with Afrikan reparations on an international scale and promote the visibility and legitimacy of those working for reparative justice.

The Creation of the INOSAAR

⁴³ Larry Neale, 'The Black Arts Movement,' *Drama Review* (1968), <http://nationalhumanitiescenter.org/pds/maai3/community/text8/blackartsmovement.pdf> (accessed 29 November 2017).

⁴⁴ Neale (1968).

⁴⁵ 'UWI and University of Glasgow to sign MoU on slavery research,' *Jamaica Observer*, 26 July 2019. Note that this agreement followed the publication of a report written by Stephen Mullen and Simon Newman looking at how the University of Glasgow benefitted from the profits of slavery through endowments and bursaries; 'Slavery, Abolition and the University of Glasgow. Report and Recommendations of the University of Glasgow History of Slavery Steering Committee,' September 2018, www.gla.ac.uk/media/media_607547_en.pdf (accessed 1 October 2018).

It is within this long history of reparative activism (and the equally longstanding juridical and political refusal to address reparations) that we can position the need to create an international network of scholars and activists for Afrikan reparations.

As the brief historical overview provided above has shown, the struggle to gain recognition for the historical importance of Afrikan enslavement has been fought by multiple and often interconnected groups and individuals. This collective effort has given rise to a proliferation of sites of memory that have helped to raise public awareness about the centrality of the slavery to the economic wealth of the western world. However, this effort has also stopped short of moving beyond memory and towards praxis; that is, towards the need for holistic reparations and reparative justice. Indeed, the subject of reparations has often resulted in division rather than unification. Divisions between scholars and activists have been particularly marked in the UK and Europe more widely; a situation that is markedly different from that in the USA where scholar-activist collaborations have flourished around the struggle for reparations for chattel slavery, Jim Crow and the resulting racial inequity. As noted by Sir Hilary Beckles (Chair of the CRC), more often than not British (and other European) academics have betrayed the legitimacy of the struggle for reparations, with state officials having 'engaged the services of scholars to deny and deflect culpability. Armed with scholarly ammunition, mostly produced in its universities, the British state [among others] has set out on a path of denial, refusal and confrontation.'⁴⁶ Instead, European governments have actively used memory and commemoration as convenient endpoints for their official engagement on the basis that memory offers the only possible 'moral' response to the crimes of the past.⁴⁷ The idea of creating an international and trans-Atlantic association unifying scholarship and activism therefore drew from both the strengths of scholar-activist collaboration in the USA and the urgent need to address the breaches in these relations in the UK.

The INOSAAR also emerged out of the acknowledgement that there are tensions whenever members of the Academy, representing a broadly white, male and/or bourgeois community, engage in matters concerning marginalized and racialized groups who have not been given adequate recognition. This is particularly true where crimes against humanity continue to have multiple adverse effects on these same groups in the present day. As Ana Lucia Araujo notes in the opening pages of her book on *Reparations for Slavery and the Slave Trade* (2018), great care needs to be taken when

⁴⁶ Beckles, *Britain's Black Debt*, pp. 12–13.

⁴⁷ Frith, 'Reparations for Slavery in the French Republic' (2017).

studying ‘the impacts of the Atlantic slave trade and slavery in Africa and former slave societies’; a process that she compares to ‘walk[ing] in a minefield.’⁴⁸

The immediate origins of the INOSAAR are located in a major international conference, entitled ‘Repairing the Past, Imagining the Future: Reparations and Beyond...’ (5–7 November 2015), that marked the two-hundred-year anniversary of the first international agreement to abolish slavery during the Congress of Vienna of 1815 and the 150th anniversary of the Thirteenth Amendment abolishing slavery in the United States.⁴⁹ The conference was coordinated by two trans-Atlantic scholars (Professor Joyce Hope Scott, then at Wheelock College, Boston, and Dr Nicola Frith, University of Edinburgh) who saw these two anniversaries as providing an important socio-political context in which to discuss the subject of reparations from a range of disciplinary backgrounds, while exploring the different national contexts in which social movements linked to reparations are operating.

A few weeks prior to the conference, the organizers received an Open Letter published by PARCOE (22 October 2015) in which concerns were voiced about the asymmetrical power relations at work whenever academics, operating within elite institutions, engage with reparations.⁵⁰ While they welcomed this event and its open invitation to activists, they also criticized its format — as a fee-paying academic conference — that would (to quote) ‘marginalize the grassroots stakeholders in the matter of Reparatory Justice’ and exclude ‘the majority of voices which ought to be an indispensable part of this [...] cross-fertilizing dialogue.’ They emphasized that,

any exploration of an issue, in academic spaces, that refuses to acknowledge and enable adequate representation of the knowledge systems and perspectives of the majority of people who experience the subject matter being dealt with, can only result in Cognitive Injustice.

In asking Frith and Hope Scott to acknowledge these exclusions and power imbalances, they drew attention to what Choudry explains as the tendency of ‘professionalized “experts” or university-based intellectuals’ to ignore, render invisible or overwrite ‘the voices, ideas, and indeed theories produced by those engaged in social struggles.’⁵¹ PARCOE argued that the organizers needed to create a more egalitarian space for knowledge exchange and collaboration; one that would, to quote Croteau,

⁴⁸ Ana Lucia Araujo, *Reparations for Slavery and the Slave Trade: A Transnational and Comparative History* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2017), p. 11.

⁴⁹ ‘Repairing the Past, Imagining the Future: Reparations and Beyond...’, 5–7 November 2015, University of Edinburgh, <https://www.ed.ac.uk/history-classics-archaeology/history/news-events/news-and-events-archive/news-and-events-2015/repairing-the-past-imagining-the-future-reparation> (accessed 18 June 2019).

⁵⁰ PARCOE, ‘Edinburgh Conference: Open Letter of Appeal for Cognitive Justice in Academic Discourse on Reparations,’ 22 October 2015, <https://www.facebook.com/parcoinfo/posts/edinburgh-conference-open-letter-of-appeal-for-cognitive-justice-in-academic-dis/532973063531840/> (accessed 26 June 2019).

⁵¹ Aziz Choudry, *Learning Activism: The Intellectual Life of Contemporary Social Movements* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2015), p. 17.

Hoynes and Ryan, ‘recognize how power and inequality shape context’ and understand how ‘academics situated within powerful institutions are inevitably implicated in the social inequalities that result.’⁵²

This appeal and the positive response provided by the organizers lie at the root of the INOSAAR and its efforts to unite scholars and activists on an international scale. The organizers addressed PARCOE’s immediate concerns by removing the fee and providing greater space in the programme for activists to voice their concerns, which enabled many UK-based activists to attend the conference and engage with trans-Atlantic scholars and scholar-activists from the USA and Caribbean. The concluding roundtable came up with a series of recommendations, which included the need to secure funding to ensure that the type of interaction that was just starting to take place between what were termed ‘establishment academics’ and communities of reparations interest could continue in the future. It was our collective desire to build, or perhaps mend the bridges between academics and activists and confront the underlying tensions between these communities head-on that led to the creation of the INOSAAR.

AHRC FUNDING

In 2016, Frith and Hope Scott responded to the AHRC’s call for proposals to the Research Networking Grants scheme to ‘address research issues of relevance to, or raised by, the International Decade for People of African Descent and with the potential to broadly contribute to the aims of the UN Decade,’ including its three pillars of recognition, development and justice.⁵³ It is worth noting that to-date this Highlight Notice and the networks that the AHRC subsequently funded are the only UK initiatives to have been given any *government* funding in relation to the IDPAD, while the British government has yet to officially recognize the Decade (despite calls to do so).⁵⁴ These networks therefore offer an

⁵² David Croteau, William Hoynes and Charlotte Ryan, ‘Introduction: Integrating Social Movement Theory and Practice,’ in David Croteau, William Hoynes and Charlotte Ryan (eds), *Rhyming Hope and History: Activists, Academics and Social Movement Scholarship, Social Movements, Protest, and Contention*, 14 (2005), xi–xviii (p. xvi).

⁵³ AHRC, ‘Highlight Notice: UN International Decade for People of African Descent in the Research Networking Scheme,’ <https://ahrc.ukri.org/funding/apply-for-funding/archived-opportunities/highlight-notice-un-international-decade-for-people-of-african-descent-in-the-research-networking-scheme/> (accessed 18 June 2019).

⁵⁴ A ‘Letter to Prime Minister calling for a Commission for the UN International Decade for People of African Descent’ was written in 2016 in which the undersigned called for the government to recognize the Decade: <https://docs.google.com/forms/d/e/1FAIpQLSeh84Sqe5-wPrxSEmX4JPQW141OWw2R-32o5UKo92HIH3IXg/viewform?c=0&w=1&fbzx=2016734713650653154> (accessed 17 September 2018). In a more recent response to this failure, as well as to the lack of visibility of the AHRC networks more generally, Professor Charles Forsdick and Dr Hannah Dutton organized two workshops (Liverpool, 4 June, and London, 18 June) and one public event (9 July 2019) to bring the networks together and consider next steps for future collaborations in terms of addressing the objectives of the IDPAD.

important collective not only to begin addressing some of the IDPAD's goals, but also to call the UK Government to account for its failure to recognize officially the IDPAD and implement any of its objectives.

The proposal to create the INOSAAR was compiled in consultation with reparations activists and scholars, with the intention of exploring reparations through the rich variety of research specialisms across the arts and humanities and the social sciences in collaboration with community-based activist groups and state organizations engaged in seeking reparatory and transitional justice.

Our proposal met the aims and focus of the AHRC's Highlight Notice by having:

1. A core arts and humanities focus: Reparations and transitional justice for what has been termed the 'Afrikan Holocaust' or *Maangamizi* have typically been examined from legal and political perspectives, whereas approaches rooted in the arts and humanities have received significantly less attention. By including scholars with a wide range of expertise (notably in history, languages, law, literature, philosophy and politics), the network set out to address the lack of arts and humanities research and connect the arts to existing work in the social sciences. In doing so, it aimed to establish a strong trans-disciplinary base from which to examine reparations and seek new ways to tackle the legacies of racism and racial discrimination that are linked to the global history of Afrikan enslavement.
2. Engagement with, and the participation of, researchers and communities of Afrikan descent: The network sought to bring researchers based in Europe, the Caribbean, the USA and West Afrika together with activists from a wide-range of Afrikan communities. Building on existing relations, the network's goal was to create the first international activist-researcher network through which to enrich and strengthen the work of both research-based and activist-led groups. Together, we aimed to identify concrete ways of repairing the negative effects of slavery in order to contribute positively to the IDPAD and its overarching desire 'to combat racism, racial discrimination and xenophobia.'

AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

The central purpose of the INOSAAR is to assist in the consolidation of a growing global movement for Afrikan reparations by uniting activists and scholars, and developing a strong youth-led base to ensure the sustainability of this movement. The INOSAAR was created in full cognisance of the history of reparations movements and with reference to the pan-Afrikanist struggle and its desire to unite the Afrikan continent, unify Afrikan people and bring an end to racism and politico-economic oppression. As a network, we have been committed to a non-extractive process of ethical scholarship that

recognizes the existence of the ISMAR to which we are accountable. As stated in our Principles of Participation, we also recognize the inextricable links between the ISMAR and the PRIM, and are willing to learn from the cross-fertilization of scholarship, principles, strategies and tactics of multiple pro-reparations forces. Our Principles of Participation provide a framework for ethical scholarship by seeking to address some of the failings and oversights of Euro-centric academic endeavours, with a view to ensuring the longevity of our activist-scholar partnerships going forward.

Our nine stated aims and objectives are as follows:

1. To develop a more coherent research agenda for understanding reparations across disciplinary boundaries and address the inadequacy of scholarship outside of Afrikan-American and nation-centred contexts;
2. To improve the recognition of knowledge-production partnerships between scholars and activists working on Afrikan reparations and to establish a partnership that is enduring and international;
3. To provide opportunities for researchers and activists to engage in a process of bilateral knowledge exchange, with the longer-term view of contributing positively to the work of grassroots and activist organizations and the building of the ISMAR in link with the PRIM;
4. To support the development of youth and student engagement, involvement and proactivity, notably through the creation of a youth-led auxiliary fellowship of the INOSAAR, popularly named in short as RepAfrika, and through the establishment of a related mentorship scheme;
5. To build the INOSAAR in order to support the work of activists and scholars by providing global legitimacy and visibility to the broad spectrum of viewpoints in the reparations debate and the diversity of their exponents, particularly as state and non-state actors;
6. To support the struggle for the voluntary repatriation/repatriation for peoples of Afrikan descent to any Afrikan country of their choice, with due respect for indigenous communities and their own reparations interests, through the granting of citizenship, the removal of visa and customs requirements, and the creation of socio-economic, political and cultural reinsertion programmes in harmony with those already domiciled in such countries;
7. To establish a recognisable network consisting of registered participants with a commitment to adhering to its rules, principles and obligations;
8. To impact positively upon public and political (mis)conceptions about reparations (for example, the false idea that reparations are just some kind of 'pay cheque') by providing

academically rigorous outputs of use to academic and non-academic audiences, and by supporting the development of decolonizing curricula of reparatory justice;

9. To ensure that each of the three events organized by the INOSAAR and its partners, starting in London, Birmingham and finally Porto Novo in Benin, form one continuum in our collective efforts to advance the struggle for reparations.

ACTIVITIES AND SUMMARY OF ACHIEVEMENTS

To build the INOSAAR, we organized a series of events with different academic and activist partners based in Europe, Afrika, India, the Caribbean, Latin America and the USA. At each event, emphasis was placed on bilateral knowledge exchange between activists and scholars operating within different national contexts.

In total, the INOSAAR organized three meetings and participated in one further event, including:

1. 21 October 2017: the INOSAAR was launched in collaboration with PARCOE in Brixton, London;
2. 17 March 2018: a follow-up international conference was held in Birmingham in collaboration with Birmingham City University;
3. 26–28 April 2018: the INOSAAR and its youth-/student-led auxiliary branch RepAfrika attended the UNESCO world heritage site of Gorée Island in Senegal with the *Mouvement International pour les Réparations* (MIR, Martinique);
4. 19–21 September 2018: a concluding international colloquium was organized with the *Association pour une réparation globale de l'esclavage* (APRGE) and held at the Musée da Silva in Porto Novo, Benin.

In addition to organizing and participating in these meetings, we have written three public reports that are available to read and download on the INOSAAR website. We have also produced two video-documentaries of the UK-based meetings and have created a bilingual French/English website, which includes a membership map and a historical timeline of initiatives that can be linked to the struggle for reparations. Below are brief summaries of the four events and their key findings and outcomes.

London (21 October 2017)

The inauguration of the INOSAAR in October 2017 took place before an audience of activists, artists and academics. This meeting was organized in collaboration with PARCOE and included from the outset consultation on how to create a physical space that would permit cross-community dialogue and equity in collaboration, while ensuring that the principle of cognitive justice – or the equity of all knowledges – was upheld. To that end, the inauguration was held at a community centre in Brixton, London; an area well-known for its Afro-Caribbean heritage.

The key purpose of this meeting was to address some of the structural tensions between activist communities and academics, notably within a UK setting, and determine ways forward. Over sixty people were in attendance and the event was organized into four sessions. These included:

1. An introductory panel led by the well-known UK-based reparations activist and jurisconsult Esther Stanford-Xosej, and Nick Draper, an economic historian of slavery and Director of the Centre for the Study of the Legacies of British Slave-ownership at UCL.
2. Four parallel workshop sessions addressing four separate reparations-related concerns, including:
 - Workshop 1: Activists and Scholars Facing Challenges of Collaboration on Afrikan Reparations
 - Workshop 2: United Kingdom in the Glocal Approach to Afrikan Reparations
 - Workshop 3: Arts and Humanities through Education/Edutainment for Afrikan Reparations
 - Workshop 4: Reflecting on *Little Afeni and the Cause for Reparations: Children's Educational Resources on Afrikan Reparations*
3. Two roundtables, including:
 - Roundtable 1: Youth and Student Afrikan Reparations Roundtable to Explore the Idea of Building a Youth and Student Auxiliary Fellowship of the INOSAAR
 - Roundtable 2: 'We run tings, State nuh run We': Roundtable on the State and Pan-Afrikan Reparatory Justice
4. A final discussion relating to the agreement of our Principles of Participation and future actions.

Our discussions led to a series of recommendations, including:

1. Youth support: To ensure that the youth and student auxiliary of the INOSAAR feels supported in their work and their personal and career development, specifically through the creation of a mentorship programme to support young people.
2. Language and definitions: To work on a collective definition of reparations that works against the corruption and reduction of its potential meanings, and to develop a mini-lexicon that feeds into our ground rules to avoid offensive terminologies.
3. Supporting the INOSAAR: To create an INOSAAR that actively supports those in establishment academia who are venturing to work in more equitable ways, while recognizing the challenges that they face. To collaborate with interested bodies, such as the trade unions, who are involved in reparations movements.
4. Organizing the INOSAAR: To establish regional bodies of the INOSAAR across the UK.
5. Sharing assets: To list our collective assets, which are willing to share amongst ourselves, in terms of our skills, capabilities, access to resources, creativities etc.
6. The centrality of art and creativity: To recognize that art is also a form of knowledge and that art and creativity can play a central role in reparative justice programmes.
7. Educational repairs: To focus on the need for, and support the development of, a 'reparative curriculum' that seeks to restore the missing cultures, customs, traditions, languages, objects and names that are central to creating a self-determined, forward-thinking productive people who are on a par with the rest of the world.
8. The ancestors: To ensure that respect is paid to the ancestors at the beginning of each INOSAAR event.
9. Sustainability: To ensure that food served at INOSAAR is, where possible, culturally appropriate and that we remain mindful of our environmental footprint.

Key outcomes

Key outcomes included both the endorsement of our Principles of Participation and the founding of the youth- and student-led auxiliary branch of the INOSAAR known as RepAfrika. Further information can be found in the 'Public Report: Launch of the International Network of Scholars and Activists for Afrikan Reparations (INOSAAR)' and by watching the related video documentary: <https://www.inosaar.llc.ed.ac.uk/en/activity/london>.

Birmingham (17 March 2018)

In 2018, the INOSAAR issued a call for participation for a second meeting, this time at Birmingham City University (BCU) where the UK's first Black Studies degree programme was launched in 2017.⁵⁵ This call noted in particular the links between the Abuja Proclamation of 1993 and the organization of the Birmingham Conference on Reparations (11 December 1993) under the auspices of the Africa Reparations Movement UK, which resulted in the issuing of the Birmingham Declaration (1993).⁵⁶ The conference marked twenty-five years since these landmark events.

Building from the London launch, this second meeting focused on the need to internationalize the struggle for reparations and find ways to build solidarities across national boundaries. Nearly seventy people were in attendance, including our special guest Dr Eric Phillips from the Guyana Reparations Committee (Caricom Reparations Commission). This meeting was organized into different sessions, including:

1. Libations and prayers followed by a welcome address, spoken poetry and solidarity messages sent by the paramount chiefs of Ghana — Osfe Adza Tekpor VII, the Osie of Avatime, and Nana Kobina Nketsia V, the Omanhen of Essikado — representing the Global Afrikan Family Reunion International Council (GAFRIC).
1. Introduction to the INOSAAR and a report from the RepAfrika launch and meeting held on 16 March 2018.
2. Panel led by Eric Phillips and Esther Stanford-Xosei.
3. Three parallel workshop sessions addressing separate reparations-related concerns linked to internationalization, including:
 - Workshop 1: Working across National and International Boundaries
 - Workshop 2: Creating Global Legitimacy — Winning Hearts and Minds
 - Workshop 3: Connecting International Reparations Movements and Pan-Africanism
4. A final discussion where we identified key recommendations relating to our future actions.

Our discussions led to a series of recommendations, including:

1. Communication: That we consider different ways of translating the message of Afrikan reparations to the wider public and raising awareness (for example through a cultural festival,

⁵⁵ INOSAAR, 'Call for Participation. Reparation for Afrikan Enslavement: Beyond National Boundaries, Towards International Solidarities,' https://www.inosaar.llc.ed.ac.uk/sites/default/files/atoms/files/call_for_participation_bcu_17_march_2018.pdf (accessed 18 June 2019).

⁵⁶ Africa Reparations Movement UK, 'Birmingham Declaration,' 1 January 1994, <https://app.box.com/s/pv9u2z5unh4gu8uoqq7ny155q53wubf5> (accessed 18 June 2019).

touring and/or digital exhibition, or a film documentary) particularly among the youth, including translatable definitions of reparations and the identification of a global icon who can help to carry this message.⁵⁷

2. Collaboration: That we contribute to the organization of a week-long international conference in partnership with other interested partners, such as the Guyana Reparations Committee.
3. Youth: That we recognize that the urgency of international youth involvement and need to think about actions that we take forward that are focused on the youth.
4. Funding: That those of us in academic institutions look at funding opportunities for communities of reparations interest to explore relevant issues.
5. Resources and information sharing: That we promote existing measures, such as the Saturday classes, and share information about relevant initiatives. That we create an online searchable database of successful reparations strategies that have worked within and/or across national borders.
6. Decolonization: That we contribute to the process of decolonizing the curriculum and, in doing so, challenge those institutions about how they are reproducing the inequalities of the current system.
7. IDPAD: That we challenge the British government's total failure to have any plans for the International Decade.

Key outcomes

Key outcomes included officially launching RepAfrika and building links to both the CRC through the Guyana Reparations Committee and to the Global Afrikan Family Reunion International Council GAFRIC represented by the paramount chiefs of Ghana. Further information can be found in the 'Public Report. Reparations for Afrikan Enslavement: Beyond National Boundaries. Towards International Solidarities' and by watching the related video documentary: <https://www.inosaar.llc.ed.ac.uk/en/activity/birmingham>.

Gorée Island (26–28 April 2018)

⁵⁷ Examples include PARCOE, 'Political Goals of Applied Reparations,' 1 July 2016, http://www.inosaar.llc.ed.ac.uk/sites/default/files/atoms/files/parcoe_political_goals_of_applied_reparations.pdf (accessed 18 June 2019); the National Coalition of Blacks for Reparation in America (N'Cobra), 'What is Reparations,' <https://www.ncobraonline.org/reparations/> (accessed 19 June 2019); CARICOM Reparations Commission, 'CARICOM Ten Point Plan for Reparatory Justice,' March 2014, <https://www.caricom.org/caricom-ten-point-plan-for-reparatory-justice/> (accessed 18 June 2019).

A delegation of INOSAAR members, including one representative from RepAfrika, went to the important site of Gorée Island in Senegal to participate in a symposium and march for reparations ('Konwva pou Réparasyon' in Martiniquan creole). This event was organized by the *Mouvement International pour les Réparations* (International Movement for Reparations/MIR), based in Martinique in the French Caribbean, and coincided with the 170th anniversary of the abolition of slavery in the French colonies (27 April 1848). Gorée Island is home to the UNESCO world heritage site, the House of Slaves and the Door of No Return, which bears witness to the final exit point of those who were captured and enslaved.

Key outcomes

Our key outcomes included building links to Francophone activist organizations and youth groups in West Afrika and the Caribbean, and the signing of the 'Appel de Gorée.' Further information can be found in the 'Rep-Afrika Report: Konwva pou la Reparasyon': <https://www.inosaar.llc.ed.ac.uk/en/activity/goree>.

Porto-Novo (19–21 September 2018)

In September 2018, the INOSAAR organized a major international colloquium on the subject of 'Returning to Source: Reparative Justice for the Enslavement of Afrikan Peoples.' Held in Porto-Novo, the political and cultural capital of Benin, this event was organized in collaboration with the *Association panafricaine pour une réparation globale de l'esclavage* (APRGE) and held at the Afro-Brazilian Musée da Silva, with the support of its creator, the honourable Urbain Karim da Silva, president of the Porto-Novo Council of Elders.

Preparations for this culminating event had been ongoing since June 2017 when a pre-colloquium was organized and generously funded by M. da Silva. This resulted in the collation of six resolutions for future reparative directions and the identification of eight possible projects. The resolutions included the need for: 'Recognition by all member states of the United Nations of all persons of African descent'; 'the affirmation by each member state of the UN of a political commitment to address the concerns of persons of African descent'; and 'the free circulation of persons and goods, notably African descendants, throughout each state within the African Union.'⁵⁸ The projects included infrastructural improvements to support tourism to Ouidah, the creation of a network of reparations activists and scholars in each Afrikan state, and finance to support cultural,

⁵⁸ INOSAAR, 'Porto-Novo: Benin Pre-Colloquium Report 2017,' <https://www.inosaar.llc.ed.ac.uk/en/activity/porto-novo> (accessed 18 June 2019).

educational, green agricultural and spiritual projects, including: the erection of a wall commemorating ‘Protest and Resistance Against Slavery’ in Porto-Novo; the creation of apprenticeship centres for training in indigenous arts, such as indigo dyeing; decolonial educational projects to promote the Africanization of knowledge; and the creation of a Centre for the Study of Boology.⁵⁹

The call for participation for the 2018 Porto-Novo colloquium was issued under the aegis of the IDPAD. Our objectives were twofold: first, in terms of cognitive justice, to advance work on the harmonization of definitions and perspectives on reparations by drawing together the different strands and participants within the INOSAAR project so far; and second, to launch a reparative vision of where we are going and what futures we are aiming for. Overall, our intention was to enrich our diverse perspectives on, and approaches to, historical repair and restorative justice with particular reference to long-overlooked cultural and spiritual dimensions of this struggle, while finding unification and solidarity in our diversity.

The colloquium gathered over one hundred and fifty international and Beninese activists, scholars, practitioners, spiritual and religious leaders, artists and dignitaries. Our guests and speakers included people and organizations from Europe, the Caribbean, the USA and West Afrika. We were honoured with the presence and support of his majesty Kpoto-Zounmè Hakpon III, as well as royal dignitaries from Benin, Ghana and Togo, and members of the Beninese government. Our keynote speaker was Sir Hilary Beckles (Chair of the CRC). The event was preceded by libations and prayers in the traditional temple, while the conference was framed by a variety of spiritual and cultural interventions, including a demonstration by the ancestral *egungun*, songs, dances and a theatrical production. The three-day conference included:

1. An official opening with addresses by the Mayor of Porto-Novo and the First Vice-President of Parliament, as well as a presentation on the INOSAAR.
2. A keynote address by Sir Hilary Beckles entitled ‘Why African Governments must join the Reparations Movement Now!’
3. Three sessions on day 1 looking at various reparations-related topics, including the need to build up from local initiatives and reconnect through cultural, economic and spiritual means, the importance of slavery-related sites of memory within Benin, and the need for unification between Afrikans living in the diaspora and on the continent.
4. Four sessions on day 2, including panels on:

⁵⁹ Boology (or Boologie) is a neologism coined by Professor Jean-Marie Cossi Apovo in relation to the Afrikan science of Bo or Boo. The concept comes from Benin, but is shared by others within the sub-region of West Afrika, and defines a way of living and being in relation to Afrikan epistemologies. See, for example, Raymond Coovi Assogba, *Épistémologie de la Boologie* (Cotonou: Les Éditions Agbagbo, 2017).

- Panel 1: The Reparations Movement in Afrika and the Diaspora;
 - Panel 2: Afrikan Complicity, Dictatorship and the Ongoing Crime Against Humanity;
 - Panel 3: Claims to Reparation: Past and Present, National and International;
 - Panel 4: Self-Empowerment and the Creation of *Maatbuntujamaas* in the March for Reparations.
5. A concluding discussion and debate, followed by the adoption of the Porto-Novo Declaration.
 6. A cultural trip to Ouidah to visit the historical heritage site, 'The Door of No Return.'

The concluding debate raised a number of connected points, including:

1. Movement building: that we are participating in an international, political and culturally-engaged movement that is concerned with human rights and the future of Afrikan-descended people and all of humanity, and that this movement requires the active participation of Afrikan governments as well as grassroots movements. Linked to this, that we must be aware of the history and existence of different reparations campaigns and, wherever possible, work to build solidarity, noting in particular the need to valorize the work of grassroots activists and challenge existing hierarchies within the reparations movement itself;
2. Solidarity and pan-Afrikanism: that more needs to be done to bring together, rather than divide, Afrikans living in the diaspora and Afrikans living on the continent, including measures such as lifting the requirements for visas and provision of passports and other rematriation/repatriation initiatives; that this requires the renaissance of a pan-Afrikan reparative agenda in order to dismantle the divisive borders imposed by the colonial powers and promote Afrikan unity;
3. Rematriation/repatriation: that there is an obligation (beyond apologies and memorial projects) to offer Afrikans living in the diaspora a 'door of return';
4. Arts and humanities: that we need to remember the power of the arts and humanities, and the importance of cultural reparations, while connecting with existing decolonizing agendas, including:
 - Historical research: that Afrikan scholars and others have much work to do to establish the true facts about the resistance of Afrikan peoples and leaders to the trafficking of captive Afrikans; that much needs to be done to re-evaluate the idea of the emancipation process and understand the continuities of enslavement beyond abolition; and that work is needed to join the dots between enslavement and

colonialism and their longstanding impact on the Afrikan continent and on those living in the diaspora;

- Language and decolonization: that we must interrogate and reformulate the terminologies imposed by Eurocentric epistemologies to define the human catastrophe represented by the transatlantic trafficking in Afrikan men, women, and children and subsequent European colonization;
 - Tourism and sites of memory: that there is a need to promote and develop tourism, particularly that which is geared towards those living in the diaspora and to think about their specific emotional, cultural, spiritual and psychological needs;
 - Spiritual and cultural regeneration: that while much of traditional Afrikan culture has been lost irreparably, we need to focus on what remains and how we begin a process of reparative regeneration;
5. International law: that there is a need to understand the range of possibilities within international law with regards to the multiple forms that reparation might take (beyond the normal assumptions);
 6. Planetary repairs and sustainability: that reparations must be understood within the context of planetary repairs, as part of an environmental and cultural project for global regeneration; and that we need to recognize and galvanize youth and student agency in order to ensure the movement's sustainability.

Key outcomes

The conference demonstrated cognitive justice in action by bringing together multiple voices and approaches to the struggle for reparations and restorative justice, highlighting the interconnected and international nature of reparations and need to build solidarity across national boundaries. Its key outcome was the adoption and signing of the Porto-Novo Declaration by his majesty Kpoto Zounmè Hakpon III on behalf of the Benin Conseil des Rois (Council of Kings). This Declaration calls upon,

Afrikan states and their diplomatic leadership to join with civil society in order to formulate policies and establish operational committees, in order to institutionalize and advocate the claim for reparatory justice from those countries that implemented the criminal globalization of chattel enslavement of

Afrikans, according to the principles of international law and the provisions of the United Nations within the International Decade of People of Afrikan Descent.⁶⁰

Further information can be found in the 'Public Report. Returning to Source: Reparative Justice for the Enslavement of Afrikan Peoples': <https://www.inosaar.llc.ed.ac.uk/en/activity/porto-novo>.

Key Lessons: Facing Challenges and Seeking Resolutions

The following section will reflect on some of the key challenges that have arisen over the course of the grant period and will examine what we have learned from our collective attempts to address these issues and promote international solidarity. The analysis will be divided into two sections: the first relates to the lessons learned from confronting the tensions between community activists and establishment academics; and the second concerns the need to uphold the value of diversity in terms of appreciating the wealth of approaches to reparations and reparative justice, while maintaining solidarity within and across borders.

Community Activism and Establishment Academia

The London inauguration of the INOSAAR focused on the need to confront some of the structural issues dividing UK-based activists and academics with a view to building trust and establishing a set of principles to permit collaboration going forward. This impulse can be seen as part of a growing decolonizing movement, one that began as a protest campaign to remove the Rhodes statue at the University of Cape Town (#RhodesMustFall), but transformed into a wider social movement to decolonize education first across South Africa and then across all western-centric educational institutions, notably those with historical links to slavery and colonialism.⁶¹ In light of the push to confront the imperial past and decolonize our institutions, the London meeting began with the statement 'the presence of Europeans in the exploration of the history of slavery' raises 'an ethics of principle,' since the concept of race had been created during the imperial period by Europeans.⁶² As

⁶⁰ 'Porto-Novo Declaration,' 20 September 2018, https://www.inosaar.llc.ed.ac.uk/sites/default/files/atoms/files/porto-novo_declaration_signed_english_version.pdf (accessed 18 June 2019).

⁶¹ See, for example, Rhodes Must Fall Movement Oxford, *Rhodes Must Fall: The Struggle to Decolonize the Racist Heart of Empire* (ZED Books, 2018).

⁶² Nick Draper, in 'Public Report: Launch of the International Network of Scholars and Activists for Afrikan Reparations (INOSAAR),' 21 October 2017, http://www.inosaar.llc.ed.ac.uk/sites/default/files/atoms/files/public_report_21_oct_2017.pdf (accessed 18 June 2019), pp. 4–5.

such, self-reflection and self-criticism among the academic community were deemed necessary when dealing with histories of trauma that continue to adversely affect stigmatized communities today.

Tensions nonetheless arose over issues relating to structural inequalities, the (mis)use of language and epistemological differences over how to approach the past and construct its meaning, which reflected broader debates and problems that recur within and across scholar and activist communities.

In terms of structural issues, there were debates about the extent to which an individual who works for an elite institution (for example within establishment academia) can automatically be labelled as complicit with that system. On the one hand, objections were raised over the tendency to essentialize and categorize academics as complicit, without fully understanding the complexity of their positioning and their potential for resistance even when working within elitist institutions. On the other hand, there were questions about the ethics of academics accessing funding and conducting research that excludes communities of reparations interest and/or is of no relevance to those communities or to the broader struggle for reparative justice. It was asserted that academic research should be accountable to communities of interest — ‘nothing about us without us’ — especially when dealing with the legacies of crimes against humanity that continue to cause harm to particular communities.

In terms of the (mis)use of language, loaded words such as ‘slave trade’ and ‘slave’ were rejected outright. It was argued that the word ‘trade’ sanitizes and entirely misrepresents the reality by suggesting the existence of a peacefully agreed two-way exchange of equal ‘goods.’ Not only does this abstract the human who lies at the centre of this crime, but it also glosses over the criminality, violence and terror of an act that must be described with greater accuracy as that of European-led, organized human trafficking rooted in warfare.⁶³ Likewise, it was considered that the noun ‘slave’ obliterates the history of resistance within the process of enslavement and fails to mark all individuals concerned as people, first and foremost, who were *enslaved* against their will. This debate pointed to the urgent need to refine the language that we use to speak of, and think through, the past.⁶⁴

⁶³ See, for example, Chinweizu, ‘What “Slave Trade”? (Towards an Afrocentric Rectification of Terms), *Black Renaissance/Renaissance Noire*, 10 (2010), 138–49. As Eltis and Richardson note, ‘the largest single source of captives was violence, including warfare, state-sponsored raiding, and kidnapping. As the scale of the Atlantic slave trade grew, the circles of violence in Africa linked to the transatlantic slavery intensified and widened’; David Eltis and David Richardson, *Atlas of the Transatlantic Slave Trade* (Yale University Press, 2010), p. 87.

⁶⁴ The need for changes to linguistic practices are not limited the English-speaking world, of course. We note of the recent initiative of the *Comité International des Peuples Noirs* to reject the term ‘slave’ (‘esclave’) in French and replace it with ‘Africans reduced to slavery’ (‘Africains réduits en esclavage’) (AFRES); ‘Guadeloupe. Histoire: Le C.I.P.N s’affranchit définitivement de l’esclavage mental,’ 1 February 2018, <http://www.caraibcreolenews.com/index.php/focus/item/12781-guadeloupe-histoire-le-c-i-p-n-s-affranchit-definitivement-de-l-esclavage-mental> (accessed 19 September 2019).

Finally, there were epistemological differences in terms of how to approach and interpret the past that pointed to the need to understand that there are multiple lenses through which to view history. This was particularly notable in the tensions between the belief in the veracity and rationality of a singular empirical truth (based on western-centric positivist models) and the belief in the existence of multiple relative truths or a pluriversality (based on anti-imperial decolonizing models). The tensions that arose reflect the difficulties of broaching ‘thorny’ subjects, such as the question of Afrikan complicity particularly where chiefs and leaders are concerned, the assertion of which can be viewed critically as an attempt to attenuate the historical responsibility of European governments, mercantile organizations and related economic bodies. As Sir Hilary Beckles noted in his keynote address in Porto-Novo (19 September 2018), the convenient ‘truth’ that Afrikans chiefs sold their own people needs to be interrogated through a proper ‘scientific conversation.’ He stated,

The African peoples fought against the slave trade. [...] The research has shown that many African leaders and many African kings were assassinated because of their objections to the slave trade. We have records showing that the British government and other European governments gave instructions to their agents in Africa to assassinate those African leaders who were opposed to the slave trade and to reward those who were willing be compliant. African resistance was therefore deep-rooted and African people themselves paid a very big price for their opposition and resistance to the slave trade. This history of this struggle and resistance must now be fully researched and documented.

In a similar vein, problems arose in London around the assertion that ‘slavery was not an institution brought to West Africa by Europeans,’ but was a system that already existed prior to their arrival.⁶⁵ Objections were raised to this statement not only because it risked diluting European responsibility, but also because it suggested that the system of servitude that existed in West Afrika prior to the arrival of Europeans was equivalent to the European system of enslavement imposed on the continent from the 16th century onwards.

On the surface of it, these disagreements are centred on poor definitions of terms — in this case, relating to the comparison of different institutions of enslavement under the blanket term ‘slavery’ — suggesting that better nuance is required. But more than this, disagreements over so-called ‘uncomfortable truths’ are indicative of deeper issues that relate to the way the past has been fashioned and narrated by a western-centric establishment both to exclude alternative perspectives reduce the responsibility of the perpetrators for the system they created. To conduct research from

⁶⁵ ‘Public Report: Launch of the International Network of Scholars and Activists for Afrikan Reparations (INOSAAR),’ 21 October 2017, http://www.inosaar.llc.ed.ac.uk/sites/default/files/atoms/files/public_report_21_oct_2017.pdf (accessed 18 June 2019), pp. 4–5.

non-western-centric perspectives means challenging some of the received ideas that have emerged from the western canon. When the statement 'slavery was not an institution brought to West Africa by Europeans' is re-viewed through a pan-Africanist lens, for example, an alternative reading emerges. As Walter Rodney argues, while there were certainly historical interconnections between the different systems of servitude on the African continent and European-led chattel slavery, the '*cultural systems on which land and labour [in Africa and Europe] were based are not comparable*' (emphasis added).⁶⁶ Indeed, one of the key differences lies in the undeniable fact that European-led chattel slavery supported the creation of a capitalist mode of production that simultaneously produced a specific form of racism known as Afriphobia/Afrophobia (a term recently recognized by the European Parliament in March 2019).⁶⁷

Beyond the structures and strictures of language, these disagreements point to more deep-rooted epistemological issues. The singular empirical 'truth' (that slavery existed prior to the arrival of Europeans) is called into question when we consider how that 'truth' is constructed and what 'unconscious bias' it may contain.⁶⁸ This is what is meant by 'decolonial educational repairs' or decolonizing theory: the ability to recognize 'the artificiality of [...a theory's] Eurocentric origins and its presumed universal applicability' (in this case, the use of the word slavery), expose 'the limitations of normative models' and privilege 'the wider applicability of differently situated theories' (such as pan-Africanism).⁶⁹

As Parker, Holland and Dennison note, adopting a decolonial approach 'represents a paradigmatic shift that has profound implications for research practices.'⁷⁰ It raises issues concerning the ethics of participation and the extent to which academic work or research should be accountable

⁶⁶ Rodney states that 'slavery as a mode of production was not present in any African society' before 1500; Walter Rodney, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* (Baltimore, MA: Black Classic Press, 2011; first publ. 1972), p. 69. He points to the fact that African cultures had long been governed by a communal system of kinship ties or the 'family principle', whereas Europe's 'communal phase' had first been replaced by slavery and serfdom, before giving way to 'a fledgling capitalist society' that would mature on the back of African enslavement; Rodney, pp. 37–38. The 'sequences of modes of production' in Europe do not therefore map onto those produced in Africa, not even in North Africa, where the feudal system of slavery was well-established; Rodney, p. 38. Rodney notes that 'communal societies were introduced to the concept of owning alien human beings when they took captives in war. At first those captives were in a very disadvantaged position, comparable to that of slaves, but very rapidly captives and their offspring became ordinary members of the society because there was no scope for the perpetual exploitation of man by man in a context that was neither feudal nor capitalist'; Rodney, p. 38.

⁶⁷ European Network Against Racism, 'European Parliament milestone vote for the rights of Black people in Europe,' 26 March 2019, <https://www.enar-eu.org/European-Parliament-milestone-vote-for-the-rights-of-black-people-in-Europe> (accessed 18 June 2019).

⁶⁸ Jenny Bourne, 'Unravelling the Concept of Unconscious Bias,' <http://www.irr.org.uk/news/unravelling-the-concept-of-unconscious-bias/> (accessed 18 June 2019).

⁶⁹ Patricia Parker, Dorothy Holland, Jean Dennison et al., 'Decolonizing the Academy: Lessons From the Graduate Certificate in Participatory Research at The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill,' *Qualitative Inquiry*, 24 (2018), 464–77 (p. 465).

⁷⁰ Parker, Holland and Dennison, p. 465.

to any community of interest (especially when it concerns reparations for crimes against humanity). If academics consider themselves as not accountable, then the opinions and perspectives of those most directly concerned by the research do not need to be taken into account on the underlying assumption that to do so would risk the presumed objectivity of the research being conducted and challenge academic freedom. But if, in contrast, academics agree that they are in some way accountable, does that mean that the research produced loses its objectivity, and perhaps therefore its credibility, through accusations of inherent bias, or at worst demagogy? As the analysis above suggests, the answer is arguably no. The call to be accountable and to decolonize research practice does not affect the academic rigour of the work produced, but is rather a call to engage with the inherent biases that already exist within our structures of knowledge. This requires a process of self-reflection rooted in the acceptance of the pluriversal nature of knowledge and cognitive justice, which will serve to enrich the final research produced.

Learning points

1. The importance of cognitive justice: that activists and scholars can learn from each other and build scholarship by conducting research from non-western-centric perspectives by learning about other systems of knowledge. Through this, they can interrogate the inherent biases and received ideas within their fields of study, notably those that have been shaped by the western canon;
2. The importance of language: That language represents the basic structures of our modes of thinking, and therefore that new expressions or turns of phrase are required to reflect how our attitudes towards the past have changed.

Harmonizing Perspectives: Diversity and Internationalist Solidarity

As noted in the section on 'Defining Reparations within the Long History of Freedom Struggle,' there are many interconnected ways to participate in and promote reparative justice for Afrikan enslavement. The INOSAAR has sought to provide a forum in which to explore the rich variations in reparations activism with a view to diversifying our collective understandings of possible approaches. At the same time, we have focused on the long global history of reparations and the need to keep pushing towards the internationalization of the struggle by identifying strategies for uniting initiatives when faced with the complexities of negotiating between local, regional and global concerns, national boundaries, country-specific systems and issues, and language barriers, to name but a few.

To that end, the primary objectives of INOSAAR'S events (from the initial meeting in Edinburgh, then in Birmingham and finally in Porto-Novo) were to harmonize definitions and perspectives on reparations and launch a reparative vision for our collective futures. The term 'harmonize' is used here *not* to express the need for homogeneity across all reparations-focused action, but rather the need to appreciate the array of diverse approaches to achieving reparations and the ways that they may work contrapuntally within the same struggle for justice. This aim required us to appreciate the dynamics between different reparative approaches, while seeking ways to building solidarity across national borders.

Two broad approaches to reparations were foregrounded during our meetings. The first was the transregional and international strategy adopted by the CRC that focuses on the need to call the former enslavers to account through existing state and juridical systems. The CRC was established in 2013 by the heads of the Caribbean governments as a strategy to complement the existing civil society and grassroots social movements.⁷¹ Its composition is not limited to government officials, and includes grassroots activists, NGOs and other actors at the heart of the reparations struggle. However, it remains a government commission that must operate within specific state confines and act accordingly.⁷² Their mandate is as follows:

to prepare the case for reparatory justice for the region's indigenous and African descendant communities who are the victims of Crimes against Humanity [CAH] in the forms of genocide, slavery, slave trading, and racial apartheid. [...] The CRC asserts that victims and descendants of these CAH have a legal right to reparatory justice, and that those who committed these crimes, and who have been enriched by the proceeds of these crimes, have a reparatory case to answer.⁷³

Organized into national committees mandated by the governing states of the Caribbean, and upheld by some of the most well-respected Caribbean academics — namely, Sir Hilary Beckles, the Honorable

⁷¹ Not all of the Caribbean islands are included. Martinique, Guadeloupe and French Guyana, for example, cannot participate at state level since they are overseas departments of the French Republic, which remains largely hostile to reparations for Afrikan enslavement beyond the need for commemoration and a 'duty to remember'; see Frith, 'Saving the Republic' (2015).

⁷² As Sir Hilary Beckles stated in response to a question posed after his lecture in Edinburgh, 'the Commission is just an instrument, moving it [the conversation on reparations] from A to B, hoping that it adds value. [...] So yes, it has its advantages, but we who are on it are fully aware of its disadvantages and the criticisms of it are real and legitimate. From time-to-time the Prime Ministers remind us that we cannot step outside the crease. We are a government Commission. They remind us of that'; Hilary Beckles, 'Britain's Black Debt: Reparatory Justice for Slavery and Genocide in the Carribbean Context,' at the international conference 'Repairing the Future, Imagining the Past: Reparations and Beyond...', 6 November 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kw6fnUCxG-I> (accessed 26 June 2019).

⁷³ Leigh Day, 'CARICOM national unanimously approve 10 point plan for slavery reparations,' 11 March 2014, <https://www.leighday.co.uk/News/2014/March-2014/CARICOM-nations-unanimously-approve-10-point-plan> (accessed 18 June 2019).

Ralph Gonsalves (President of St. Vincent and the Grenadines) and Professor Verene Shepherd — the CRC is a socio-political collaboration that aims to engage the governments of all the former colonial powers and the relevant institutions of those countries in a 10-point programme of reparative justice. The claim is rooted in the existence post-war international legislation, the successful results of which will be beneficial to the Caribbean population as a whole through the delivery of much-needed funds to support programmes linked to repatriation, education, culture, psychological repair and technological transfer, as well as a full and formal apology and debt cancellation.⁷⁴

The CRC's vision, however, is not just limited to the Caribbean, but transcends regional boundaries. As Sir Hilary Beckles, noted, the success of this negotiation would also set a historic legal precedent that would be transformational for all Afrikan people: 'reparations is a strategy to provoke the economic and social development of African peoples globally' and has the potential to become 'the greatest [democratic] political movement of this 21st century. [...] It is a movement that is required by the world.'⁷⁵ This global approach therefore emphasizes the need to engage our heads of state, including those from the AU. Hence, the importance of Sir Hilary Beckles' call for a Porto-Novo Declaration asserting 'that the people and the government of Benin, and all of West Africa, stand in support of reparations for the people of the diaspora.'⁷⁶ The resulting Declaration may be used by the CRC as a remit to engage other heads of state within the AU, while Dr. Siga Fatima Jagne (Commissioner for Social Affairs and Gender within the Economic Community of West African States, ECOWAS) has suggested that it be brought before the AU in the hopes of its adoption by that body.

The second approach is represented by the grassroots activist organization PARCOE and is based on both a model of decolonization (as expounded by Osagyego Kwame Nkrumah, Frantz Fanon and Akosua Boahemaa Amy Ashwood Garvey) and a model of self-repairs (as outlined by the Nigerian socio-literary critic and historian, Chinweizu — who bases his arguments on those of Marcus Mosiah Garvey and the Black Power movement — and Professor Maulana Karenga's advocacy for repair and renewal of the self and world community, as advocated in the Afrikan sacred texts of the *Husia* and *Odu Ifa*).⁷⁷ This approach is deeply sceptical of the ability of existing western states and their juridical apparatus to provide any adequate response to the call for reparations, seeing these systems as inherently predisposed to uphold Euro-centric interests to the detriment of all Afrikan peoples. Instead, they work across national borders by promoting a pan-Afrikanist strategy that views the

⁷⁴ Full details of the 10-point plan can be found on the CRC's website: <http://caricomreparations.org/>.

⁷⁵ Hilary Beckles, Keynote Address: 'Why African Governments must join the Reparations Movement Now!,' Porto-Novo Conference: 'Returning to Source: Reparative Justice for the Enslavement of Afrikan Peoples,' 19 September 2018.

⁷⁶ Beckles, 'Why African Governments,' (2018).

⁷⁷ Among Chinweizu's publications, see *Decolonizing the African Mind* (Lagos: Pero Press, 1987). Among Karenga's publications, see *Odu Ifa: The Ethical Teachings* ([N.p.]: Kawaida Publications, 1999) and *Maat, The Moral Idea of Ancient Egypt* (New York: Routledge, 2012).

struggle of Afrikans everywhere as interconnected and seeks to return empowering agency back to Afrikans.

The longer-term goal of this project is to achieve self-determination and what PARCOE calls *Maatubuntuman* in reference to a Pan-Afrikan union of communities that is organically developing from grassroots Afrikan transnational community interconnections across ethnicities, borders and oceans, with possibilities of growing into a future super-state. Developing the Pan-Afrikan internationalist quintessence of Black power from the theoretical and practical works of its most outstanding exponents, PARCOE advances the concept of Black Power in terms of Pan-Afrikan Reparations for Global Justice. This concept includes its own formulations such as *Maatubuntuman* in a new world order of *Ubuntudunia* through planetary repairs, in ways and means that will eventually take all of humanity to our common Rendezvous of Global Justice for All.⁷⁸

Beyond the specific interests of Afrikan communities, the broader need to repair the environmental damage caused by slavery and colonialism, or what is termed ecocide, taps into the urgency of our collective concerns about environmental reparations and the need for planetary repairs, notably through the creation of a new anti-capitalist world system built from the bottom-up. Within this approach, there is a recognition, following Nora Wittmann, that ‘the core capitalist structures of the unlimited exploitation of people and nature [...] with its holy grail of perpetual economic growth at any cost’ is both ‘environmentally unsustainable’ and depends ‘in its core functioning on the continued perpetuation of the Maafa/Maangamizi,’ which has its historical base in Afrikan enslavement and colonialism.⁷⁹ What is needed, argues Wittmann, are ‘global comprehensive reparations’ to build bridges between anti-capitalist and environmental activists through an ‘international law entitlement to the dismissal of capitalism’ that has been built on ‘mass-scale organised crime.’⁸⁰ One potential approach to achieving these planetary repairs is to revalorize and promote the indigenous knowledge of Afrikan cultural, spiritual, social and economic systems as alternative models to the ravages of capitalism.

Learning points

⁷⁸ In addition to theoreticians and practitioners listed above, key exponents include Queen Mother Audley Moore, Omowale Malcolm X, Kwame Ture, Osagyefo Kwame Nkrumah, Aimé Césaire, Huey, P. Newton, Walter Rodney, Steve Biko, Amos Wilson, John Henrick Clarke, Olive Morris and Assata Shakur.

⁷⁹ Nora Wittmann, ‘Reparations — Legally Justified and *Sine qua non* for Global Justice, Peace and Security,’ *Global Justice: Theory Practice Rhetoric*, 9 (2016), 199–219 (pp. 217–18). The meaning of *Maangamizi* is defined on p. 6 of this report. Note that *Maafa* means ‘great disaster or calamity.’ It was adopted by Professor Marimba Ani to describe the ‘African holocaust’; however, it is normally used, and is still associated in popular consciousness with, historic/chattel enslavement rather than the continuum of harm that is referred to by use of the term *Maangamizi*, particularly as popularized by PARCOE.

⁸⁰ Wittmann, p. 218.

1. Sankofa or remembering the best of the past in order to inform the way we transform our present for a brighter future: That the longstanding historical struggle for reparations has seen the development of multiple approaches and strategies to repair, and that we need to be aware of this heritage and draw lessons from it in order to contribute to internationalist solidarity for a better future.
2. Diversification and harmonization: That we need to appreciate the wealth of different approaches to reparations and reparative justice not just in terms of research methods, but in terms of the wealth of strategies emanating from grassroots movements all the way through to state-focused initiatives, and the urgency of creating a harmonized vision in which all voices are heard and respected.
3. Internationalization and connectivity: That reparation is a global concern and requires a global response; and that it has the potential to offer creative and alternative models to our most pressing issues, such as the rapid loss of cultural heritage and environmental degradation, and the urgent need for planetary repairs.

Future Visions

Our future visions for the INOSAAR are based on the successes we have known to-date and the lessons that we have learned over the course of this AHRC grant. Our aim is to build upon the work conducted thus far and continue to identify goals that sit within the IDPAD's three pillars of recognition, justice and development.

Formalizing the INOSAAR's structure

In order to help organize our future actions, we have agreed to formalize the INOSAAR through the following structure:

1. Co-Facilitators operating on a horizontal, rather than vertical structure, each with specific portfolios and responsibilities (Esther Stanford-Xosei, Joyce Hope Scott, Nicki Frith).
2. Secretariat responsible for drafting INOSAAR/RepAfrika-related documents in consultation with the various teams, proof-reading/editing public documents, updating/translating the website with relevant materials, maintaining the membership list and contact with members, and sending out newsletters (Aïssata Diakhite Kaba, Isis Amlak, Nicki Frith)
3. State Actors Liaison Team responsible for building relations with government-linked groups and organizations, including local authorities, with a view to impacting upon policy-making,

notably by consulting on how reparations can be implemented and linked to sustainable development/widening visions of development in collaboration with the Policy and Advocacy Team (Gislaine Doue, Gus John, Nana Kobina Nketsia)

4. Policy and Advocacy Team responsible for consulting on and suggesting policy related to the ways in which reparatory initiatives can be implemented in predominantly educational organizations with a view to setting up a reparations consultancy. The team will also engage in drafting policy reform linked to reparatory initiatives for political organizations and bodies (Athol Williams, Esther Stanford-Xosei, Gus John, Kofi Mawuli Klu)
5. Events and Programming Team responsible for coordinating a yearly plan of INOSAAR/RepAfrika events and working with the Fundraising Team (Aïssata Diakhite Kaba, Fe Haslam, Kofi Mawuli Klu)
6. Academic Liaison Team responsible for contacting and building relations with academics and institutions engaged in reparations research with a view to future collaborations, for example through funding initiatives and events organizations. The team will work closely with the Policy and Advocacy Team to identify ways to impact upon policy-making in HE institutions that want to implement reparations. They will also promote INOSAAR's work through engagements with academic journals and publications and identify, negotiate and build INOSAAR relations with various academic journals and publishing houses all over the world (Joyce Hope Scott, Kofi Mawuli Klu, Kris Manjapra)
7. Fund-Raising Team responsible for identifying relevant funding calls, submitting grant applications and working with the Events and Programming Team (Esther Stanford-Xosei, Mawuse Yao Agorkor, Nicki Frith)
8. Media Team responsible for maintaining the Twitter and Facebook accounts, for writing blogs and for promoting events and news relevant to reparations concerns (Esther Stanford-Xosei, Mawuse Yao Agorkor, Toure Nehemie Moussa)
9. Community and Youth Liaison Team responsible for contacting and liaising with community and youth groups of reparations interest with the aim of building links between communities and encouraging youth engagement in reparations issues. A key part of this role will involve setting up training initiatives and events to support movement building and ensure its succession (Fe Haslam, Kafui Yao Dade, Maseyo Azu)
10. Activists and Artists Networking Team responsible for contacting and liaising with relevant activist organizations globally with a view to promoting the work of the network, building its membership and encouraging international solidarities. The team will also be responsible for identifying artists working on reparations, including music, art, theatre, poetry/spoken-word,

creative writing and so forth, noting the importance and longevity of Black arts activists and activism and its potential to connect to the youth and to the wider community⁸¹ (Esther Stanford-Xosei, Fe Haslam, Isis Amlak, Sai Murray)

Future Projects: Recognition, Justice and Development

Having formalized our structure, there is a need to locate additional funds to develop projects that both connect to the recommendations that concluded the various INOSAAR events and respond to the three primary goals of the IDPAD: recognition, justice and development.

Among the many suggested recommendations under the heading of recognition, the UN calls for states to ‘Promote greater knowledge and recognition of and respect for the culture, history and heritage of people of African descent, including through research and education, and promote full and accurate inclusion of the history and contribution of people of African descent in educational curricula,’ thereby ‘restoring the dignity of people of African descent.’⁸² Justice includes,

Acknowledging and profoundly regretting the untold suffering and evils inflicted on millions of men, women and children as a result of slavery, the transatlantic slave trade, colonialism, apartheid, genocide and past tragedies, noting that some States have taken the initiative to apologize and have paid reparation, where appropriate, for grave and massive violations committed, and calling on those that have not yet expressed remorse or presented apologies to find some way to contribute to the restoration of the dignity of victims.⁸³

It also calls upon the members of the international community ‘to honour the memory of the victims of these tragedies with a view to closing those dark chapters in history and as a means of reconciliation

⁸¹ The importance of the connections between art, the artist and activism was articulated by W.E.B Du Bois as early as 1926 in his essay, ‘Criteria of Negro Art,’ <http://www.webdubois.org/dbCriteriaNArt.html> (accessed 25 June 2019). The idea was embraced later during the Harlem Renaissance (New Negro Renaissance) of the 1930s and by Black arts activists (and musical performers) in the 1960s and 70s, who held that Black art/Black aesthetics should be regarded as the artistic and cultural sister of the Black Power Movement. There is also, in Afrika, the legacy of ‘Theatre for Social Intervention’ (*Théâtre d’Intervention Sociale* and *Théâtre Débat*) in Burkina Faso, Niger, Mali and a number of other Afrikan countries, appropriated principally by young people who use theatre in consciousness-raising efforts to transform behaviors and attitudes about pressing social concerns in traditional communities. In contemporary times, there is the movement around ‘art activism’; the proponents of which explore the ways that artists address the socio-economic and political issues of their times. Today, scholars and activists alike continue to locate contemporary hip hop culture and spoken-word poetry in the long tradition of Black resistance.

⁸² United Nations, ‘Recognition,’ <https://www.un.org/en/events/africandescentdecade/recognition.shtml> (accessed 19 June 2019).

⁸³ United Nations, ‘Justice,’ <https://www.un.org/en/events/africandescentdecade/justice.shtml> (accessed 19 June 2019).

and healing,’ and calls upon ‘all States concerned to take appropriate and effective measures to halt and reverse the lasting consequences of those practices, bearing in mind their moral obligations.’⁸⁴

Finally, development focuses on ‘guaranteeing active, free and meaningful participation by all individuals, including people of African descent, in development and decision-making related thereto and in the fair distribution of benefits resulting therefrom.’⁸⁵ It recognizes that ‘poverty is both a cause and a consequence of discrimination’ and calls on states to ‘adopt or strengthen national programmes for eradicating poverty and reducing social exclusion that take account of the specific needs and experiences of people of African descent,’ as well as to ‘expand their efforts to foster bilateral, regional and international cooperation in implementing those programmes,’ for example in education, employment, health and housing.⁸⁶

Our three planned projects respond in various ways to these recommendations, as well as to the guidance provided by participants during the INOSAAR meetings, and are located in Ghana and Benin, these being some of the key sites of rupture that are linked to the trans-Atlantic trafficking in captive and enslaved Afrikans:⁸⁷

- Project 1 – Translating Reparations through a Co-Created Video-Documentary: To answer the calls for better ways to communicate the concept of reparations both within Afrikan communities and to the wider world, and for the production of tools to support decolonial educational repairs, we will co-create a video-documentary that focuses on traditional Afrikan knowledges and the long (oral) history of anti-imperial and anti-slavery resistance among communities living in Ghana and Benin. The documentary will not only translate the concept of reparations from Afrikan perspectives but will also be used as an educational and cultural tool intended to generate interest in alternative forms of reparative justice among all communities. The film-making will include the participation of youth members (see Project 2). This project therefore also offers a positive response to the call for ‘greater knowledge and recognition of and respect for the culture, history and heritage of people of African descent.’⁸⁸
- Project 2 – Enhancing Youth Participation through Education and Development: To answer the calls to provide mentorship and training programmes to support youth participation in

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

⁸⁵ United Nations, ‘Development,’ <https://www.un.org/en/events/africandescentdecade/development.shtml> (accessed 19 June 2019).

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

⁸⁷ Based on the available evidence, precise figures of the numbers of captives who departed from key sites such as Ouidah and Offra (in Benin), Anomabu, Cape Coast Castle and Elmina (in Ghana) and St-Louis (in Senegal) can be found in Eltis and Richardson, p. 90.

⁸⁸ United Nations, ‘Recognition,’ <https://www.un.org/en/events/africandescentdecade/recognition.shtml> (accessed 19 June 2019).

the struggle for reparations, while developing an international youth network with strong links to the Afrikan continent, we will organize two study camps.

- The first will be a RepAfrika work/study camp in Ghana in collaboration with the Vazoba Afrika and Friends Networking Open Forum. The theme of this camp will link reparations to the need for sustainable development and curricula transformation. It will highlight decolonization in global citizenship education as practically conducive to planetary repairs under the heading 'Educational Repairs for Sustainable Development: Recognizing and Glocally Utilizing Greener Pastures at Home.' Utilizing the IDPAD pillars of recognition, justice and development, the camp will encourage participating youth groups to grasp the importance of recognizing their own community and its environmental wealth and values, and the opportunities they have in Afrika (as opposed to endangering their lives by making perilous journeys overseas to seek greener pastures). For example, it will highlight natural conservation, agricultural and aqua-cultural ecology projects of organic permaculture, such as the 'HOMOWOWAWA-OFFEY' Operation Farm to Feed and Empower Yourself, the building of Miano Asase Yaa Open Spaces of Community Action Learning in link with Glocal Afrikan Reparatory Justice Action-Research & Learning Community Centres, as well as Green-Knowledge Parks, Cities, Towns, and Villages for Environmental Justice Action-Learning.
- The second work/study camp will be held in Benin where the focus will be on the 'Resolutions for Future Directions' generated at the Pre-Colloquium held in Porto-Novo in June 2017. Youth groups will work alongside various elders and community leaders to think through the organization of four specific projects linked to the arts and humanities, including: the erection of a wall to commemorate the history of protests and resistance in Afrika against the trans-Atlantic trafficking in enslaved Afrikans with the Musée da Silva; the establishment of apprenticeship centres to learn indigenous arts, such as dyeing, indigo and traditional appliqué with the Mayor of Porto-Novo and his majesty Kpoto Zounmè Hakpon III, King of Porto-Novo; the creation of programmes to decolonize and Africanize knowledge and promote cognitive justice with university professors, the minister of the Béninese spiritual tradition and local cultural organizations; and the creation of an 'International Institute of Boology' with traditional priests/priestesses, the minister of the Béninese spiritual tradition, the Musée Éthnographique and the King of Porto-Novo. These projects will be promoted within the community through art, music and theatre and made available to youth and others from the Afrikan diaspora and other global communities.

- Both camps will also connect to Project 1 (video-documentary) as youth participants will receive professional training in video-making and self-narration that will feed into the final documentary.
- Project 3 – Building Solidarity through Traditional Leadership: To contribute to the urgent need to build solidarity across national borders and promote the Porto-Novo Declaration, while upholding the need to recognize and respect the culture, history, knowledge systems and heritage of Afrikan peoples, we will organize two workshops with traditional leaders in Ghana and Benin. The workshop in Ghana will be coordinated through the GAFRIC along with the paramount chiefs of Ghana — Togbe Adza Tekpor VII, the Osie of Avatime, and Nana Kobina Nketsia V, the Omanhen of Essikado — who have actively lent their support and wisdom to the INOSAAR (see Birmingham). The workshop in Benin will be held with the *Conseil National des Rois de Bénin* under the direction of His Majesty, Kpoto Zounme HAKPON III, King of Porto-Novo (responsible for signing the Porto-Novo Declaration), as well as local community-based activists and NGOs (notably Hope for Africa⁸⁹), the Musée Ethnographic and the Musée da Silva. The purpose of these workshops will be to discuss some of the difficulties in the process of rematriation/repatriation and how to build connections between those in the diaspora and those on the continent, as well as to plan for a future international event aimed at bringing traditional leaders/chiefs together in the quest for reparative justice.

Conclusions: Collective Learning and Cognitive Justice

This report has provided an overview of the journey taken to create the INOSAAR, highlighting the need to recognize the much a longer history of reparations activism and confront some of the deep-seated, colonially-created problems and structures that must be recognized and overcome in order to develop proper communication and build solidarity across communities and nations.

The first point is to recognize the need to challenge and disassemble colonial structures within the academy; structures that have resulted not just in the exclusion of minority voices representing community concerns, but also the delegitimization of any viewpoint that challenges the western canon and its hierarchies. To that end, the INOSAAR is an inherently decolonial project. Decolonization, according to Zembylas, is an act of cognitive justice that, denotes a way of knowing that resists the Eurocentrism of the West and makes an effort to correct the wrongs of colonial domination by dismantling the various forms of imperialism (including cognitive ones) that perpetuate

⁸⁹ Hope for Africa, <https://hopeforafrica.org/> (accessed 18 September 2019).

the subjugation and exploitation of peoples enslaved and disempowered by colonialism.⁹⁰ This underlying approach therefore means recognizing the existence and validity of multiple forms of knowledge and becoming open (as Mbembe argues⁹¹) to other epistemic possibilities that will, necessarily, affect the lens through which history and the present-day are read and interpreted, as well as academic research practices.

The second point is to recognize the existence of economic structures today that are derived from the long history of enslaved Afrikan labour. To that end, the INOSAAR acknowledges the 'reparations axiom,' which maintains that the energy from labour creates monetary/economic value. Although ownership of that value may change over time, that value never disappears after it is created but continues to multiply (through a multiplier effect). While that monetary/economic value has multiplied many times over since its creation, it has disproportionately benefitted a group of people other than the original providers of enslaved labour and their progeny, and hence needs to be redressed.

The INOSAAR has tried precisely to keep this argument, and many other reparative perspectives in mind, in that reparative justice for Afrikan slavery remains to be accorded. What we have tried to do is question how knowledge is produced within both spatial and linguistic constructions, to engage with and valorize other ways of thinking, notably those drawing from Afrikan knowledge systems, the arts and culture, and to provide a forum in which all voices are heard with the ultimate object of contributing to solidarity within our necessary diversity.

The third point to recognize is the importance of cognitive justice. One of the key ways in which we have sought practice cognitive justice is through our 'Principles of Participation.' In this document, we assert that 'the INOSAAR will uphold justice of equity in all knowledges, with no one form of knowledge privileged over another.' That means opening up to difficult questions that reveal the fracture lines between communities of reparations interest and elites in academia, governments and other institutional structures. It also means coming face-to-face with any prejudicial points of view and the ways in which the viewpoints of others, operating within different epistemologies and ontologies that have been shaped by the fact of oppression and exclusion, have been overlooked and yet have much to say about the limitations of western-centric viewpoints.

To conclude then, this report offers three statements:

⁹⁰ Michalinos Zembylas, 'The Quest for Cognitive Justice: Towards a Pluriversal Human Rights Education,' *Globalisation, Societies and Education*, 15 (2017), 397–490 (p. 397).

⁹¹ Achille Joseph Mbembe, 'Decolonizing the University: New Directions,' *Arts & Humanities in Higher Education*, 2016 (15), 29–45 (pp. 32–33).

1. First, that comprehensive global reparations are urgently needed to confront and address the multi-layered legacies left by the intertwined histories of capitalism, slavery and colonialism;
2. Second, that western systems of knowledge and the institutional structures they have engendered are inadequate spaces by themselves in which to find responses to the racial, socio-economic and psychological problems that they have been responsible for creating, and that alternative knowledge systems must be equally valued when searching for responses to critical human problems;
3. Third, that the longstanding struggle for reparation and reparative justice can be usefully viewed as part of a broader push for cultural, institutional and educational decolonization and planetary repairs that moves us beyond theoretical stagnation and towards collaborative action.

To repair, therefore, is not just to remember and learn from the past, but to atone for past crimes against humanity, to actively dismantle those harmful structures, and begin re-envisaging our collective futures.