



## **Abstracts and Biographies**

### **Day 1: 19 September 2018**

Prophet Toure Nehemie Zeguen (President of the UBUNTU Pan-African Social Movement for Integral Development)

'The Question of Reparations for the Evils of Slavery in Light of Current Socio-Political Realities: Freedom, Democratic Struggles and Religion in Afrika'

In our present struggle for reparations due to Afrika following the evils of slavery, it is important to note some important points that are often ignored or downplayed by Afrikan or internationalist leaders, activists and intellectuals. It is a question of linking reparations with, on the one hand, the current liberation struggles from the imperialist yoke and the process of democratization led by our people, while, on the other hand, considering the Christian and Muslim religions and their influences on our modern Afrikan societies and in the diaspora in order to benefit from all our strengths and significant assets in the quest for our final victory.

A. Reparations and sovereigntist struggles in Afrika

If we consider that the current balance of power between the West and Afrika leans on the side of the slavers and colonialists, who therefore also dominate all the international institutions of human rights, justice and peace, it goes without saying that true justice will only be possible when there is a balance of forces at the United Nations and in the other international jurisdictions with universal decision-making powers.

To achieve this balance of forces, the only path is for Afrikan countries to obtain their sovereignty and the real capacity to compete with the great western nations that have always imposed their dictates.

This is why we propose that the Afrikan peoples and their diasporas acknowledge the urgency of integrating sovereigntist, democratic and, above all, pan-Afrikanist struggles into their recurrent strategies. Indeed, a free and united Afrika is the only guarantee of power and prosperity for the Afrikans of tomorrow. And a strong, powerful Afrika can by itself demand justice and reparations for all Afrikans of the world.

B. The need to involve Christian and Muslim religions in the struggle for reparations in Afrika

It is important to understand that our pan-Afrikanist sovereignty and unity remain true guarantees of the kind of prosperity and universal justice that would be favourable to Afrikans, just as it is important

to understand the importance of mobilizing and involving the vast majority of Afrikans who follow the Christian and Muslim religions, as well as our Afrikan and Buddhist cults.

No one can do any good for people without the true involvement of those people themselves. Far better is to pay attention to the mobilizing force and influence of religions on our Afrikan continent. On the basis of these facts, if we want to accelerate mobilization on the ground, we must penetrate these circles from top to bottom and gather these huge crowds, which are always ignored and cast aside by our sectarian and limited strategies.

It is for us to pierce this abscess by denouncing those who argue from the rear-guard and produce sterile and largely unproductive debates on the legitimacy or not of these stated religions. It is not up to us to choose the religion of our people before inviting them into this collective combat, but rather a question of inviting them into the struggle for liberation, each according to what he/she is and what he/she believes in order that together, and in synergy, we may liberate ourselves from the ultra-liberal financial and economic powers that divide us.

Conclusion

Tactically, these are the two main areas I would like to emphasize by submitting them to your attention in order to correct some of the flaws of our past and present struggles.

The struggle for the reparations that are due to Afrika is urgent, but it will have to be integrated into the global liberation struggle of our continent because the fate of black Afrikans or persons of Afrikan descent remain the same everywhere we find ourselves.

Our world is based on a civilization of injustice, violence, exploitation and barbarism that benefits only the rich westerners and their minority collaborators of all races scattered around the world to the detriment of the overwhelming majority who have been divided, exploited and weakened for centuries.

We are all children of God who loves us all. But our liberation is in our hands because even our oppressors are also children of this same God of Justice.

God judges our actions but does not come to fight in our place so that we do not become unconscious, incapable, irresponsible or lazy. Our faith should be a driving force and not a collective slumber. Our faith is a force for liberation.

Long live the Afrikan liberation!

Long live the struggle to repair the crimes of enslavement!

May God bless us all.

## **Day 2: 20 September 2018**

### **Panel 1: The Reparations Movement in Afrika and the Diaspora**

Folami Olakunle Michael (Adekunle Ajasin University, Nigeria)

#### 'Recognition and Reparations for the Generations of Off-springs of Slaves in West Africans'

The 15<sup>th</sup>-century slave trade, which forced women and men to the West Indies and other European countries, dehumanised West Africans disproportionately. Men and women were captured, kidnapped, shackled and transported by sea to Europe and America. Historical relics in Badagry, Nigeria and Porto Novo, Benin Republic, show the inhuman ways by which West Africans were crudely exploited and dehumanised. The socio-cultural and psychological consequences of slavery remain indelible in the mind of West Africans. The many off-spring of the slaves are lost generations. They could not trace their origin. They loss their culture and always suffer racial discrimination in foreign

lands. The historical relics have continued to serve as potent remembrance of people past and the need for reparative justice.

This paper argues that reparative justice would heal the wound of generations of the slaves. This paper built on Recognition Theory to explain the forms and types of reparations demanded by the offspring of slaves. This study was carried out in Nigeria and Benin Republic. In-depth interviews were carried out among two hundred and one participants: Traditional Rulers 11; Historians 34; Opinion Leaders 42 and Foreign Missions 14. The paper found that the reparative justice agitating for by the off-springs slaves could either be symbolic, monetary or both such as acknowledgment, apology, memorialisation and monetary award. The paper found that reparations, if paid by the former colonial masters should be invested in West Africa socio-economic development.

*Biography: Folami Olakunle Michael bagged a BSc and a MSc in Sociology and Anthropology from the Obafemi Awolowo University, Nigeria. He also bagged a PhD in Transitional Justice from the University of Ulster, Northern Ireland. His areas of research include gender, conflict, peacebuilding, transitional justice and socio-legal studies. Folami's research paper has won a Distinguished Paper Award at the 2<sup>nd</sup> Istanbul Conference on Democracy and Global Security. He has completed a research fellowship on acceptance of International criminal justice with the Nuremberg International Principles Academy, Germany. He is currently an Acting Head of Department of Sociology / Criminology & Security Studies at the Adekunle Ajasin University, Akungba Akoko, Ondo State, Nigeria.*

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Isis Amlak (Global Afrikan Congress UK)

'#Decolonise #Culturally-Engaged #Afrikan-Centred #ReparatoryJustice'

In consideration of offering a reparative vision, of where [WE] global Afrikans are going and what futures we are aiming for, the proposed presentation will consider the relevance of decolonisation to reparations whilst also interrogating the following two questions:

- What is needed to achieve a culturally-engaged, Afrikan-centred unifying agenda for reparations?
- What are the similarities and differences in the roles that Afrikan Heritage Communities of the Diaspora and on the continent of Afrika should play in the movement for reparations?

Decolonisation has undergone a resurgence in the last two to three years, currently eponymously identifiable with youth-led protest movements removing racist icons and re-visioning white supremacist values and philosophies, for example #decolonisethecurriculum. Hence, #decolonise... rapidly became an anti-racist, black consciousness, Afrikan liberationist zeitgeist.

Essentially the decolonise agenda, #RhodesMustFall in Cape Town, South Africa or at Oxford University, in the case of the former Rhodes literally fell on 9 April 2015, or Decolonising Our Minds Society at SOAS, is reparations; challenging racism, discrimination and inequality by remaking space, rewriting curricula, and re-imagining the academy. Decolonisation ultimately repairs damage done by colonial architects who are synonymous with enslavers and plantation owners. The UN World Conference on Racism, in South Africa (2001), revealingly declared enslavement and colonialism 'crimes against humanity' further exposing the nature of their sordid union.

'A peoples' art is the genesis of their freedom' speaks to the power of art as a transformative tool for cultural and social justice. 'Afrikan-centric decolonising movements', led predominantly by young activists, having spread across the Caribbean, the Americas and the UK, replicating the movements of ships that kidnapped and trafficked ancestors, offer tangible opportunities for a unified global reparations agenda. 'Decolonising the Mind: The Politics of Language in African Literature 2' advocates for linguistic decolonisation as crucial to successful transition to independence for Afrikan Heritage communities on the continent. Although also true for the diaspora, differences are rooted in

the extent to which linguistic, culture and spiritual identity were erased versus the extent to which they were retained on the continent.

*Biography: Isis stands as an Afrikan Queen Mother Warrior first and foremost, an Afrikan born in Trinidad and Tobago, in the Caribbean.*

*Isis has resided in North Kensington for 26 years and has worked in her local Community & Voluntary Sector (CVS) for 30 years providing advocacy, counselling and health services for minoritised and racialised communities, mental health services, police monitoring, race equality, social welfare legal support and substance misuse services. For most of that period she has been active in local democracy and community organising having held both paid and voluntary roles. She has a strong track record in capacity building, community development, cultural brokerage, equalities, leadership, project and production management and training and is a board member of Olmec, The Edge Fund and the Octavia Foundation.*

*Isis a Pan Afrikanist, seasoned activist and campaigner. Passionate about racial and social justice, dating back to Anti-Apartheid activism in the late 80s, she is engaged in the Movement for Reparatory Justice for the enslavement of Afrikans. She is the Global Afrikan Congress uk's Information Officer, a member of the European Network for People of African Descent and the Caribbean Pan African Network. She is an Eclectic Afrikan Centric Poet and works on a freelance basis.*

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Ayo Yusuff (Institute of African and Diaspora Studies, University of Lagos, Nigeria)

#### 'Toward Genuine and Sustainable Reparation: The Case of the Yoruba in Diaspora'

Reparation has been a subject of vigorous debate among scholars as well as governmental and non-governmental organizations, through conferences, seminars, symposia, focus group discussions, within and outside the continent of Africa with most of the recommendations being on compensatory and mediatory solutions. This paper intends to examine and interrogate the quantity and quality of the losses experienced in the extraction of the Yoruba in diaspora and the effects on their existence in their host communities over time and generations. These losses include but are not limited to language, literatures, culture and indigenous knowledge systems of the Yoruba people. It argues that reparation can only be genuine and sustainable if well-planned and lasting methods are institutionalized to re-inject these losses to the Yoruba in diaspora with a view to building in them awareness, loyalty and patriotism to their root, as well as ensuring that the gains they have experienced in their host communities are useful both to those communities and their root.

*Biography: Ayo Yusuff is a Research Associate Professor in the Institute of African and Diaspora Studies, University of Lagos, Nigeria, jointly established in collaboration with The University of the West Indies, Jamaica. He studied Linguistics and Yoruba Language at the University of Lagos and University of Ibadan, Nigeria. In 2007, he was a member of the team of linguists that produced the Yoruba version of Local Language Program for Microsoft Corporation. In 2011, he participated in the production of a unified standard orthography for the Yoruba language cluster adopted for the writing of Yoruba in Nigeria, Republic of Benin and the Republic of Togo. In 2017, he was in the team that developed the English-Yoruba Glossary of HIV, AIDS and Ebola Related Terms, which was published with him as Lead Editor. He has been an active player in the advocacy for the use of African indigenous languages in all areas of human communication since 2002. He specializes in Morpho-syntax and Language Engineering. He has over 35 publications in reputable journals and books. His doctoral thesis titled 'Lexical Morphology in Yoruba Language Engineering', presented to the School of Postgraduate Studies, University of Lagos in 2008, has been published by VDM Germany in 2010.*

## **Panel 2: Afrikan Complicity, Dictatorship and the Ongoing Crime Against Humanity**

Kris Manjapra (Tufts University, USA)

### 'The British Imperial Slave Emancipation Process as an Ongoing Crime against Humanity'

This paper argues that legal and ethical dimensions for reparation claims today can be brought into sharper relief through a better understanding of the crimes against humanity that occurred in and through the British imperial emancipation process itself. Far from representing a culmination of triumphant abolitionism, the emancipation of slaves in the British empire, 1833-1838, was actually characterized by the exacerbation of violence and injustice against enslaved Afrikan peoples. I present original research on the 'apprenticeship period', regarding the massive compensation paid to British slave-owners in the 1830s. This compensation package generated government bonds that remained active until 2015 and were financed by British taxpayers. In addition, this paper demonstrates how the procedures for slave-owner compensation during the period known as 'apprenticeship' re-enacted forms of violence against enslaved Afrikan peoples that characterized the erstwhile regime of slavery. For example, from 1833-38, slave owners received compensation for dead slaves, as well as for 'runaways', 'absented', 'outlawed', 'incarcerated', 'deserted' and 'marooned' slaves. Through a grotesque calculus, the British state paid slave-owners the price not just for Afrikan 'chattel property' living on their plantations, but also for Afrikans who had died or were murdered on these plantations. The British state also compensated slave owners for enslaved people who had run away from the plantations, sometimes many decades earlier. The British imperial emancipation process, then, did not dispense of the horrors of racial slavery, but exonerated and magnified them. By reconsidering how we understand the emancipation process, we also can ask new questions about the continuities and legacies of racial slavery after the end of the official institution, and the legal and ethical bases for reparation claims today.

*Biography: Kris Manjapra joined the Tufts University history department in 2008 after completing his dissertation at the Harvard history department, and a postdoctoral year at UCLA. As Associate Professor, he teaches courses on South Asia, the Caribbean, the British Empire, slavery, and globalization. Currently, Manjapra is a visiting fellow at the Wissenschafts-kolleg zu Berlin (WIKO). He has served as the interim director of the Consortium of Studies in Race, Colonialism, and Diaspora at Tufts University.*

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Warren C. Hope (John H. Lounsbury College of Education, Georgia College and State University, USA)

### 'Looking for a Door of Return'

Transnational and transregional in nature, Reparations and Restorative Justice for the enslavement of Afrikan people is also multidimensional. Conduct of the Afrikan slavery enterprise intertwined many entities and people. Although the catalysts for, and the collaborators in that enterprise are gone, vestiges of the enslavement of Afrikan people and beneficiaries of the enterprise yet remain. While a significant focus of the Reparations and Restorative Justice Movement focuses on European nations and the United States, Afrika's complicity in the enslavement enterprise is overshadowed. Nevertheless, Afrika cannot claim clean hands. Hence, Afrika bears responsibility as a partner (as before) with Europe, the United States, and others yet to be indicted. Reparations and Restorative Justice is also multifaceted as related to compensatory action. Afrika's recent apology statements and monument testimonials do not translate into restitution for the debacle of slavery. The time is nigh for Afrika to assume responsibility for its roles in the enslavement enterprise. Because Afrika sold its sons and daughters into slavery, there is an obligation beyond apology, proclamation and monument

erection that must be manifested. This paper has a two-fold purpose: (a) to place the burden of enslavement on Afrika's mind, and (b) respond to the conference question of what actions are necessary to enable us to map a path to specific reparative goals.

*Biography: Dr. Warren C. Hope is the Chair of the Department of Professional Learning and Innovation in the John H. Lounsbury College of Education at Georgia College and State University in Milledgeville, Georgia. Fifteen years of his education career was spent as a middle school teacher, elementary school assistant principal, and elementary school principal in Florida's public school system. Warren Hope earned his BA degree in Political Science from the University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida, Master's and Specialist degrees from Stetson University, DeLand, Florida, an EdD degree in Educational Leadership and PhD degree in History from Florida State University, Tallahassee, Florida. He entered higher education as an assistant professor at Georgia Southwestern State University and rose to the rank of full professor at Florida A&M University in Tallahassee, Florida. At Florida A&M University he served as department chair and coordinator of the PhD program in Educational Leadership. In response to Africa's Brain Drain phenomenon, this PhD program in Educational Leadership graduated 14 Ghanaian nationals with the doctoral degree. Dr. Hope's scholarship in Leadership, Computer Technology, and Educational Policy has been published in refereed journals. He has travelled frequently to West Africa and has developed cooperative relationships with Liaoning National University and Shenyang Normal University in Shenyang, China.*

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Hassoum Ceesay (Gambia National Museum, Banjul)

'Dictator's obsession with Reparations: The 2008 Gambia-Africa Union Reparations, and 2016 International Reparations Conferences'

Reparation for the ills of slavery is becoming as old as the crime of the Atlantic Slave Trade itself. Since the early 1900s at the Pan African Congresses of 1919 and 1921, Africans in the Diaspora have raised the issue of reparations from former slave trading nations and Big Business to settle reparations of one form another. Recent African nationalist agitators such as Nkrumah, Sekou Toure, Lumumba have also at one time or the other broached the idea of reparations. So far, these interventions have fallen on deaf ears. I suggest in this paper that one reason why the debate is being stalled is the desire by despotic African rulers, who deny their people basic human rights, to hijack the reparations issue to suit their own window dressing. I use the case study of two ill-fated attempts by ex-Gambian ruler to put his own queer stamp on the reparations debate by calling up two international meetings on reparations in Banjul. I conclude that as long as dictators who treat their people with contempt want to lead the reparations debate, it will be easy for ex-slaving nations to turn a deaf ear to the clarion call for reparations.

*Biography: Hassoum Ceesay is the Curator of the Juffureh Slavery Museum in The Gambia and also oversees the James island Slavey Island, a UNESCO World Heritage Site off Juffureh in The River Gambia, of Kunta Kinte fame.*

### **Panel 3: Reparative Initiatives – Sites of Healing**

Marie-Marcelline Ecoue (University of Greenwich, London, UK)

'The Psychological and Existential Quest of Afrikan Diaspora Tourists at Cultural Heritage Sites in Afrika: A Cultural and Spiritual Strategy for Reparations'

This presentation is from a research study that is being carried out at the Da Silva museum among visitors from the Afrikan Diaspora (including all Afrodescendant visitors from or living in Western countries). The existential quest for Afrika of the Afrikan Diaspora, expressed in their increasing numbers visiting cultural heritage sites on the Afrikan continent, with the intention of learning how better to reconstruct their identity or in quest of assimilation with the Afrikan continent, has contributed to a significant growth of roots and return (Rematriation) tourism. This Afrikan Heritage tourism interest reflects an awakening of many in the Afrikan Diaspora from a trauma of self-hating antipathy through a return to their Afrikan Personality and self-esteeming pride in cultural expressions to mark continuity with their original motherland. This research is meant to contribute to understanding what drives the Afrikan Diaspora to visit cultural heritage sites in Afrika and to make an assessment that is relevant to Reparatory Justice of the psychological impacts and psychological needs of such visitors to these sites. A collection of in-depth narratives from new generations of the Maangamizi descendants would be necessary to justify their emotional, spiritual and cultural reparations requests.

#### *Some contemporary events regarding the Afrikan Diaspora and its relationship with Afrikan Cultural Heritage*

Recent events have proved the growing worldwide interest and involvement of the Afrikan Diaspora in its Afrikan cultural heritage:

- Pressure on some Western countries to return Afrikan artefacts to Afrika: Emmanuel Macron, the French president accepted to return more about 5,000 objects.
- Creation of the Region of the Afrikan Diaspora and its validation by the Afrikan Union in July 2018.
- In 2017, during one of his campaigns, the President of the Republic of Benin has strongly argued to invest and promote Afrikan cultural heritage.

#### *Collection of in-depth narratives at the Da Silva Museum*

- What are the findings of the narratives of Afrikan-descendant tourists visiting the Da Silva museum?

#### *Damages and impacts of the Maangamizi to justifying Reparations*

The relationship between the Afrikan Diaspora and Afrikan cultural heritage sites in Afrika is seen by some as offering the opportunity to determine the damages and impacts of the Maangamizi globally on the entire Afrikan population, including all its Afro-descendant generations worldwide.

*Clarification: As a part of my Masters programme in International Tourism Management (MA) at the University of Greenwich, UK, I have carried out a research study related to the psychological and existential quest of Afrikan Diaspora tourists at cultural heritage sites in the Afrikan continent. My research proposes some contributions to the objectives of the conference by drafting some cognitive justice perspectives. The research study considers Afrikan Diaspora tourists' psychological experience at Afrikan cultural heritage sites through personal narratives and memories. My research was originally orientated towards tourism activities as a powerful economic driver and customer behaviour at tourist sites. However, the stories told by the Afrikan Diaspora visitors provided interesting discussions on the perceive value of their lost history and the connections embedded in the motherland. The Da Silva museum is a legacy to explore and assess the impacts of memories as it is the home of a returnee: Karim da Silva's lineage satisfies self-realisation of cultural identity and achievement of a rematriation. Therefore, the objectives of the research were to establish the relationship between the*

*Afrikan Diaspora communities visiting the da Silva museum and to assess their psychological needs, such as geographic and emotive attachment, as well as the provision of touristic needs at cultural heritage sites in Afrika. It will therefore draw from the psychological impacts and damages of trans-Atlantic enslavement that underpin the struggle of the Afrikan and Afro-descendant people in the current world.*

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Aiyegoro Ome (Trinidad & Tobago National Committee on Reparations)

“Reuniting with our Spirits”. An African Wake, Burial and Sanctuary’

The task at hand is to establish an African Sanctuary, preceded by a symbolic Wake and Burial in partial fulfilment of one of the CARICOM Reparation Commission’s Ten Point Action Plans designated ‘Cultural Institutions’.

At the moment there are no Sanctuaries in which Africans Trinidad & Tobago can repair, nor have Africans in Trinidad & Tobago committed to a symbolic wake and burial for those unknown persons who died on the Middle Passage and during slavery.

Though the relevant section of Caricom’s ‘Ten Point Action Plan’ refers to academic institutions through which the story of victims of the Crimes Against Humanity may be told to their descendants, there is a great need for an institution which can provide a spiritual dimension to the Reparations Movement.

Originally proposed as a project for the UN’s International Decade for People of African Descent (IDPAD), the Sanctuary will be multi-dimensional comprising a monument to the memory of our ancestors, space for meditation/worship, lecture hall, museum, library and an archive. It should occupy a site of at least five acres landscaped with trees and running water.

The process of preparing the Wake, Burial and Sanctuary will have to be done in consultation with the leadership of the various African faiths practised in Trinidad & Tobago and the wider Caribbean.

Preliminary work on the three concepts was prepared and proposed for the Government of Trinidad & Tobago’s committee for the IDPAD.

*Biography: Aiyegoro Ome is the Chairman of the Trinidad & Tobago National Committee on Reparations and has previously held chair positions in the Caribbean Historical Society and the National Action Cultural Committee, as well as acting as Advisor to His Excellency Makandal Daaga, the CARICOM Cultural Ambassador. He is the author of two books: The National Action Cultural Committee: An Appreciation and The Story of Emancipation (1989 and 2007). He is also the narrator and producer of The Story of Emancipation (for radio), as well as a bi-weekly contributor to the Trinidad Guardian.*

#### **Panel 4: Claims to Reparation: Past and Present, National and International**

Morgan Moss Jr (N’COBRA International Affairs Commission, USA)

‘A Historical Analysis of The National Coalition of Blacks For Reparations in America: N’COBRA’

The purpose and objective of this presentation is to give a brief historical analysis of the National Coalition of Blacks for Reparations in America (N’COBRA). The National Coalition of Blacks for Reparations in America (N’COBRA) is the first mass-based coalition of organizations and individuals organized for the sole purpose of obtaining reparations for African descendants in the United States of America.



N'COBRA was founded September 26, 1987, to broaden the base of support for the long-standing history of the reparation movement in the United States of America. N'COBRA's membership includes individual members and organizational affiliates. N'COBRA has chapters, members, affiliates, and supporters throughout the United States of America, and in Africa, Europe, Central and South America and the Caribbean. N'COBRA is directed nationally by a board of directors and its advocacy agenda is organized within nine national commissions: Economic Development, Human Resources, Legal Strategies, Legislation, Information and Media, Membership and organizational Development, International Affairs, Youth and Education and seven standing committees: Nomination, Executive, Conference, Fund Development, ASHE, National Office and National Campaigns. N'COBRA holds an annual membership meeting and conference, usually held the fourth weekend in June, to conduct the business of the coalition as well as to evaluate and introduce new campaigns and strategies.

The mission of the National Coalition of Blacks for Reparations in America (N'COBRA) is to win reparations for Black African Descendants residing in the United States of America and its territories for the genocidal war against Africans that created the Transatlantic Slave 'Trade', chattel slavery, Jim Crow and chattel slavery's continuing vestiges (The *Maafa*). N'COBRA's mission includes organizing and mobilizing all sectors of the Black African communities into an effective mass-based reparations effort in the United States. N'COBRA recognizes reparation is a just demand for all African peoples and join with others in building the international reparation movement.

In 1996 and 1997, the N'COBRA Legal Strategies Commission, chaired by Attorney Adjoa Aiyetoro, initiated and implemented an approach to reparations litigation. The commission's finding led to the identification and documentation of five 'injury areas' suffered by African people during and after enslavement. The five 'injury areas' included Peoplehood / Nationhood, Education, Health, Criminal Punishment, and Wealth / Poverty.

The destruction of African people's culture and the infringement of the white's culture upon Black people of African descent in the United States, Jim Crow and ongoing discrimination practices have resulted in a denial Black people's human rights and resources necessary to be a self-determining people.

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Mnena Abuku (Benue State University, Nigeria) and Solomon Abuku (Department of History and Diplomatic Studies at the Federal University of Kashere, Nigeria)

#### 'Rapprochement and Reparation to Africa not Charity and Aid'

Development is about people and a prerequisite of development is humanism, respect for human life and values, which we now call respect of Human Rights. Africans in the past and present have been victims of slavery, racism, trafficking, oppression and colonialism. Very many do not understand the havoc or damage done to Africa, to both human and natural resources. There is nothing new in the image of Africa carried by the west and what quickly comes to mind is corruption, dirt, savage, hunger, poverty, safaris, underdevelopment and so forth. This is prevalent because it is the image painted and portrayed of Africa through the years. Africans, though separate in origin, have been united in experience through their exposure to new cultures and their enslavement as Africans. The nationalist ideology of liberation arising from the legacy of slave trade therefore needs to be Pan-African. Therefore, we need a renaissance. Peoples of African descent whether at home in Africa or in the diaspora were, and still are, victims. They are not the beneficiaries of slave trade and colonialism. Suggesting otherwise is to falsify history so as to undermine the strength of African solidarity. Africa has suffered setbacks, stagnation and degradation through the centuries. This paper questions the delay in Reparation to Africa and also looks at possible ways Reparation to Africa could inspire mental emancipation and improve governance where Africa can be at an advantage in the world. The paper explores possible ways for Reparations to Africa, opposed to aid and charity.

*Biography:*

- *Mnena Abuku is a creative writer, critic and scholar whose works probe issues of social justice for social change.*
- *Solomon Mark Abuku is a PhD student of History and Diplomatic Studies. He currently lectures at the Federal University of Kashere, Nigeria.*

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Katarina Schwarz (University of Nottingham, UK)

'Reconsidering Legal Redress for Historic Injustice: The Impact of Multiple Modalities of Reparatory Justice in International Law'

Historically, legal remedies have often been considered as limited to monetary payments for injuries suffered. Even today, 'reparations' is often considered synonymous with individual compensation – a fact which frequently fuels denials of a legal right to redress for historic injustices, and particularly for the history of transatlantic enslavement and colonialism. Yet international law permits a range of possibilities with regard to the forms that reparations might take. Restitution, in fact, is conceived as the remedy of first resort in the law of State responsibility, and measures of satisfaction and guarantees of non-repetition might also be required in a situation of internationally wrongful conduct of a State.

This paper will consider the relevant international legal frameworks, the historical roots of the right to remedy in international law, and the jurisprudence of the Inter-American Court of Human Rights to critically reconsider the legal foundations of the claim to redress for the *Maangamizi*. It places the multiple possible modalities of redress at the centre of considerations of causation as potential bars to legal claims, suggesting that the arguments for attenuation or intervention should take account of the nature of possible redress available. Just as the imagined form of reparations in practice has influenced reparations denials in the past, this paper employs a broader conception of the modalities of reparatory justice to support a conclusion on justiciability: that the previously (largely) ignored range of possibilities in international law in fact opens the door to a more expansive understanding of judicially repairable wrongdoing and harms.

*Biography: Katarina Schwarz is currently concluding her PhD research at the University of Nottingham's School of Law, having transferred from Queen's University Belfast in 2017. Her research project explores the international legal dimensions of the claim to reparations for 'historical' enslavement, in particular the so-called 'transatlantic trade' and the Maangamizi. This project analyses the theory of reparations in both international law and transitional justice, to develop a comprehensive understanding of the nature and scope of reparatory justice. It considers the status and development of the prohibition against slavery in international law throughout the relevant period, the role of European colonial expansion in constructing the international legal system as it exists today, State responsibility over time, causation and the doctrine of inter-temporal law to reconsider the international legal landscape governing redress for historic injustices.*

*Katarina's research covers a broad range of fields, including public international law, human rights, transitional justice, legal history, legal theory, and critical legal studies including 'third world approaches to international law'. She is also involved in a range of other advocacy and research projects, concerning extreme forms of human exploitation through time.*

**Panel 5: Self-Empowerment and the Creation of *Maathuntujamaas* in the March for Reparations**

Mawuse Yao Agokor (VAZOBA-Afrika and Friends Networking Open Forum [VAZOBA-AFNOF] and ABLODENUZRADOSAFO-Global Ewe Community of Practice for Pan-Afrikan Reparatory Justice [ABLODENUZRASAF0-GECOPPARJ])

'Gbetowo in "Ablodenuzradonatotro" toward the Pan-Afrikan Reparations for Global Justice Victory of Maatubuntuman'

This presentation gives a basic outline of the 'Pempamsie' planning of, and the groundwork being done to effect, people's self-empowering Pan-Afrikan Reparations for Global Justice within the Ewe-Fon-Adza kindred communities of the Gbetowo nationality in West Afrika, and how this work will lead to their own self-determining contributions towards the victorious building of the MAATUBUNTUMAN Pan-Afrikan Union of Communities. Emphasis is placed on the crucial importance of cognitive justice to understanding what Reparations mean as 'Nudzradonatotro' (or repair for change) to the Gbetowo. Proceeding from the 'Nudzradonatotro' conceptualization, the presentation highlights its central exposition: Reparatory Justice will be utterly meaningless to partitioned indigenous Afrikan communities, such as the kindred Ewe-Fon-Adza communities in present-day Ghana, Togo, Benin and Nigeria, unless the Maangamizi criminality of the European imperialist and neocolonially imposed borders of Coloniality (that remain a huge part of the still persisting legacies of the infamous 1884–85 Berlin Conference) are completely dismantled. Only then can we follow the course of total national and social liberation that will lead to true Pan-Afrikan Reparations for Global Justice. Hence, great attention is paid to explaining the contributions being made by the ABLODENUZRADOSAFO-GECOPPARJ, under the auspices of its parent formation, the ABLODEDUNOVISIHA Gbetowo Global Union for Pan-Afrikan Community Regeneration (ABLODEDUNOVISIHA-GGUPACOR), to the remarkable works of the Stop the Maangamizi: We Charge Genocide/Ecocide Campaign (SMWeCGEC), and the Global Afrikan People's Parliament (GAPP). In other words, this presentation will highlight the Gbetowo contributions to putting a full stop to the Afrikan 'Hellocaust'. The purpose of this is to achieve the definitive and victorious building of MAATUBUNTUMAN out of the unification of both 'Sankofahomes' throughout the continent and 'Maatubuntujamaas' all over the World and wherever the Afrikan diaspora is thriving.

*Biography: Mawuse Yao Agokor is a Social Justice Financial Management Practitioner and Pan-Afrikan Lifelong Learning for Global Citizenship Educationist based in Accra, Ghana. He works mainly as the Chief Executive Officer of the NUNYANSABOME Pan-Afrikan Green Revolutionary Organic Permacultural Eco-Gardens (NUNYANSABOME-PAGROPEG). He devotes considerable time to serving as the General Secretary of the VAZOBA Afrika and Friends Networking Open Forum (VAZOBA-AFNOF); as well as the Principal Organising Secretary of the ABLODEDUNOVISIHA Gbetowo Global Union for Pan-Afrikan Community Regeneration (ABLODEDUNOVISIHA-GGUPACOR), under the auspices of which he plays a leading role in coordinating the ABLODENUZRADOSAFO Global Ewe Community of Practice for Pan-Afrikan Reparatory Justice (ABLODENUZRADOSAFO-GECOPPARJ). It is from these positions that he contributed to co-founding not only the SANKOFAAPAE Pan-Afrikan Reparatory Justice International Libation Ceremony in Accra, but also the West Afrikan Grassroots Preparatory Action Coordinating Committee of the International Network of Scholars and Activists for Afrikan Reparations (WAGPACC-INOSAAR). He also plays leading roles in glocally facilitating the activities of the Pan-Afrikan Forum of Ghana (PAFOG), the Global Afrikan Family Reunion International Council (GAFRIC), the Global Afrikan People's Parliament (GAPP), the All-Afrikan Networking Community Link for International Development (AANCLID), the Peoples' Internationalist Fora for Inter-Community Lifelong Learning (PIFICOLL), the Jubilee Debt Campaign (JDC), the Grassroots South-North Internationalist Forum (GRASSNIF) and various other formations, including the innovative, creative and groundbreaking Lifelong Learning Grassroots InterLinks of Global Citizenship Action Learning (GILOGCAL).*

Kafui Yao Dade (INOSAAR-RepAfrika and the EDIKANFO Pan-Afrikan Youth and Student Internationalist Link)

“Maatubuntukaleviwo” in Youth (WYSCORISC) “Ubuntunkonsosua” for Planet Repairs’

This presentation explains why the rich diversity of community-based works being carried out by those most actively contributing to building the INOSAAR-RepAfrika are currently located within the planet repairs sector of Pan-Afrikan Reparations for Global Justice movement. Seeing the young and aspiring scholar-activist cadres who are spearheading the building of INOSAAR-RepAfrika (what is termed here the ‘Maatubuntukaleviwo’, meaning the brave children constituting the new breed of youth who will drive the future polity of the MAATUBUNTUMAN Pan-Afrikan Union of Communities), this presentation encourages all youths and students of good will to emulate their example by likewise striving to glocally engage in ‘Ubuntunkonsosua’. ‘Ubuntunkonsosua’ is defined as grassroots people-to-peoples internationalist solidarity and ground-up diplomacy action learning. The World Youth, Student and Communities of Resistance Internationalist Solidarity Connexions (WYSCORISC) initiative of the Planet Repairs Youth Positive Action Campaign (PRYPAC), which is now being developed with the support of the INOSAAR-RepAfrika, in addition to support from other contingents of the International Social Movement for Afrikan Reparations (ISMAR) and the Peoples’ Reparations International Movement (PRIM), is highlighted as a good model example of such ‘Ubuntunkonsosua’ endeavours. The presentation emphasizes that it is through active participation in such endeavours that members of the INOSAAR-RepAfrika can successfully galvanize the effective exercising of youth and student agency in glocal positive action that is campaigning for planet repairs, while working toward winning Pan-Afrikan Reparations for Global Justice.

*Biography: Kafui Yao Dade is a Pan-Afrikan Lifelong Learning for Global Citizenship Social Worker based in Accra, Ghana, who specializes in Glocal Youth and Student Rights and Responsibilities Advocacy for Community Self-Empowerment. His main job is being the Executive Director of the Youth and Student Empowerment Action Learning International Services (YASEALIS). Additionally, he is serving as the General Secretary of the EDIKANFO Pan-Afrikan Youth and Student Internationalist Link (EDIKANFO-PAYSIL); as well as a Co-Assistant Organising Secretary of the ABLODEDUNOVISIHA Gbetowo Global Union for Pan-Afrikan Community Regeneration (ABLODEDUNOVISIHA-GGUPACOR), under the aegis of which he contributes to its filial the ABLODENUZRADOSAFO Global Ewe Community of Practice for Pan-Afrikan Reparatory Justice (ABLODENUZRADOSAFO-GECOPPARJ). Kafui also plays leading roles in the Ghana Youth and Student Changemaking Alliance (GYASCA), the VAZOBA Afrika and Friends Networking Open Forum, the Planet Repairs Youth Positive Action Campaign (PRYPAC) and the Global Citizenship Educational Campaign for Curricula of Pluriversality (GCECCOP). He is actively involved in spearheading the VAZOBA collaboration with the All-Afrikan Networking Community Link for International Development (AANCLID) and the Jubilee Debt Campaign (JDC) in the United Kingdom to promote the Glocal Action Learning Concourses on Debt and Development (GALCODDs), in link with monitoring efforts towards achieving the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals, as part of fulfilling the Positive Action Programme for Pan-Afrikan Liberatory Tackling of International Debt. He features prominently in numerous other endeavours of Afrikan cooperation with various Pan-Afrikan and Global Justice collaborators all over the World such as the Grassroots InterLinks of Global Citizenship Action Learning (GILOGCAL). He is not only a co-founding member of the West Afrikan Grassroots Preparatory Action Coordinating Committee of the International Network of Scholars and Activists for Afrikan Reparations (WAGPACC-INOSAAR) but also a leading Scholar-Activist of the INOSAAR-RepAfrika Youth and Student Fellowship.*

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Esther Stanford-Xosei (Pan-Afrikan Reparations Coalition in Europe, PARCOE)

'Maatubuntujamaas Twin-linking with Sankofahomes in Building Maatubuntuman:  
Our Principled Unity for the Pan-Afrikan Reparatory Justice Tackling of Maangamizi Crimes and  
Afrikan Complicity at Home and Abroad in Achieving Our Rendezvous of Victory!'

From the 15<sup>th</sup> Century onwards, when Afrikan people were kidnapped and forcibly ripped from our homeland and our cultural and spiritual way of life, many have yearned for a reconnection and return to our Homeland. This fact highlights the necessity for greater recognition of the centrality of rematriation/repatriation within research being conducted and discourse on reparations ideologies as an essential aspect of the 'right to restitution', which is an aspect of reparations. I shall explore the evolution of the 'Back to Afrika' movements today by focusing on the efforts of PARCOE and the Global Afrikan People's Parliament (GAPP) in the complimentary nation-building processes of establishing *Maatbuntujamaas* (Afrikan Heritage Communities for National Self-Determination) in the Diaspora, twin-linking with the Global Afrikan Family Reunion International Council in forming *Sankofahomes* on the Continent. Such activism being done in furtherance of the self-actualization of MAATUBUNTUMAN, meaning a Pan-Afrikan Union of Communities as a strategic goal of Afrikan people's intergenerational struggles to effect and secure holistic reparatory justice by our own people's power. I will highlight the tensions inherent in such endeavours given that many of the countries on the continent and in the Diaspora, as shaped by Europeans during colonialism, and maintained by Afrikan and Diaspora elites, function as nation-state prisons — otherwise known as 'Maangamizi crime scenes' — more disposed to serving the ends of Euro-American imperialism than the sovereign geo-political interests of Afrikan people. In this regard, I will highlight the primacy of establishing MAATUBUNTUMAN in the PARCOE-GAPP approach to tackling the neocolonial complicity of Afrikans on the Continent and in the Diaspora.

*Biography: Esther Stanford-Xosei is a Jurisconsult, dynamic Community Advocate specialising in the critical legal praxis of 'law as resistance' and internationally acclaimed Reparationist. Brought into this world by parents who were born in the Caribbean (Barbados and Guyana), yet who retained their genetic and cultural memory of Afrika, Esther's activism has sought to re-member the historic, geopolitical and cultural ties between Afrikan Diaspora communities and their ancestral Motherland. Raised up for such a time as this, Esther is a visionary scholar-activist, grounded thinker and community organiser who has charted new grounds in the theory and praxis of Pan-Afrikan Reparations for Global Justice. She is indeed a notable example of the role and prominence that Afrikan women continue to play in global justice movements, such as the International Social Movement for Afrikan Reparations (ISMAR). In this regard, Esther serves as the Co-Vice Chair of the Pan-Afrikan Reparations Coalition in Europe (PARCOE) and is co-founder of the Global Afrikan People's Parliament (GAPP). She is also the official spokesperson for the Afrikan Emancipation Day Reparations March Committee (AEDRMC), which organises the annual 1<sup>st</sup> August Afrikan Emancipation Day Reparations March in London. In addition, Esther is the co-initiator of the 'Stop the Maangamizi: We Charge Genocide/ Ecocide!' Petition and its campaign (SMWeCGEC). Notably, the SMWeCGEC includes calls for the establishment of All-Party Parliamentary Commissions of Inquiry for Truth & Reparatory Justice at the levels of the Westminster and European Parliaments. As a result of Esther's community engaged reparations scholar-activism, she is currently completing PhD action research at the University of Chichester on the history of the UK contingent of the ISMAR.*