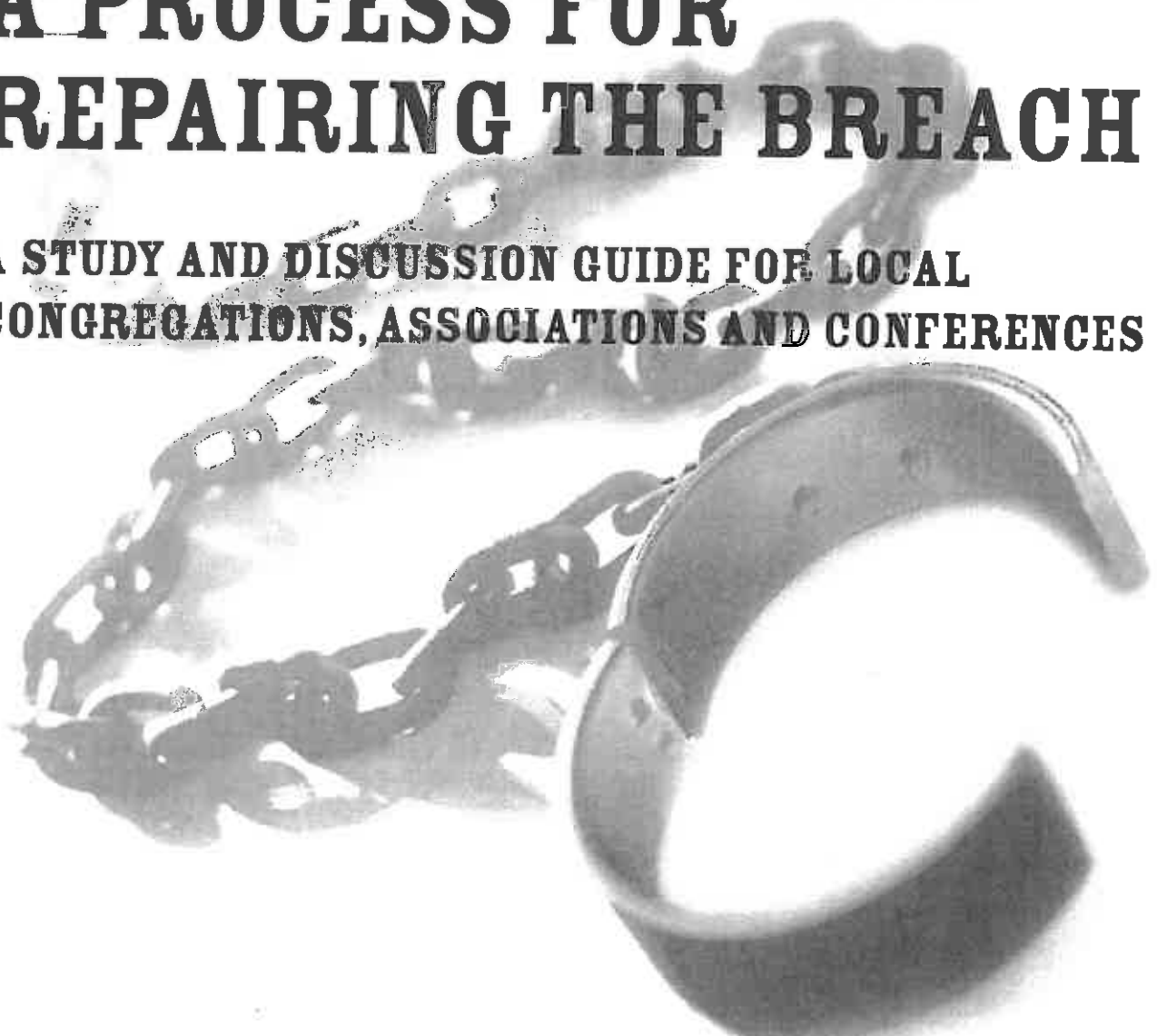


REPARATIONS: A PROCESS FOR REPAIRING THE BREACH

**A STUDY AND DISCUSSION GUIDE FOR LOCAL
CONGREGATIONS, ASSOCIATIONS AND CONFERENCES**



**PRODUCED BY JUSTICE AND WITNESS MINISTRIES OF THE UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST
SUPPORTED BY NEIGHBORS IN NEED OFFERING**

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Dedication Page

Letter from Dr. Bernice Powell Jackson

Working Group Members & Contributing Writers

SECTION ONE: *Background*

History and Purpose of Resource

How to use this Resource

SECTION TWO: *Study Materials*

Bible Study on the Isaiah 58:11-12 Passage

Unit 1: Acknowledgment of the Breach

Unit 2: Confession of Sins

Unit 3: Apology for Misdeeds

Unit 4: Repentance

Unit 5: Forgiveness of Wrongs Committed

Unit 6: Healing of the Breach

Unit 7: Reconciliation

Unit 8: Reparations - A Matter of Justice

SECTION THREE: *Additional Resources*

Bibliography

Appendices

Appendix A: General Synod XXIII Resolution Calling for a Study on Reparations for Slavery

Appendix B: Reparations & the Lingering Economic Effects of Slavery and its Aftermath

Appendix C: Copies of Apologies to Native Hawaiians and Japanese Americans

Appendix D: Ideas on Repairing the Health Care Breach

Appendix E: President George W. Bush's Speech at Goree Island in Senegal on Slavery and Its Impact

Appendix F: Facilitator/Trainer Feedback Form

DEDICATION

We dedicate this Study and Discussion Guide to the millions of Africans whose lives were lost in the Middle Passage during the Transatlantic Slave Trade, and to the countless others who endured the unimaginable horrors of slavery.



“Do Not Forget Our Chains”

LETTER FROM EXECUTIVE MINISTER

Dear Friends,

The prophet Isaiah reminds us that God calls us to be repairers of the breach, healers of the nation. That was not an easy calling then, nor is it an easy calling now. Yet, that is, indeed, what God is calling us to do in this 21st century. And that is what our 23rd General Synod and the General Assembly of the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) also called us to do when we met jointly in Kansas City and discussed a resolution on reparations for slavery.

There is much misunderstanding about the topic of reparations. But, the resolution reminded us that reparations is “a process to remember, repair, restore, make amends for wrongs, reconcile and can never be singularly reducible to monetary terms”. Rather, it says, the process of reparations is “an historical reckoning involving acknowledgment that an offense against humanity was committed and the victims have not received justice”.

We know that this is not an easy topic for many to understand or discuss. Yet, in order for true reconciliation to take place in our nation, it is one which many feel must be addressed. For this reason, and at the request of the General Synod, Justice and Witness Ministries set up a working group to develop a study resource for local congregations. This multiracial and multicultural working group of local church members and pastors and staffed by two JWM staff persons has worked diligently over the past 18 months to put this resource together for you. It includes Bible study as well as history and a process for study of this complex issue.

Our hope is that you will find some way to use this resource in your church, in your community group, or wherever two or three are gathered on behalf of justice and reconciliation. Our prayer is that it will be a blessing to you as I believe the process of doing this work has been a blessing to all those involved. On behalf of JWM, I would like to thank all the members of the working group who gave of their time and talents and their own experiences, most especially to Dr. Iva Carruthers, the convener of the group and a noted expert on reparations and to DeBorah Gilbert White and Rev. Adora Iris Lee for their excellent staff work. To God be the glory!

Shalom,



Bernice Powell Jackson
Justice and Witness Ministries

THANK YOU

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HISTORY & PURPOSE OF THIS RESOURCE

Reparations: A Process for Repairing the Breach

In 1989, Representative John Conyers (D-Michigan) introduced to Congress the bill, H.R. 40, entitled *The Commission to Study Reparations Proposal for African Americans Act*. The bill was numbered 40, to symbolize the “forty acres and a mule” proposed in General William Sherman’s Field Order #15 issued in January 1865. According to historian John David Smith, the order released land along the coast from Charleston, South Carolina to the St. John’s River south of Jacksonville, Florida, making it available to freed slaves and by June 1865 approximately 40,000 ex-slaves occupied nearly 400,000 acres of the land which came to be known as the Sherman Reservation. The land was eventually taken away and given back to pardoned former Confederates.

The Conyers bill, H.R. 40, seeks a formal acknowledgment of the injustice and inhumanity of slavery, the establishment of a commission to study slavery and its impact on slave descendants, and charges such commission to make recommendations to Congress on how to redress the harm of slavery and its aftermath. H.R. 40 has been re-introduced to every Congress since 1989.

Over the years, several organizations and groups have increased activity toward bringing the issue of reparations for the institution of slavery and its aftermath to the consciousness of the United States government. These activities have included, but not been limited to, state, city, and community awareness and education campaigns regarding H.R. 40 and lobbying efforts on Capitol Hill to gain support and passage of the bill.

What do we mean when we speak of reparations? Reparations has been defined as the restitution or repayment by a government and/or institutions of a society for crimes resulting in the systemic destruction of a people. Slavery has been called a crime against humanity for which restitution must be made to address historical wrongs and present social, economic, political, educational disparities experienced by the descendants of enslaved Africans. In the book entitled, *The Church & Reparations*, Dr. Iva Carruthers defines reparations as a process to “repair, restore, make amends for wrongs, reconcile. To seek reparations is to seek justice; and the pathway to justice is from confession to reconciliation. Apology and moral, economic, political and educational structural adjustments are steps along the way.”

In 2000, members of Trinity United Church of Christ and members of University Church of the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) in Chicago, began conversations on the issue of reparations for slavery following the Disciples Justice Action Network sponsored Justice Jubilee 2000 gathering in Tulsa, Oklahoma. Jubilee, inspired by the book of Leviticus, represents a willingness to put right what is wrong and can be a reparative concept within the faith community in response to the call for reparations for slavery and its aftermath. University Church began to develop a resolution supporting reparations for slavery and invited Trinity United Church of Christ to participate in the preparation and submission of the resolution to the Chicago Metropolitan Association and the Illinois Conference.

In 2001, Reverend Melbalenia Evans, Trinity UCC, and Reverend Ann Marie Coleman, Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) served as spokeswomen, bringing the resolution before General Synod and General

HISTORY & PURPOSE OF THIS RESOURCE

Assembly (See Appendix A). The resolution called for individual churches, conferences, and associations to be educated about the historical evils of the slave trade, its legacy of racism and the protracted perpetuation of systemic and institutionalized inequality and injustice. The resolution called for a resource that would assist local churches, conferences, and associations in active study and education on issues dealing with reparations for slavery and to equip them to advocate for history textbooks that tell the truth about the history of slavery, for a formal apology for slavery, and the creation of the congressional committee to study reparations for African Americans.

In 2002, the Justice and Witness Ministries Reparations Working Group was convened. Its aim was to develop a Biblically-based educational resource that would assist local churches, Conferences and Associations dialogue concerning the issue of reparations for the enslavement of Africans. In 2003, the resource, *Reparations: A Process for Repairing the Breach* was presented at the Twenty-fourth General Synod of the United Church of Christ. It is designed to assist the faith community on a journey of reflection and dialogue leading to action.

Reparations: A Process for Repairing the Breach is a study and discussion guide whose Biblical foundation is Isaiah 58:11-12. The resource consists of a Bible study based on the Isaiah 58 scripture. It includes eight units that focus on a component of the reparations process with questions for reflection and discussion, worship resources, action and advocacy steps for congregations and/or individuals. It is our prayer that *Reparations: A Process for Repairing the Breach*, will serve to bring awareness and deeper understanding of the call for reparations as a moral, social and spiritual issue. The faith community has a prophetic role in the movement toward restitution, redress and healing not only in places of worship but in the larger community, and the world.

HOW TO USE THIS RESOURCE

Reparations: A Process for Repairing the Breach is a study and discussion guide for local congregations and communities. It is designed to be user-friendly and have multiple uses. The resource is divided into three distinct sections:

- Section One (“Background”) contains information that provides an historical context for studying the issue of reparations for African slavery.
- Section Two (“Study Materials”) contains a Bible Study on the Isaiah 58:11-12 passage, reflection questions and a curriculum comprised of eight distinct units. The units address the following topics: Acknowledgment of the Breach; Confession of Sins; Apology for Misdeeds; Repentance; Forgiveness of Wrongs Committed; Healing of the Breach; Reconciliation; and Reparations as a Matter of Justice. Quotations addressing the issue of race in America have been included at the end of every unit. Many of these thought-provoking quotes were taken from Ella Mazel’s book entitled, *“And don’t call me a racist! – A treasury of quotes on the past, present, and future of the color line in America”* and Randall Robinson’s book entitled, *The Debt*.
- Section Three (“Additional Resources”) contains several appendices and a bibliography of relevant books and reference materials. Most of the material in the bibliography was taken from a syllabus developed by Professor C. Vernon Mason, et al for a New York Theological Seminary course entitled, *Slavery and Reparations*.

Facilitators/Trainers who use this study and discussion guide can choose to implement the curriculum in eight consecutive sessions or as separate “stand alone” workshops. The curriculum includes:

- Frequently asked questions with corresponding answers about reparations for African slavery.
 - An overview section that contains three questions for reflection and discussion.
 - A litany, hymn, meditation and several types of prayers which can be incorporated into worship services and times of devotion.
 - A description of action and advocacy steps that can be undertaken by congregations or communities
- This curriculum can be used on special Sundays in the church year, including but not limited to, Amistad Sunday, Race Relations Sunday, Martin Luther King, Jr. Sunday and Africa Sunday, as well as throughout the calendar year.

The target audiences for the curriculum are teenagers and adults, however, the materials can be adapted for younger age groups. The curriculum is designed to be used in various settings, such as:

- Bible Study and Sunday School Classes
- Vacation Bible School Programs
- Annual Association and Conference Meetings
- Special Worship Services, and
- Community Dialogues and Workshops.

HOW TO USE THIS RESOURCE

With respect to packaging, the curriculum has been three-hole punched for easy placement in a three-ring binder. By not permanently binding the resource, Justice and Witness Ministries staff will be able to disseminate periodic updates on the issue of reparations to all users of this document. All persons who serve as trainers/facilitators are invited to provide feedback on the usefulness of the curriculum, as well as suggestions for future revisions. A form has been provided in the Appendix to collect feedback and recommendations. (See Appendix F).



“Do Not Forget Our Chains”

BIBLE STUDY ON ISAIAH 58:11-12 PASSAGE

“The Lord will guide you continually, and satisfy your needs in parched places, and make your bones strong; and you shall be like a watered garden, like a spring of water, whose waters never fail. Your ancient ruins shall be rebuilt; you shall raise up the foundations of many generations; you shall be called the repairer of the breach, the restorer of streets to live in.” (Isaiah 58: 11-12, RSV)

We come to this passage that is conditionally based on the behavior and attitude of the people of God. This is a common approach toward bridging the divide between God and people of faith. Like the prayer offered by Solomon during the dedication of the Temple in Jerusalem (II Chronicles 7:14), the prophet Isaiah explains how God responds to our obedience to be just in relationship to each other. In order to appreciate and understand the fulfillment of God’s promise, people of faith are required to conform to the expectations and Commandments of God. God holds a great promise for those who keep the Covenant and honor our relationships among humanity.

In order to receive the blessings outlined by Isaiah, an exploration of the preceding verses is necessary. Otherwise, we may be tempted to read only the outcome without the condition, creating a false impression of God’s desire for our success without acknowledging our responsibilities.

First, we in the United States practice our religion with such regularity one may think we are on the right track with God. Going to church and being called “Christians” are such common habits it is easy to take ourselves for granted. Yet, this is the very concern of the prophet. Within the community of faith, the rituals and traditions are kept and rehearsed so often to the point where they become acceptable standards. We are no different.

Dennis A. Jacobsen, a pastor in the Lutheran Church (ELCA), explains in his book, Doing Justice: Congregations and Community Organizing: “For Christians who do not live in poverty, the challenge is to view the world as it is from the underside, from the bottom, from the vantage point of the poor. Otherwise, at home in their society, they face the accusation of Jesus: *‘The world cannot hate you, but it hates me because I testify against it that its works are evil.’* (John 7:7) How indeed can the world hate the Christian who is at peace with the world? In fact, the world values such a Christian. He or she is useful to the status quo. Such a Christian, attentive to the propaganda of the State, has closed his or her ears to the voice from heaven regarding Babylon: *‘Come out of her, my people, so that you do not take part in her sins.’* (Revelations 18:4)

This is the message from the Prophet Isaiah. We can easily slip into the comfort zone of accommodation and acquiescence by failing to question and challenge society’s conduct that threatens the sanctity of human life and dishonors God’s Creation of humankind in the divine image. Our resolve to allow social structures to exist wherein all people are not recognized as sacred who deserve every opportunity for growth and maturity puts us dangerously on the wrong side of history and outside the promises of God.

BIBLE STUDY ON ISAIAH 58:11-12 PASSAGE

Thus, attending worship services and praying before God in earnest are simply not enough if our daily conduct is not conducive to the will of God. This is the great sin associated with the centuries-long practice of human trade and the resulting de-humanization process that has yet to be reversed.

One of the greatest and most painful experiences of a pilgrim is to walk through the forts and slave mansions on the West Coast of Africa in Ghana and Senegal. There, the pilgrim will witness the use of the religious sanctuary as a place where slave traders prayed and worshiped their god and also used those same facilities to select and auction those wretched souls held in human bondage. The events in such chambers are too gruesome to ignore or fantasize away.

So, our rituals and religious practices have very little meaning to God if we conduct ourselves in a manner that dishonors Creation and abuses God's creatures, even our fellow human beings. This is what the Prophet Isaiah captures in this passage. We may fast, pray, attend solemn assemblies, yet, if we do not feed the hungry, proclaim liberation to the captives, clothe the naked, and disassemble the foundations of injustice, all our piety is for naught.

Isaiah's proclamation is substantiated by another prophet. Amos cries out to the faith community in a voice that requires our listening today. Again, there is a warning issued to those who seek the day of the Lord. We who offer the prayer of Jesus during our worship and when we assemble may not fully grasp the extent to which we call judgment upon ourselves. The Prophet Amos cautions, *"Alas for you who desire the day of the Lord! Why do you want the day of the Lord? It is darkness, not; as if someone fled from a lion, and was met by a bear; or went into the house and rested a hand against the wall, and was bitten by a snake. Is not the day of the Lord darkness, not light, and gloom with no brightness in it?"* (Amos 5: 18-20)

Our prayers will be answered because of God's faithfulness. Therefore, it is not a matter of us not praying, rather, we must live consistently with our prayers. That is the crux of this matter pertaining to slavery and, until now, the absence of reparations. The notion that there is no need to make amends for damages done directly to the peoples whose lives were disrupted by that peculiar institution or the long-lasting destruction of cultures and nations is unjust and warrants re-assessment. Such a contention is to suggest God doesn't care about people who are oppressed. That simply is not true. In fact, the prophets repeatedly preach a message of reconciliation and renewal of relationships among people and to keep Covenant with God. This is a very serious matter.

The letter addressed to Philemon from the Apostle Paul gives us insight into how we as Christians may speak to the issue of slavery. Writing in behalf of Onesimus, Paul admonished Philemon to receive his former servant or slave but not as one less than any other person, rather as an equal in Christ, even as a brother. Paul's instruction is an excellent example of how we might begin to deal with this historic evil of slavery.

Christians in the United States must acknowledge that the African Transatlantic Slave Trade was chiefly a Christian enterprise. Almost every aspect of the slave trade was engineered by Christians. The very names of vessels used to transport human cargo bore the monikers of Christian symbols. Perhaps no greater reminder of this engagement is reflected in the great hymn, *Amazing Grace*, as penned by the former slave trader John Hawkins.

If we are to become "the repairer of the breach," it is inescapable for us to bear responsibility for forging profits, objectives, and mandates of the slave trade. To the extent we desire to ignore the savagery of that institution and the role Christians and the Church played to advance it, we cannot effectively repair the breach.

Therefore, not only must we call out and name the exact acts of brutality suffered at the hands of Christians with the Church's sanction, we must confess our complicity in legal bureaucracies that insured the continuance of the slave trade without sufficient interference.

Further, today, the Church must re-evaluate all notions of inferiority and any sense of superiority among members of the Body of Christ. Such valuations on human beings only continue the mentality and conditions that originally gave rise to the slave trade. That is the heart of Isaiah's message to the faith community. Until and unless we change our attitudes and behaviors toward all of God's children, we cannot repair the breach that divides us as human sisters and brothers, and separates us from God. As an institution, the Church must muster the courage to stand boldly in public space to confess its complicity, naming every detail of assaults against humanity in the African-Atlantic Slave Trade. This, then, is merely the beginning toward a more just society where victims of so ambitious an enterprise receive compensation and redress for their suffering.

It is critical for Christians and the Church to acknowledge that although 140 years after the Emancipation Proclamation was signed into law, too many descendants of the African Transatlantic Slave Trade remain shackled under the weight of institutionalized racism and economic disparities. Professor George Lipsitz of the University of California at San Diego, reminds us in his book, *Possessive Investment in Whiteness*, remedies offered by the American government have consistently failed to address the causes and conditions that lead to racial inequity; instead, in every instance where legislation has been enacted and social programs publicly financed, the beneficiaries have overwhelmingly been White men without sufficiently alternating the nature of injustice in America.

So, this is where we begin to change the course of human history. We recognize our part in keeping the slave trade going for nearly 400 years, dating back to 1492. Just as the United Church of Christ symbolized its role in the American institution of slavery by joining with the Rhode Island Conference during the General Synod convened in Providence, Rhode Island, in 1999, so must we all seek sacred space where human bondage endured in this nation.

We must recognize that individuals, families, corporations and governments have benefited directly from the institution of slavery, and continue until this day to reap profits directly tied to the economic foundation based on its presence in America.

Finally, Christians and the Church must confess before God and African peoples their sincere desire to make right the wrongs that have left the Continent of Africa de-populated, under-developed, and maligned as a result of the peculiar institution of slavery. The aftermath of slavery with its Jim Crow laws, segregation, discrimination and anti-affirmative action movements has to be sufficiently addressed and remedied even as the Church lends its strong voice in favor of reparations with public apologies. This is a process that follows closely the South African model of truth and reconciliation.

Only then will we be able to read with some semblance of confidence, "*Your ancient ruins shall be rebuilt; you shall raise up the foundations of many generations; you shall be called the repairer of the breach, the restorer of streets to live in.*"

BIBLE STUDY ON ISAIAH 58:11-12 PASSAGE

Questions for further discussion:

1. What acts and behaviors took place against African peoples during the slave trade? (Please be specific.)
2. When Thomas Jefferson said, "I weep when I think God is just," what did he mean?
3. What are the remnants of slavery in our society today?
4. Should reparations for slavery be provided to African descendants today?
5. Do you feel responsible for slavery in America?
6. How do you benefit today from the slave trade?
7. Was the slave trade a necessary evil?
8. Should we forget about the slave trade and just move on?
9. Has Africa recovered sufficiently since the slave trade? Is Africa owed a debt?
10. Do the words of Isaiah have any personal meaning to you?

For further reflection and study, refer to these Biblical passages:

Genesis 15: 13-14
Genesis 50: 15:21
Exodus 3: 7-8a
Leviticus 26: 3-6
2 Chronicles 7: 12-20
Hosea 4: 1-10
Amos 5: 21-24
Micah 6: 8
Habakkuk 2: 2-5
Zechariah 8: 1-8

Matthew 5: 1-12
Matthew 25: 31-46
Mark 9: 33-37
Mark 10: 17-31
John 17
Acts 8: 26-38
Romans 7: 14-25
Romans 12
2 Corinthians 2: 5-10
2 Corinthians 5: 16-21
Galatians 6: 7-10
Ephesians 2: 11-22
James 2
James 5: 1-6
1 John 2: 7-15
1 John 3: 1-10

UNIT ONE:

ACKNOWLEDGING THE BREACH

An Overview

The Transatlantic Slave Trade is truly one of the greatest violations of God's plan for justice and righteousness among God's people. This triangular trade in humanity resulted in the horrible journey of captured Africans from Africa to Europe and the Americas. The journey across the Atlantic was referred to as the Middle Passage. The protracted trade, the horrors of forced labor and destruction of family and community over 400 years is referred to as the Maafa (*pronounced, Mah-ah-fuh*). By all definitions of international law, this breach in God's way was a crime against humanity.

During the Transatlantic Slave Trade, Africans lost life, identity, health and legacy for many future generations. The projected numbers of African human beings subject to this unrighteous and oppressive system range from 100 – 200 million persons, men, women and children. There may be as many as 30–50 million Africans at the bottom of the Atlantic ocean as a result of this grave sin against God and God's people.

America and all major European nations were involved in the trade and this was a Church and state co-sponsored crime against humanity. Many Catholic Papacy condoned and sanctified the slave trade. Many Christian churches and denominations managed and dominated the daily operations of the slave ports throughout the triangle. The institutional Church helped to fund and legitimize the trafficking of human cargo.

Over 2500 ships have been documented to have made repeated trips across the Atlantic. It is estimated that 16-29% of those held as cargo died, were murdered or committed suicide during the Middle Passage. *Jesus* and *Grace of God* are just two names of slave ships that demonstrate how this evil system was carried out under the name of God. Psalm 133 is engraved above the cleric's door at the Elmina slave castle in Cape Coast, Ghana, West Africa.

Indeed, this breach against God's way, the untold offenses, suffering and pain endured by African men, women and children calls forth God's word:

The Lord said, what have you done? Listen! Your brother's blood cries out to me from the ground. (Genesis 4:10, KJV)

FREQUENTLY ASKED QUESTIONS

Q: *Many groups suffered oppression, what makes the enslavement of Africans so different?*

A: Lawrence N. Houston in his book entitled, *Psychological Principles and the Black Experience* states that the Transatlantic Slave Trade was the largest forced migration of a group of people. Africans came with norms and values that were different from the indigenous peoples and other immigrant groups in North America. They represented various tribes, cultures, and languages and were the only group to come in bondage. Chattel slavery resulted in a break in familial ties, loss of culture and languages, and the development of slave codes supporting white supremacy. Black Codes, Jim Crow and segregation followed, impacting the daily lives of the descendants of enslaved Africans. The generational ramifications of slavery continue to be experienced today.

Q: *Slavery happened so long ago, isn't it divisive to keep bringing it up?*

A: The Transatlantic Slave Trade and chattel slavery were crimes against humanity, for which there has never been redress. To tell this history and to seek repair for the harm is a form of remembrance of the African Holocaust, or Maafa, and a way to make peace with the past. There are many opinions about slavery and reparations, even among African Americans. According to N'COBRA (National Coalition of Blacks for Reparations In America) the call for reparations does not have to result in divisiveness. Acknowledging the link between slavery and the current social, health, economic and political status of African descendants allows us to go forward rather than remain stuck in the pain of the present that is caused by the unresolved pain of the past.

UNIT ONE: ACKNOWLEDGING THE BREACH

Reparations is a process to “remember, restore, repair and make amends and reconcile” a breach and breaking of covenant with God’s way. Reparations is grounded in concepts of justice in both a legal and moral sense. Reparations is not to be viewed as just about money and material goods.

The first step in the process of reparations is acknowledgement and confession. The last step is reconciliation. In Christian terms, confession, contrition, restoration and reconciliation are the stages to forgiveness, ultimate atonement and peace with God. The Church’s silence, old and new must be broken. Christians of this generation, from around the globe, must have a reckoning of the Maafa, this crime against humanity and most of all, this breach of God’s way.

And they shall declare: “Our hands did not shed this blood, nor did our eyes see it done.” So you will purge from yourselves the guilt of shedding innocent blood, when you have done what is right in the eyes of the Lord. (Deuteronomy 21:7, 9, KJV).

Reflection and Discussion Questions

1. How has the information provided helped you to understand why the Transatlantic Slave Trade was such a great breach of God’s way and a crime against humanity?
2. Discuss the scripture references in this section and identify others that relate to the issues of reconciliation and atonement for the sins of prior generations.
3. What and how must we tell our children about slavery and reparations so they will be free of this burden?

A Worship Resource: Altar Prayer

Dear God, Creator of the universe and all that inhabit it, we come as your Church and as individuals in humble submission to Your Word and Your Way.

We come acknowledging our breach of covenant with you by the multitude of sins associated with the Transatlantic Slave Trade; we come recognizing the continuing legacy and consequences of those sins upon your people; we come on behalf of all those who were enriched and benefitted from the Transatlantic Slave Trade; and we come remembering all those who yet cry out from their graves “do not forget my chains.”

God, you who are Alpha and Omega, The Almighty Judge and The Forgiver of All Sins, we come with bowed down heads and contrite hearts on behalf of generations past, present and those yet unborn. We now ask that you forgive us and create in us a new spirit. Bind our hearts and send forth the healing power that You and You alone can give to us and this sin sick world. Bring us into reconciliation with one another and restore us to Thy path. Amen.

Congregational Activities & Advocacy

Activities

1. Engage in a congregational-wide exploration of how members’ personal or family saga include some link to the Maafa or this breach of God’s way. Discuss how individuals were impacted by slavery, or the Maafa, either as an indirect beneficiary or victim. Gather some examples of the ways in which the breach is revealed in family histories, artifacts; or is still carried on by ideas, images or current events.

2. Initiate a church-wide study of slavery or reparations by using a book review process, small group classes, and/or outside lecturers.
3. Do research and create a Knowledge Board on life as a slave and on the plantation.

Advocacy

1. Host a community awareness event on H.R. 40, the Congressional bill calling for the establishing of a Commission to study slavery. Discuss the current activities being undertaken by those in church and society on behalf of African American reparations.
2. Send e-mails or letters to Congressional representatives on behalf of H.R. 40 and encourage others in your congregations/communities to do the same.
3. Use Africa Sunday to conduct an ecumenical seminar series in your local area to: (a) learn what other denominations and faith groups are doing to promote an understanding of reparations for African descendants and African nations, and (b) to understand the economic effects of slavery and its aftermath. (See Appendix B.)

"I endorse without reserve the much abused sentiment... that "Slavery is the cornerstone of our republican edifice;" while I repudiate, as ridiculously absurd, that much lauded but nowhere accredited dogma of Mr. Jefferson, that "all men are born equal."

– James Henry Hammond, 1845
Former South Carolina Governor and manager of
a ten-thousand acre plantation and 147 slaves

"Human beings were delivered and sorted, and weighed, and branded with the mark of commercial enterprises, and loaded as cargo on a voyage without return. One of the largest migrations of history was also one of the greatest crimes of history. Below the decks, the middle passage was a hot, narrow, sunless nightmare; weeks and months of confinement and abuse and confusion on a strange and lonely sea. Some refused to eat, preferring death to any future their captors might prepare for them. Some who were sick were thrown over the side. Some rose up in violent rebellion, delivering the closest thing to justice on a slave ship...the very people traded into slavery helped to set America free...My nation's journey toward justice has not been easy and is not over. The racial bigotry fed by slavery did not end with slavery or segregation."

– George W. Bush, 2003
President of the United States of America during a
visit to a slave castle at Goree Island, Senegal

UNIT TWO: CONFESSION OF SINS

An Overview

As a white woman, I find it helpful to think about and talk about reparations in a confessional mode. Although my family immigrated to this country in the early 20th century, I know that I have benefited from the work in building this country that was done by those who were bought and sold as slaves. I believe that the legalized institution of slavery still affects our common life today.

As a nation we have never acknowledged the millions of victims who perished in the Transatlantic Slave Trade, let alone those who died during Jim Crow segregation. Our ability to build a nation where all can be included is thwarted by our inability to face the evil of Africans stolen from their countries and brought to this country against their will. Whether we like it or not, slavery is part of our history and we need to face the contradictions it exposes in our common life. Racism led to the slave trade. Racism continues in this country as a direct result of the slave trade and the rationale used to defend it. It is seen in the colonization of African countries and the theft of material resources from them.

Those of us who are white need to acknowledge and apologize for the actions of individuals, churches, and our nation in perpetuating the individual and systemic destruction of Black people and their history. We need to recognize the long term effects of stealing people from their countries had upon the continent of Africa. We need to acknowledge that slavery caused the spiritual dehumanization of both slaves and slaveholders. The words of 2 Chronicles 7:14 echo in my heart. *"If my people who are called by my name humble themselves, and pray and seek my face, and turn from their wicked ways, then I will hear from heaven and will forgive their sin and heal their nation."*

I am part of the reparations movement because I believe as individuals, as churches and as a nation we have to find ways to address the wrongs that continue to be perpetuated through individual and systemic racism. We do not have a level playing field where all people are respected because we are all created in God's image. White privilege is an insidious force in our lives because we do not recognize and name the reality of it in our interactions with People of Color. Our vision of the world is stunted because the assumptions we make about what reality is. We are not clear about how

FREQUENTLY ASKED QUESTIONS

Q: How will giving reparations to Blacks ease racial tensions and promote positive race relations?

A: Slavery created a breach or brokenness in relationship between groups of people based on economic gain and the negative valuation of a group of people; promoting white supremacy, privilege and racism. Slavery was a system based on theft, uncompensated labor and unjust enrichment. The reparations movement is fundamentally anti-racist and addresses oppressive systems nationally and globally. The healing of race relations cannot occur honestly without action to repair the damage and make amends.

Q: How does reparations address the issue of Africans selling other Africans into slavery and didn't some Blacks own slaves?

A: It is true, many Africans also participated in the slave trade for economic gain. In 2001 the United Nations World Conference Against Racism (WCAR) called for all perpetrators, including those African countries which participated, to make restitution. One suggestion coming out of the WCAR is for the establishment of an international tribunal. American Legacy Magazine (summer 2003) offers an in-debt article on Black slaveowners. It states that some did it for profit and prestige. However, many Black slaveowners, as freemen, purchased family members to protect them.

UNIT TWO: CONFESSION OF SINS

white privilege has been perpetuated in systemic and structural racism. Until we are willing to examine the ways in which we perpetuate and participate in the structures as well as individual acts of racism, we will only feel guilty and helpless.

We live in a world where there are many barriers between human beings. God is calling us to tear down the barriers that divide and oppress. Tearing down the walls of racism is an ongoing struggle and process. Those of us who are white have to learn the history of slavery and the painful effects it had upon individuals, churches and this country. We have to learn about and see the evil power of racism today. We have to listen to the stories of our sisters and brothers who are the recipients of individual and structural racism. We have to take seriously the ongoing pain we cause through our individual and collective acts of racism. We must make a commitment to join the ongoing work to dismantle racism.

The tasks are many, the work is difficult for it involves changing our understanding and perspective. We will stumble and make mistakes. We have a lot to learn and do and we have to bring other white sisters and brothers, our churches and our nation along. However, God is there to strengthen and sustain us as we work for justice, healing and reparations.

Reflection and Discussion Questions

1. Why is it important for white people to acknowledge the benefits that Euro Americans have received from slavery? What are some of those benefits?
2. Why must confession come before we can be reconciled?
3. How do we witness to God and our sisters and brothers that we are serious about dismantling racism in church and society?

A Worship Resource: Prayer of Confession

God of our mothers and fathers, we thank you that you have created the human community in all of our wonderful diversity; You have named us and claimed us and called us Your own. You love us with greater love than we can ever understand or experience. You long for us to love one another as much as you love us. Throughout the centuries, you have continually reached out to us, calling us by name, yearning for us to trust you and live in your transforming love.

Today we come with heavy hearts as we remember the horror of people stolen from Africa, forced onto ships where millions died in the inhumane conditions and the rest were brought to a new land as slaves. O God, the agony of people in chains, being bought and sold and used to build the wealth of this country terrorizes us still today. We ask Your forgiveness for the unimaginable pain that lingers in the lives and souls of Black people to this day. As a nation, we added to that pain through lynching, segregation and Jim Crow laws which were designed to denigrate and oppress those of African heritage. As churches and individuals we were too often silent as the power of personal and institutional racism grew and expanded. Today, we confess our complicity in what has occurred. We have been silent when we should have spoken, we have been indifferent when we could have cared and we have blamed others rather than ourselves for what has happened. With your overwhelming love, forgive us. Open our hearts and minds to recognize the ways in which we have participated in the systems that separate us from sisters and brothers and from You. Turn us around so that we will challenge racism and oppression wherever we encounter them. Put the words of apology on our lips and the power of change in our hearts. Lead us in the ways of reconciliation and reparation. Teach us the ways of dismantling racism in this day and time. May the commitments of our lives and the commitments of our churches make a difference as we seek to be your transforming and transformed people. In the name of Jesus, the Christ. Amen

Congregational Activities & Advocacy

Activities

1. Discuss the ways that your congregation reflects the diversity of God's family, in participants, staff, worship, and physical environment. How does your congregation witness to the power of God's all encompassing love for the human family, especially the forgotten and outcast?
2. During times of Bible study, engage in dialogue regarding how your church counteracts the experiences that perpetuate stereotypes and racist attitudes. Invite an Anti-Racism Team to come and lead a workshop for your congregation.
3. Identify the steps that your local church, Association and/or Conference can take to become and promote "an anti-racist environment". Examine your policies and practices for addressing institutional racism.

Advocacy

1. Conduct a community teach-in on the topic of white privilege. Pray about your involvement in white privilege and your willingness to work on renouncing your participation in it.
2. Encourage your Christian Education Department or Social Action Ministry to teach the history of our denomination's involvement in addressing slavery, segregation, and institutional racism. Identify how it operates in your church, schools, government and other institutions.
3. Engage in letter writing campaigns and other opportunities which promote racial justice, economic justice and structural change in local, state or national laws. Consider at least five ways of building a community of friends and allies who can support you and your local congregation in working against racism.

"Most of us came here in chains and most of you came here to escape your chains. Your freedom was our slavery, and therein lies the bitter difference in the way we look at life."

John Oliver Killens, 1964
Novelist, Lecturer, Writer

UNIT THREE: APOLOGY FOR MISDEEDS

An Overview

Apology, written or spoken, is a component of acknowledging the insult, injury, and injustice of actions. The journey toward healing or reconciliation begins with apology. Although apology unto itself is not sufficient to redress the past atrocities and present disparities of the institution of slavery, apology facilitates movement toward tangible means of addressing institutional, structural, and systemic changes to repair the insult, injury, and injustice of slavery.

On January 17, 1993, Dr. Paul Sherry, Former President of the United Church of Christ, read the following apology to Na Kanaka Maoli (Native Hawaiians) on behalf on the United Church of Christ for the overthrow of the Kingdom of Hawaii:

"We acknowledge and confess our sins against you and your forebears, Na Kanaka Maoli. We do so in order to begin a process of repentance and reconciliation for wrongs done."

UCC member, Martha Dayag, states:

"As a Native Hawaiian who served on The Apology Task Force it was important for me to witness this event. After nearly a hundred years it was time to right the wrong. To hear Dr. Sherry apologize for what was done and to take ownership of what transpired was an awakening for me. There is hope and justice for issues that need to be corrected. May we learn from the past."

Representative Tony Hall (D. Mich), introduced H.R. 356, *The Apology for Slavery Resolution 2000*, calling for Congress to formally acknowledge and apologize for slavery, develop a public school curriculum on the history of slavery, and to establish a national slavery museum and memorial.

It has been more than a century and a half since the abolition of slavery and we know that the United States government has never acknowledged or taken responsibility for its role in the enslavement of Africans. We need to encourage local church members, conferences, and associations to support a formal apology for slavery from the United States government and the creation of a commission for the study of reparations for slavery. We must restore what has been lost and move toward reconciliation.

FREQUENTLY ASKED QUESTION

Q: *Is reparation being sought just for slavery and past grievances or for socio-economic problems as they exist today?*

A: Reparations is a process which seeks remedy for disparities within the African American community stemming from slavery and its aftermath. The legacy of slavery is its generational devastating effect on the economic, social, physical, psychological, emotional, and spiritual health of African Americans. Reparations, therefore serves as restitution for past harm and present manifestations of that harm impacting the African American community, as well as the debt relief and development issues experienced by African nations.

Reflection and Discussion Questions

1. Does it matter to offer an apology?
2. What can apology mean to those who have been caused injury or harm?
3. What does apologizing do for those who offer the apology?

A Worship Resource: Silent Meditation

Lead the congregation in a moment of meditation and reflection to commemorate the African lives changed forever by the institution of slavery. Meditate and reflect on how the Africans felt as they were kidnaped from their homeland. Meditate and reflect on the multitude of Africans who died in the Middle Passage. Meditate and reflect on the Africans forced into a life of bondage and uncompensated servitude.

You may choose to light a candle/s or have a bell tolling during this time of meditation and reflection.

Congregational Activities & Advocacy

Activities

1. Engage in a congregational or ecumenical service of contrition as a symbol of remembrance and apology for the misdeeds of slavery and other acts of inhumanity and injustice past and present, nationally and globally. This service can be incorporated into "Race Relations Sunday" or "Amistad Sunday." You may also choose to hold this service on the Sunday leading to "Reparations Awareness Day", designated February 25, by the National Coalition of Blacks for Reparations in America (N'COBRA).
2. Connect with local organizations working on social justice issues by co-sponsoring a community forum focusing on apology and reparations for slavery. Invite members of other groups which have received apology and/or restitution for misdeeds to share their stories and reflections on the journey to apology.
3. Educate yourself and others about "National Sorry Day" (a day of apology) that has been established in Australia to acknowledge the impact of the policies spanning 150 years of forcible removal of indigenous children from their families.

Advocacy

1. Write your Congressional Representatives asking them to support bill H.R. 356, *The Apology for Slavery Resolution 2000*. Write the president of the United States asking for an official governmental apology for slavery. (See Appendix E).
2. As an individual or group project, do an historical survey of public apology and restitution to groups for acts of injustice. You can start by studying the apology to Japanese Americans for their internment during World War II and to Native Hawaiians for the overthrow of the Kingdom of Hawaii in 1893. (See Appendix C).
3. Write an apology to the descendants of the Transatlantic Slave Trade, or Maafa. Emphasize the moral, political, economic and cultural legacy left by the dehumanizing institution of slavery. Publish the apology in your church, Association, denomination or community's newspaper.

"I have met many families whose ancestors were enslaved by my family. I've apologized to ... one of those families ... I don't think that words are enough..."

UNIT FOUR: REPENTANCE

An Overview

Have you ever received an insincere apology? The right words were spoken, but the injurious behavior never changed? Did you feel as though your pain was not taken seriously? Or that even though you were wronged, the underlying sentiment was that you needed to “just get over it”?

When we have been wronged, or witnessed the wronging of others, it is important to do the following: Acknowledge the wrongdoing and reflect upon the matter from the other person’s perspective. Be sincere in taking responsibility for our part in the wrongdoing, whether intentional or unintentional. And, promise that we will do all that is within our power, with God’s help, not to repeat an action that has caused another person pain.

The act of repentance is more substantive than an apology. For it involves making a commitment not to commit the same act in the future. Repentance involves confession, compassion and commitment to “do a new thing”. For example, people throughout the world were mortified by the violence and destruction that resulted from the Jewish Holocaust. The terror of this particular Holocaust experience has led to Jews, the world over, coining the phrase “Never again!”

Repentance means “never again”, but it also means remembering the pain of the past. True repentance for slavery calls us to remember the families that were separated. The widows and orphans that were created. The siblings who never had the opportunity to know one another. The terrorism of human bondage. The psychological, emotional and pain inflicted upon men, women and children. The self esteem eroded. The history lost, as well as the history imposed. And the millions of Africans who died during the Middle Passage and who were forced to labor on plantations and in homes.

Repentance is complete when it causes us to turn from the wrongs of the past by seeking justice and restitution.

FREQUENTLY ASKED QUESTION

Q: My family didn't own slaves so why should I have to pay?

A: People did not have to own enslaved Africans to benefit from slavery. The entire early American economy, in the North as well as the South, was fueled by the labor of Africans held in bondage against their will. In addition, the products and revenues generated by the institution of slavery enriched the nation. Generation after generation, the benefits rooted in slavery continue to be experienced by all living in the United States. Reparations in a broader sense, is not about individuals giving or receiving but about the nation recognizing a harm and injustice, and taking steps to remedy the generational effects of it.

Reflection & Discussion Questions

1. Why is an apology for slavery an important act, but not enough?
2. How can we as individuals repent for the horrors of slavery and its aftermath?
3. How can the church repent? How can society repent?

A Worship Resource: Prayer of Repentance

Holy God, we ask that the spirit of repentance reside within our hearts. That you move us to forgive and to ask for forgiveness. That you move us toward compassion and enable us to be compassionate to others. That you motivate us to see the humanity in others, even as we wish others to see the humanity in us.

God, we ask that you keep sacred the gift of life and celebrate the living of it. That if we appreciate life, we will appreciate the lives of others as well. God, continue to work with us and within us to help us to be a beloved and just community. The community that Christ has called us to be. For it is in His name that we offer this prayer. Amen.

Congregational Activities & Advocacy

Activities

1. Conduct a Special Worship Service called "A Day of Repentance and Remembrance" where congregants remember the painful experience of slavery and pray for repentance to prevent future dehumanizing practices.
2. Plan a dramatic presentation for young people on slavery & reparations and invite local schools and churches to attend. Use slave narratives such as Henry Louis Gates' *The Classic Slave Narratives* and Hannah Crafts' *The Bondwoman's Narrative* to get a first-person account of the institution of slavery.
3. Write a Bible Study on the Biblical theme of repentance and teach it to adult and youth Sunday School classes.

Advocacy

1. Engage your denomination in assessing what role, if any, its historic predecessor may have played in slavery.
2. Solicit feedback from other denominations and organizations to determine the ways in which they have practiced repentance as related to the inhumane institution of slavery.
3. Propose several strategies to your own denomination, or an ecumenical group in your area, for repenting for the sin of human enslavement. Create a worship resource that addresses repentance.

"Racism is so universal in this country, so widespread and deep-seated, that it is invisible because it is so normal."

Shirley Chisolm, 1970

First African American Female Member of Congress

UNIT FIVE: FORGIVENESS OF WRONGS

An Overview

In his recent book, *No Future without Forgiveness*, Archbishop Desmond Tutu challenges us to view forgiveness as a transformative dimension of the Christian faith. Not only does the act of forgiveness transform the one who is forgiven, it also provides transformation for the one who does the forgiving. In his discussion of South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission, Archbishop Tutu relays countless examples of ruthless acts of violence that were committed against the South African majority population during the height of apartheid. It is within this particular social and historical context that the Archbishop boldly asserts that forgiveness is an absolute prerequisite if there is to be a future that is exemplified by peace, justice and reconciliation.

The New Testament is replete with examples of Christ calling His followers to forgive others – “*forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive those who trespass against us*”. Even with Christ's active witness on the spiritual value of forgiveness, if we were to be totally honest, we might ask ourselves this question: “*Is there some degree of suffering or pain that is so profound that there can be no forgiveness?*” While this question may be challenging for us, it is not challenging for God. For it is written that even God forgives God's people “*seventy times seventy*”. The enslavement of African people was, by any measure, a crime against humanity resulting in the destruction of families for many centuries. However, if there is to be a future that is characterized by reconciliation and justice, forgiveness of our painful past must take place.

Reflection and Discussion Questions

1. If forgiveness is one of Christ's spiritual mandates, then why do Christians and others of goodwill often have difficulty in forgiving others for wrongs committed against them?
2. What kind of future can there be for race relations in the United States if there is no repentance and forgiveness for the evil institution of slavery?
3. How does one know when the destruction of the past caused by slavery and its aftermath is forgiven?

FREQUENTLY ASKED QUESTION

Q: Isn't some damage too irreparable to forgive?

A: There is probably not enough that can be done monetarily to repair the harm of slavery. We really can't put a price tag on the amount of human suffering, loss of life, and destruction of cultures as a result of slavery. But there can be forgiveness and restitution that can contribute to the healing process.

A Worship Resource: Litany of Love, Forgiveness and Hope

Leader: Our Creator is the God of the Past, the God of History. Our Creator is the God of the Present, The God of Blessings. Our Creator is The God of the Future, the God of Hope.

People: Our ancestors were your people. We are your people. We want our children to be your people.

Leader: There were injustices done in your Name. Some of your people were hurt. Not only were they robbed of their resources- money and land, but also of their dignity and even their lives.

People: Help us as humans never to use your Name inappropriately again.

Leader: We know you to be a God of love, kindness and mercy. We also know you to be a God of justice and peace. Help us not only to confess our past sins, but give us the strength to practice repentance. Help us to appropriately handle our past so that your people can move into a future which offers peace and justice for all.

All: O God, remind us that this is your world and all we have has come from You. Empower us to help make this a just world for everyone. Help us to find ways to offer forgiveness, restoration, love and hope to all of your people. Amen.

Congregational Activities & Advocacy

Activities

1. Discuss the book by Archbishop Desmond Tutu, *No Future without Forgiveness*, with the Adult or Teen Sunday School Class. Contrast the experience of post-apartheid South Africa with post-slavery America, focusing specifically on the issue of forgiveness.
2. Develop a litany that can be used on Africa Sunday which asks for forgiveness for the long term effects suffered by the African nations, in part due to the wholesaling of its people and its natural resources.
3. Initiate dialogues between African Americans, Euro Americans and other racial ethnic groups to participate in honest discussions about forgiveness for our past shared history of pain.

Advocacy

1. Consider endorsing a campaign that engages the ecumenical community in making amends with African nations for the role that many of their religious institutions played in supporting or colluding with the Transatlantic Slave Trade.
2. Study the speech made by President Nelson Mandela at his inauguration in 1990 that discusses forgiveness that occurred between him and his jailer after being imprisoned for 27 years for his stance against racial division and apartheid. Identify the lessons to be learned for race relations in the United States.
3. Encourage your Conference to create and/or strengthen an Anti-Racism Committee and become actively involved in the work of personal and societal transformation and healing.

"Only forgiveness can bring about reconciliation."

Archbishop Desmond Tutu, 1999
Retired Bishop of Cape Town, South Africa

UNIT SIX: HEALING OF THE BREACH

An Overview

To seek healing is to enter a process leading toward becoming well or becoming whole, commencing with acknowledgment of offense and culminating with remedy for the offense. The wounds of slavery scarred the body, mind and spirit of the enslaved. The legacy of those wounds is the lingering strained relationships existing between and within many racial, ethnic, and cultural groups today.

Some believe that oppressive acts benefit the oppressed in some way. Many people, including some African Americans, believe that due to slavery, African Americans as a group are better off today than Africans given the gravity of issues impacting the continent of Africa. They neglect to connect the present African reality to the devastation caused by the kidnaping, enslavement, and loss of millions of Africa's natural resources; its people. They neglect to recognize the invisible veil of privilege based on skin color stemming from the institution of slavery within the United States and the Americas, as well as the disparity for African Americans generated by it. They neglect to weigh the moral and spiritual consequences of the African Maafa, a crime against humanity yet to be addressed.

Part of the process of healing is "speaking truth." Our relationships cannot be healed and we will not acquire remedy if we continue to live and worship in a state of denial of the injurious nature of slavery. Healing is based on the willingness of those who have caused injury or harm and the injured or harmed to recognize the resulting estrangement and having the desire to rectify it.

The process of healing causes us to seek "right" relationship with one another by addressing oppressive systemic and institutional histories and practices. The process of healing enables us to enter into "right" relationship with God, understanding that the breaking of relationship, the breach, was an affront to God's plan for the human family.

"...let all of us speak the truth to our neighbors, for we are members of one another"

(Ephesians 4:25, NRSV)

FREQUENTLY ASKED QUESTION

Q: How does reparations address the issues of internalized racism and/or oppression?

A: When messages of oppression are internalized by oppressed groups, they present in destructive patterns of feelings and behaviors. Internalized oppression is the accepting as part of one's own pattern of thinking the misinformation about one's self or group(s). Reparations will assist African Americans in gaining deeper awareness of the psychological and emotional impact of slavery and its aftermath by addressing mental and emotional health issues. Reparations will also address systemic and institutional practices creating access and quality of health care concerns which have historically and presently plague the African American community.

Reflection and Discussion Questions

1. What do the Scriptures tell us about the healing of relationships?
2. Why is it important to speak the truth about slavery?
3. How can people of faith journey toward healing between racial, ethnic and cultural groups?

A Worship Resource: Hymn

Bridge the Gap, Mend Broken Places

by the Rev. J. Bennett Guess

Bridge the Gap, Mend Broken Places, a hymn in support of reparations for slavery, is written in a popular lyrical meter (8.7.8.7.D) that enables it to be sung using many different hymn tunes. Some suggested tunes from *The New Century Hymnal* include TALAVERA TERRACE #562 (Take My Gifts), NETTLETON #59, #459 (Come, O Fount of Every Blessing), BEECHER #495 (Called as Partners in Christ's Service), or ERIE #506 (What a Friend We Have in Jesus). A longer list of alternative hymn tunes is listed below.

1. Bridge the gap, mend broken places,
Heal the wounds of long ago.
Tragedies ignored won't leave us.
Painful his-t'ries must be told.
Slave-ry still ensnares God's people.
Even now, race wars we fight.
Generations past have lived it.
Still today, we glimpse their plight.

2. Policies of old diminish
persons and communities.
Chains of economic bondage
keep God's people less than free.
Health care, housing, education
prove injustice ages old.
For the sake of liberation
we must make our witness bold!

3. What's been sewn in hate, unquestioned,
what's been buried seeks the light.
What's been hid will be uncovered.
God will judge and make things right!
Reparation, true confession,
calls us to repair our ways.
Sins of forebears, named and reckoned –
Our true path to brighter days.

4. We, who follow Christ's compassion,
We, who love for Jesus' sake,
must reclaim the way of justice
must make good the claims we make.
True repentance seeks new vistas,
higher ground on which to stand.
Sacrificial love seeks justice,
heals all people in this land!

Alternate Tunes from *The New Century Hymnal*: ABBOT'S LEIGH #70 (God is Here! As We Your People Meet), AUSTRIAN HYMN #307, #565 (Glorious Things of You are Spoken), HYFRYDOL #182, #257, #355 (We Have Come at Christ's Own Bidding), HYMN TO JOY #4 (Joyful, Joyful, We Adore You), PROMISE #433 (In the Bulb, There is a Flower), RAQUEL #174 (Hear the Voice of God, So Tender), or SILVER CREEK #313 (Like a Tree beside the Waters).

Congregational Activities & Advocacy

Activities

1. Convene a multiracial/multicultural Bible study focusing on healing of relationships. Invite other racial/ethnic congregations and/or religious groups in your community to participate in the planning and facilitation.
2. Hold a workshop session exploring the faith community's role in seeking reparations utilizing reparation scriptures (See Bible Study on the Isaiah 58 passage).
3. Host book club meetings utilizing books such as *Three-Fifths Theology- Challenging Racism in American Christianity*, *The Color of Faith* or other books exploring connections between injustice, the role of faith, and race relations.

Advocacy

1. Hold an information/education session on reparations bill, H.R. 40, *The Commission to Study Reparations Proposal for African Americans Act*, to familiarize yourself with what it says and does not say.
2. Find out if the city you live and/or worship in has passed a resolution regarding reparations for slavery.
3. Connect with congregations of other denominations in your community who have issued statements or resolutions addressing the need for reparations. Do a community program or project focused on building trust and healing relationships.

“Once the fig leaf has fallen, we might as well look at what it has been hiding. For it is by exploring the things we dare not say to each other that we can best get to know one another. Unlike those who counsel smoothing over our differences and pushing our fears to the side, I am convinced that the only way to heal the past and prepare for a more just future is to...let it all hang out”.

Harlon L. Dalton, 1995
Professor, Yale Law School

UNIT SEVEN: RECONCILIATION

An Overview

The experience of some African Americans leads them to conclude that the descendants of those who benefitted from slavery, racism, segregation, lynchings, bombings, assassinations, and other forms of intimidation cannot be trusted. The experience of some Euro Americans leads them to conclude that African Americans are magnifying the problems associated with racism. These very different perspectives must be articulated and heard. As Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. noted:

When millions of people have been cheated for centuries, restitution is a costly process. Inferior education, poor housing, unemployment, inadequate health care - each a bitter component of the oppression that has been our heritage. Each will require billions of dollars to correct. Justice so long deferred has accumulated interest and its cost for this society will be substantial in financial as well as human terms.

The realities of injustice committed and enduring harms done cannot be denied, nor should they be minimized.

Reconciliation is both a process and a goal in which all parties are able to begin a new relationship, when a measure of peace is achieved in spite of the reality of what has happened. The process, once begun, is continued by paying unceasing attention to attitudes, actions, and ways of communicating. Reconciliation demands that we greatly minimize the importance of those things that divide us such as geography, physical appearance, segregated housing, fear, group allegiance, historical distortions, racial stereotyping, the us-versus-them syndrome, and classism. Concurrently, we must maximize traits that emphasize our common humanity such as love, understanding, learning, maturing, and sharing common experiences. The results of such a process at any given time will be imperfect and incomplete, but the process can ultimately bring peace and justice.

FREQUENTLY ASKED QUESTION

Q: *What will be the impact of reparations for slavery on other groups who have suffered and continue to suffer racial oppression, such as Native Americans?*

A: The movement for reparations for slavery will assist the quest for reparations of all who have been oppressed. Reparations for African Americans does not deny the rights of others to seek restitution and some have already done so. Many cultures and groups embrace the concept which relates to "making things right", making people whole" and therefore understand the need for remedy. The reparations movement is one opportunity for all to work for societal changes which will heal each of our communities.

Reflection and Discussion Questions

1. How would you suggest that reconciliation be possible after years of discrimination and varying layers of mistrust?
2. There can be no reconciliation without accountability or forgiveness. What might be some steps in achieving reconciliation among the races as a result of slavery?
3. Is reconciliation possible? How is reconciliation sustained?

A Worship Resource: Invocation

God of love, God of Justice. We invite and invoke your healing and reconciling Spirit in this place. We pray daily that you reconcile us to one another in the same way that you have reconciled us to Christ. As we prepare to enter into this worship service, Lord, we do so with clean hearts and new and right spirits. Grant us reconciliation. Grant us wholeness. Grant us peace. For it is in the living, loving and liberating name of Jesus Christ, that we pray. Amen.

Congregational Activities & Advocacy

Activities

1. Conduct a Book Club or Reading Circle for youth and/or adults. Select from the writings of persons such as Barbara Essex, Bernice Powell Jackson, Renita Weems, bell hooks, Howard Thurman, Yvonne delk, Martin Luther King, Jr., and Archbishop Desmond Tutu to study the theme of racial justice and reconciliation.
2. In small group discussions, identify relevant Biblical passages on reconciliation which might be applied to the discussion of reparations for slavery in contemporary times.
3. Research quotes from people from different centuries on race and reconciliation. Discuss their meaning in your day-to-day life. One excellent resource for conducting this activity is Ella Mazel's insightful book, *"And don't call me a racist!": A treasury of quotes on the past, present, and future of the color line in America.*

Advocacy

1. Conduct a survey of the textbooks used in your neighborhood schools to determine how fairly and comprehensively they address the issue of slavery and race.
2. Call or write your Congressperson and ask them to support H.R. 356, *The Apology for Slavery Resolution 2000* bill. It requests the development of public school curriculum on the history of slavery and the establishment of a national slave museum and memorial.
3. Develop a Diversity Committee within the life of your Conference or Association and explore ways to create true reconciliation among the races.

"None of us alone can save the nation or world. But each of us can make a positive difference if we commit ourselves to do so."

Cornel West, 1994
Professor, Princeton University

UNIT 8:

REPARATIONS- A MATTER OF JUSTICE

An Overview

There is so much mis-information and emotion surrounding the issue of reparations for slavery. Some people honestly believe that reparations is not necessary because the United States of America has proven and continues to be a place of opportunity for many. Some people believe that the only barriers to this opportunity are the ones individuals place on themselves, primarily due to a lack of motivation to do what it takes to achieve what others have achieved. And then there are those who, for various reasons, choose to deny the devastating moral, social, emotional, psychological, physical, and spiritual ramifications of the institution of slavery.

Much of the rhetoric stems from a lack of awareness and understanding of how the deed of enslaving and exploiting the labor of Africans continues to impact, not only African Americans and African nations, but this nation today. When we view the issue of reparations as a matter of justice we are compelled to release lies and embrace truth. Truth is found in the legacy of this country's slave enterprise and the need to answer the call for remedy or repair, stated as reparations. On Sunday May 4, 1969 James Forman presented a document known as the *Black Manifesto* at Riverside Church in New York City. Although viewed as controversial by some, it addressed the need for redress for the plight of Black people founded in slavery, Jim Crow and segregation. Forman stated that "Reparations is a valid concept under international law where people have been abused and violated." The *Black Manifesto* demanded reparations from America's Churches for their role in sanctioning slavery through theology and practice.

Reflection and Discussion

Questions

1. Why do you believe reparations is a matter of justice?
2. Can you think of ways theology is still used to sanction oppression?
3. What can be the faith community's role today in answering the call for reparations?

FREQUENTLY ASKED QUESTION

Q: *I feel that asking for reparations is asking for an handout. Why should we receive reparations with the opportunities available to African Americans today?*

A: Reparations is not charity but a means of compensation for the labor of enslaved African ancestors. The institution of slavery created a system supporting acquired wealth of social goods for some and acquired disparity of social goods for others. This wealth and disparity is rooted in the historical lack of access and opportunity related to education, housing or home ownership, insurance, employment and health care, resulting in the protracted struggle for equity.

Although actions have been taken to achieve equity, they have not adequately addressed the relevance of slavery and its generational scourge on African Americans as a group. Reparations considers the following: restitution- restoring what has been taken away through loss, damage, or injury; rehabilitation- seeks remedy through medical, psychological, legal and social services; guarantees of non-repetition- a public acknowledgment that such a crime against humanity will never happen again; and monetary compensation- provision of money to address economically assessable damages sustained by the individual, group, and/or community.

A Worship Resource: Altar Prayer

Eternal God, our Father and Mother, the One who has sustained us on this stony path. We give You thanks and praise for your sustaining Spirit that has been with us since the first shackles were placed upon the limbs of our African ancestors. You have been with us through the many hills and valleys. You have called forth modern prophetic voices who have risked life and limb on our journey toward freedom. In the midst of our struggle to repair the breach and build a new and just world, you have remained steadfast. We are grateful to be living at such a time as this, standing upon the shoulders of all those who have sacrificed that we might live. We have not yet achieved a just society and our hearts continue to cry out for justice.

So, Eternal One, we call upon You to help us to acknowledge our shortcomings and to turn away from sin to righteousness. We ask that you challenge us to find ways of repairing the breach and restoring the injured. Help us as we seek restitution. Help us as we seek restoration. Sustain our spirit. In Jesus name, we pray, Amen.

Congregational Activities & Advocacy

Activities

1. Conduct a dialogue with youth/young adults from your congregation and/or community on the pros and cons of granting reparations to the descendants of enslaved Africans.
2. Examine the arguments being made today by the opponents of reparations for slavery.
3. Do research to identify various people throughout United States history, such as Queen Mother Moore, Callie House and Sojourner Truth who were early proponents of reparations.

Advocacy

1. Discuss the various legal approaches and advocacy strategies being proposed today for ensuring compensation and restitution for the unpaid labor of enslaved Africans.
2. Conduct research on the trust fund concept that is being promoted by scholars wherein funds are placed into a trust to be used by those African Americans who are most marginalized and suffer most from the legacy of slavery.
3. Advocate for improved access to health care for African Americans who are impacted by racial ethnic health disparities. Refer to Appendix D to obtain ideas on advocating for health care reparations.

“...in the words of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., ‘the moral arc of the universe is long, but it bends towards justice’. ...when we dare to cross lines of race to support freedom...justice will prevail, despite the odds, despite the power of politics and wealth.”

Bernice Powell Jackson, 2003
United Church of Christ

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APPENDIX A

GENERAL SYNOD XXIII CALLING FOR A STUDY OF REPARATIONS FOR SLAVERY

Call for study on reparations for slavery

1. Background

Members of the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) and the United Church of Christ began conversations on the issue of reparations for slavery following the Disciples Justice Action Network sponsored Justice Jubilee 2000 gathering in Tulsa, Oklahoma, in September 2000. It was noted that awareness and discussion of this issue occurs almost exclusively among African American clergy and those churches they serve, but it is also a justice issue long overdue for the serious attention of Christian citizens motivated by faith and tradition.

Summary

This resolution calls upon the Twenty-third General Synod of the United Church of Christ, individual churches, conferences, and associations to be educated about the historical evils of the slave trade and its legacy the pernicious and self-perpetuating distrust and fear that continues to feed the sin of racism and its fruits of inequality and injustice. It calls upon Justice and Witness Ministries to provide an educational piece that will help the United Church of Christ individual members dialogue with one another and with members of their communities.

Whereas the institution of slavery is internationally recognized as a crime for which there is no statute of limitations, and

Whereas uncompensated labor was demanded from enslaved Africans and their descendants for more than two centuries on United States soil; and

Whereas reparations is a process to remember, repair, restore, make amends for wrongs, reconcile, and can never be singularly reducible to monetary terms; is an historical reckoning involving acknowledgment that an offense against humanity was committed and the victims have not received justice; speaks to a corporate or individual process to confess to a wrong, culpability and accountability for offenses that led to beneficial gains or harm to others, and is to seek the pathway to justice from confession to reconciliation, inclusive of apology and moral, economic, political, and educational structural adjustments.

Whereas the principle that reparation is the appropriate remedy whenever a government unjustly abrogates the rights of a domestic group or foreign people whose rights such government is obligated to protect or uphold has been internationally recognized including:

German reparations to the State of Israel for the Holocaust
United States reparations to Japanese Americans for illegal internment
Reparations by the United Kingdom to the Maori people of New Zealand, and

APPENDIX A

Whereas this violation of the human rights of Africans has left a long legacy of subordination, segregation, and discrimination against descendants of slaves. In January 2000, The Commission to Study Reparations Proposals for African Americans Act (H.R. 40) bill was presented in the United States House of Representatives by Rep. John Conyers (D-Mich.) which states, "To acknowledge the fundamental injustice, cruelty, brutality, and inhumanity of slavery in the United States and in the thirteen American colonies between 1619 and 1865 and to establish a commission to examine the institution of slavery, subsequently de jure and de facto racial and economic discrimination against African Americans and the impact of those forces on living African Americans, to make recommendations to the Congress on appropriate remedies and other purposes," and

Whereas in the century and a half since the abolition of slavery, the United States government has never acknowledged or taken responsibility for its role in the enslavement of Africans and the promotion of White Supremacy, and

Whereas the experience and legacy of enslavement, segregation, and discrimination continues to limit the life chances and opportunities of African Americans, and

Whereas Christians must not only continue to call for the release of the captives (Leviticus 25:52), but also to proclaim liberty, bring good tidings to the afflicted, and build up the ancient ruins (Isaiah 61), and
Whereas General Synods of the United Church of Christ have voted ten resolutions, statements, and pronouncements on racism since 1963;

Therefore be it resolved that the Twenty-third General Synod of the United Church of Christ encourages conferences, associations, congregations, agencies, and ministries of the United Church of Christ to join in active study and education on issues dealing with reparations for slavery; and

Be it further resolved that Justice and Witness Ministries of the United Church of Christ be called upon to develop a study paper with scriptural basis to equip churches and individual Christians so that they might urge local schools to adopt history texts that tell the truth about the history of slavery, encourage them to communicate to elected government representatives their faith-based reasons for support of a formal apology for slavery, and create a congressional commission for the study of reparations issues, and

Be it further resolved that the Twenty-third General Synod calls upon its General Minister and President, John Thomas, and other United Church of Christ leaders to be in dialogue with leaders of other Christian denominations, other faith groups, and leaders and activists in the secular community to raise this issue at every opportunity.

Funding for this action will be made in accordance with the overall mandates of the affected agencies and the funds available.

Resolution of witness. Requires a two-thirds vote for passage.

These resolutions are a part of the minutes of the General Synod. Although the actions have been voted, final approval of the General Synod minutes will occur during the October 2001 meeting of the Executive Council. These minutes will be available in January 2002

APPENDIX B

REPARATIONS AND THE LINGERING ECONOMIC EFFECTS OF SLAVERY AND SEGREGATION

While slavery was legally ended 140 years ago, civil rights legislation passed some 40 years ago, and school segregation made unlawful in 1954, the effects of slavery and legal segregation persist until today. Even today, both interpersonal and institutional racism continues to permeate society in the U.S. The legacy of exclusion and the denigration of a large share of God's children continues to impact all phases of our life together including social, political, and economic life.

This exercise compares African Americans with Euro-Americans and Hispanics on a variety of economic conditions. It becomes clear that African Americans suffer economic disadvantage in every dimension -from lower wages and incomes, less wealth and home ownership, lower levels of educational attainment, and reduced access to health insurance and pension. Discussion question provide an opportunity to explore these comparisons, the factors that lay behind these differences, and the role of reparations in alleviating some of these injustices.

Wages and Incomes

1. *Typical weekly earnings (the point at which half of workers earn more, half earn less) are much lower for African Americans than for Euro-Americans but somewhat higher than for Hispanics.*

Median weekly earnings, 2001

African Americans	Hispanics	Euro Americans
\$487	\$414	\$612

Discussion: It will probably surprise no one that people of color are paid less than Euro- Americans. Quickly list the factors that may play a role in this. Some of these factors are examined in greater detail later .

Educational Levels, workers age 25 or more

	African Americans	Hispanics	Euro Americans
HS diploma or GED but no more	46%	65%	40%
some college but no degree	32%	21%	28%
College degree or more	22%	13%	32%

Discussion: Why do African Americans have lower levels of education? What about school quality? the costs of college? preparation for school -early childhood education, enriching childhood experiences? role models? How does one generation influence the next? How might reparations be used to correct some of these factors?

APPENDIX B

2. African American receive lower wages than Euro-Americans or Hispanics, even comparing workers with the same level of education.

Average hourly wage, male high school graduates without further education, 2001

African Americans	Hispanics	Euro Americans
\$12.41	\$13.61	\$14.94

Average hourly wage, female high school graduates without further education, 2001

African Americans	Hispanics	Euro Americans
\$10.30	\$10.38	\$11.27

In the U.S. in 2001, 24% of all workers were paid wages so low that working full time, year round provides too little money to lift a family of four out of poverty. Among African Americans, 31% received poverty wages, compared with 40% of Hispanics and 20.1% of Euro-Americans. These low wages are one reason for the lower weekly earnings and greater poverty among people of color.

Discussion: Why are African Americans paid less than Euro-Americans and Hispanic workers with the same level of education? Consider discrimination in hiring and promotions? What about "steering" of African American applicants into lower-paid jobs (for example, hotel housekeeper instead of front desk clerk -can you think of other examples? have you seen or experienced this?)

3. African Americans are more likely to be unemployed than either Euro-Americans or Hispanics, another reason for higher levels of poverty.

Unemployment Rate, 2001

African Americans	Hispanics	Euro Americans
8.7%	6.6%	4.2%

Whether unemployment is high or low, African American are usually unemployed at twice the rate as Euro-Americans. Hispanic unemployment typically falls midway between that for African Americans and Euro Americans.

5. Because of the lower wages (even with similar levels of education), the greater likelihood of receiving poverty wages, and more unemployment, median family income (the level at which half of families have more, half less) is lower for African Americans than for Hispanics or Euro-Americans.

Median family income, 2000

African Americans	Hispanics	Euro Americans
\$35,153	\$36,039	\$54,753

6. However, when the economy is strong, as in the late 1990s, and provides sufficient jobs so the unemployed are working and wage growth is being shared by all workers, not just those at the top, then African Americans and Hispanics see good growth in family income - faster than for Euro-Americans. (But because they started at a lower level, a few years of faster growth still leaves people of color behind Euro-Americans.)

Annual growth in family income, 1995-2000

African Americans	Hispanics	Euro Americans
3.2%	4.9%	2.2%

The late 1990s were an interesting time for the economy. The stock market boomed, bringing additional wealth to the owners of stock. While nearly half of all families own some stock (usually in pension plans), most

stocks are owned by a small segment of the population. Households with incomes of \$100,00 or more (9% of all households) own about two-thirds of all stocks. These are the main people who benefitted from the rising stock market.

Discussion: Think of the news coverage of the stock market during the mid to late 1990s. Did the joy about the rising stock market accurately reflect the reality that most of the benefits flow to a relatively small share of the public? How do you account for this attitude?

While the rising stock market had little direct impact on the majority of Americans, the booming economy was very helpful: The low unemployment meant that unemployed workers found jobs. It also meant that employers raised wages. (For a brief discussion of why wages rose, see the Note on Wages at the end of this exercise.) Low unemployment is extremely important for improving the economic condition of workers paid low and mid-level wages. The level of unemployment is set, to some degree, by the Federal Reserve Board, a group of people appointed by the White House and banks around the country to oversee various aspects of the economy. Lowering unemployment is seldom their main priority .

Discussion: How might reparations be used to reduce unemployment?

7. The strong economy of the late 1990s and rapid income growth also brought dramatic declines in poverty, demonstrating that high poverty rates are not inevitable.

Decline in poverty rate, 1995-2000

African Americans	Hispanics	Euro Americans
fell from 29.3% to 22.0%	fell from 30.3% to 21.2%	fell from 11.2% to 9.4%

Discussion: Poverty can be reduced either through social programs that put money in the hands of poor people and/or by ensuring that everyone who can work is able to find a job and is paid a living wage. How might reparations be used to reduce poverty? If you were in charge of the economy, how would you reduce poverty? Can poverty be eliminated completely?

Health Insurance, Wealth, and Homeownership

8. African Americans are more likely than Euro-Americans (but less likely than Hispanics) to be uninsured -to have no health insurance either from an employer or government program.

No Health Insurance Coverage, 2001

African Americans	Hispanics	Euro Americans
19%	33%	10%

Discussion: People without insurance are much less likely to receive needed preventive health care compared to those with insurance, and are 50- 70% more likely to be hospitalized for a condition that could have been handled outside the hospital if treated promptly (for example, conditions like high blood pressure, diabetes, bleeding ulcer, and pneumonia). When the uninsured are hospitalized, their risk of dying in the hospital is 40% higher than someone of the same age and race who has insurance. The uninsured are also less likely to receive surgical procedures like coronary artery bypass surgery (open heart surgery), hip or knee replacements. Children who lack health insurance are much more likely not to receive treatment for things like earache, sore throat, and asthma. What are the implications of being uninsured on people's current and future economic situation? How might reparations be used to remove some of this inequity?

APPENDIX B

9. *Middle-income African-American families work longer hours than do Euro-American ones (but shorter hours than Hispanics)*

Average hours worked per year, middle-income, married-couple families with children, 2000

African Americans	Hispanics	Euro Americans
4,320 hours	4,421 hours	3,837 hours

Discussion: People who are paid less per hour need to work more hours to earn a particular level of income. What are the implications for family life? for church and community life?

10. *Because of lower wages, lower family income, and less inheritance from their fore-bearers, African American have less wealth than do Euro-Americans. (Wealth is the value of all assets including homes minus debt.) Half of all African Americans have less than \$10,000 in wealth while half of all Euro-Americans have at least \$82,000.*

Average Household Wealth, 1998

African American	Euro-American
\$58,000	\$321,000

11. *Because of lower incomes and less wealth, African Americans are less likely to own their own home than are Euro-Americans.*

Homeowner rate, 2001

African Americans	Hispanics	Euro Americans
47.7%	47.3%	71.6%

Discussion: How is wealth transmitted from one generation to the next? How could reparations be used to offset some of the inequality in wealth and homeownership?

Note on Wages: During the late 1990s, unemployment was low. Wages rose because employers wanted to make sure that their workers did not leave to find better jobs. In addition, since workers were hard to find, employers bought more and better equipment so they could still expand but without hiring more workers. Producing more with the same number of workers enabled them to pay higher wages.

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For more information, contact Edith Rasell, Minister for Labor Relations and Community Economic Development, Justice and Witness Ministries, UCC, 700 Prospect Ave, Cleveland, OH 44115; 216-736-3709; raselle@ucc.org.

APPENDIX C

United States Public Law 103-150

103d Congress Joint Resolution 19

Nov. 23, 1993

To acknowledge the 100th anniversary of the January 17, 1893 overthrow of the Kingdom of Hawaii, and to offer an apology to Native Hawaiians on behalf of the United States for the overthrow of the Kingdom of Hawaii.

Whereas , prior to the arrival of the first Europeans in 1778, the Native Hawaiian people lived in a highly organized, self-sufficient, subsistent social system based on communal land tenure with a sophisticated language, culture, and religion;

Whereas , a unified monarchical government of the Hawaiian Islands was established in 1810 under Kamehameha I, the first King of Hawaii;

Whereas , from 1826 until 1893, the United States recognized the independence of the Kingdom of Hawaii, extended full and complete diplomatic recognition to the Hawaiian Government, and entered into treaties and conventions with the Hawaiian monarchs to govern commerce and navigation in 1826 , 1842, 1849 ,1875 , and 1887 ;

Whereas , the Congregational Church (now known as the United Church of Christ), through its American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, sponsored and sent more than 100 missionaries to the Kingdom of Hawaii between 1820 and 1850;

Whereas , on January 14, 1893, John L. Stevens (hereafter referred to in this Resolution as the "United States Minister"), the United States Minister assigned to the sovereign and independent Kingdom of Hawaii conspired with a small group of non-Hawaiian residents of the Kingdom of Hawaii, including citizens of the United States, to overthrow the indigenous and lawful Government of Hawaii;

Whereas , in pursuance of the conspiracy to overthrow the Government of Hawaii, the United States Minister and the naval representatives of the United States caused armed naval forces of the United States to invade the sovereign Hawaiian nation on January 16, 1893, and to position themselves near the Hawaiian Government buildings and the Iolani Palace to intimidate Queen Liliuokalani and her Government;

Whereas , on the afternoon of January 17,1893, a Committee of Safety that represented the American and European sugar planters, descendants of missionaries, and financiers deposed the Hawaiian monarchy and proclaimed the establishment of a Provisional Government;

Whereas , the United States Minister thereupon extended diplomatic recognition to the Provisional Government that was formed by the conspirators without the consent of the Native Hawaiian people or the lawful Government of Hawaii and in violation of treaties between the two nations and of international law; Whereas , soon thereafter, when informed of the risk of bloodshed with resistance, Queen Liliuokalani issued

APPENDIX C

the following statement yielding her authority to the United States Government rather than to the Provisional Government:

"I Liliuokalani, by the Grace of God and under the Constitution of the Hawaiian Kingdom, Queen, do hereby solemnly protest against any and all acts done against myself and the Constitutional Government of the Hawaiian Kingdom by certain persons claiming to have established a Provisional Government of and for this Kingdom.

"That I yield to the superior force of the United States of America whose Minister Plenipotentiary, His Excellency John L. Stevens, has caused United States troops to be landed at Honolulu and declared that he would support the Provisional Government.

"Now to avoid any collision of armed forces, and perhaps the loss of life, I do this under protest and impelled by said force yield my authority until such time as the Government of the United States shall, upon facts being presented to it, undo the action of its representatives and reinstate me in the authority which I claim as the Constitutional Sovereign of the Hawaiian Islands."

Done at Honolulu this 17th day of January, A.D. 1893.;

Whereas , without the active support and intervention by the United States diplomatic and military representatives, the insurrection against the Government of Queen Liliuokalani would have failed for lack of popular support and insufficient arms;

Whereas , on February 1, 1893, the United States Minister raised the American flag and proclaimed Hawaii to be a protectorate of the United States;

Whereas , the report of a Presidentially established investigation conducted by former Congressman James Blount into the events surrounding the insurrection and overthrow of January 17, 1893, concluded that the United States diplomatic and military representatives had abused their authority and were responsible for the change in government;

Whereas , as a result of this investigation, the United States Minister to Hawaii was recalled from his diplomatic post and the military commander of the United States armed forces stationed in Hawaii was disciplined and forced to resign his commission;

Whereas , in a message to Congress on December 18, 1893, President Grover Cleveland reported fully and accurately on the illegal acts of the conspirators, described such acts as an "act of war, committed with the participation of a diplomatic representative of the United States and without authority of Congress", and acknowledged that by such acts the government of a peaceful and friendly people was overthrown;

Whereas , President Cleveland further concluded that a "substantial wrong has thus been done which a due regard for our national character as well as the rights of the injured people requires we should endeavor to repair" and called for the restoration of the Hawaiian monarchy;

Whereas , the Provisional Government protested President Cleveland's call for the restoration of the monarchy and continued to hold state power and pursue annexation to the United States;

Whereas , the Provisional Government successfully lobbied the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate (hereafter referred to in this Resolution as the "Committee") to conduct a new investigation into the events surrounding the overthrow of the monarchy;

Whereas , the Committee and its chairman, Senator John Morgan, conducted hearings in Washington, D.C., from December 27, 1893, through February 26, 1894, in which members of the Provisional Government justified and condoned the actions of the United States Minister and recommended annexation of Hawaii;

Whereas , although the Provisional Government was able to obscure the role of the United States in the illegal overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy, it was unable to rally the support from two-thirds of the Senate needed to ratify a treaty of annexation;

Whereas , on July 4, 1894, the Provisional Government declared itself to be the Republic of Hawaii;

Whereas , on January 24, 1895, while imprisoned in Iolani Palace , Queen Liliuokalani was forced by representatives of the Republic of Hawaii to officially abdicate her throne;

Whereas , in the 1896 United States Presidential election, William McKinley replaced Grover Cleveland;

Whereas , on July 7, 1898, as a consequence of the Spanish-American War, President McKinley signed the Newlands Joint Resolution that provided for the annexation of Hawaii;

Whereas , through the Newlands Resolution, the self-declared Republic of Hawaii ceded sovereignty over the Hawaiian Islands to the United States;

Whereas , the Republic of Hawaii also ceded 1,800,000 acres of crown, government and public lands of the Kingdom of Hawaii, without the consent of or compensation to the Native Hawaiian people of Hawaii or their sovereign government;

Whereas , the Congress, through the Newlands Resolution, ratified the cession, annexed Hawaii as part of the United States, and vested title to the lands in Hawaii in the United States;

Whereas , the Newlands Resolution also specified that treaties existing between Hawaii and foreign nations were to immediately cease and be replaced by United States treaties with such nations;

Whereas , the Newlands Resolution effected the transaction between the Republic of Hawaii and the United States Government;

Whereas , the indigenous Hawaiian people never directly relinquished their claims to their inherent sovereignty as a people or over their national lands to the United States, either through their monarchy or through a plebiscite or referendum;

Whereas , on April 30, 1900, President McKinley signed the Organic Act that provided a government for the territory of Hawaii and defined the political structure and powers of the newly established Territorial Government and its relationship to the United States;

Whereas , on August 21, 1959, Hawaii became the 50th State of the United States;

Whereas , the health and well-being of the Native Hawaiian people is intrinsically tied to their deep feelings and attachment to the land;

Whereas , the long-range economic and social changes in Hawaii over the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries have been devastating to the population and to the health and well-being of the Hawaiian people;

APPENDIX C

Whereas , the Native Hawaiian people are determined to preserve, develop and transmit to future generations their ancestral territory, and their cultural identity in accordance with their own spiritual and traditional beliefs, customs, practices, language, and social institutions;

Whereas , in order to promote racial harmony and cultural understanding, the Legislature of the State of Hawaii has determined that the year 1993, should serve Hawaii as a year of special reflection on the rights and dignities of the Native Hawaiians in the Hawaiian and the American societies;

Whereas , the Eighteenth General Synod of the United Church of Christ in recognition of the denomination's historical complicity in the illegal overthrow of the Kingdom of Hawaii in 1893 directed the Office of the President of the United Church of Christ to offer a public apology to the Native Hawaiian people and to initiate the process of reconciliation between the United Church of Christ and the Native Hawaiians; and

Whereas , it is proper and timely for the Congress on the occasion of the impending one hundredth anniversary of the event, to acknowledge the historic significance of the illegal overthrow of the Kingdom of Hawaii, to express its deep regret to the Native Hawaiian people, and to support the reconciliation efforts of the State of Hawaii and the United Church of Christ with Native Hawaiians;

Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SECTION 1. ACKNOWLEDGMENT AND APOLOGY.

The Congress -

(1) on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of the illegal overthrow of the Kingdom of Hawaii on January 17, 1893, acknowledges the historical significance of this event which resulted in the suppression of the inherent sovereignty of the Native Hawaiian people;

(2) recognizes and commends efforts of reconciliation initiated by the State of Hawaii and the United Church of Christ with Native Hawaiians;

(3) apologizes to Native Hawaiians on behalf of the people of the United States for the overthrow of the Kingdom of Hawaii on January 17, 1893 with the participation of agents and citizens of the United States, and the deprivation of the rights of Native Hawaiians to self-determination;

(4) expresses its commitment to acknowledge the ramifications of the overthrow of the Kingdom of Hawaii, in order to provide a proper foundation for reconciliation between the United States and the Native Hawaiian people; and

(5) urges the President of the United States to also acknowledge the ramifications of the overthrow of the Kingdom of Hawaii and to support reconciliation efforts between the United States and the Native Hawaiian people.

SEC. 2. DEFINITIONS.

As used in this Joint Resolution, the term "Native Hawaiians" means any individual who is a descendent of the aboriginal people who, prior to 1778, occupied and exercised sovereignty in the area that now constitutes the State of Hawaii.

SEC. 3. DISCLAIMER.

Nothing in this Joint Resolution is intended to serve as a settlement of any claims against the United States.

Approved November 23, 1993

LEGISLATIVE HISTORY - S.J. Res. 19:

SENATE REPORTS: No. 103-125 (Select Comm. on Indian Affairs)

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Vol. 139 (1993):

Oct. 27, considered and passed Senate.

Nov. 15, considered and passed House.

"...the logical consequences of this resolution would be independence."

- Senator Slade Gorton, US Senate Congressional Record

Wednesday, October 27, 1993, 103rd Cong. 1st Sess.

Presidential Letter of Apology

Below is a copy of the actual Presidential letter sent, following the passage of the Civil Liberties Act of 1988, with reparations checks of \$20,000 to victims of WWII internment.

*THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON*

October 1, 1993

Over fifty years ago, the United States Government unjustly interned, evacuated, or relocated you and many other Japanese Americans. Today, on behalf of your fellow Americans, I offer a sincere apology to you for the actions that unfairly denied Japanese Americans and their families fundamental liberties during World War II.

In passing the Civil Liberties Act of 1988, we acknowledged the wrongs of the past and offered redress to those who endured such grave injustice. In retrospect, we understand that the nation's actions were rooted deeply in racial prejudice, wartime hysteria, and a lack of political leadership. We must learn from the past and dedicate ourselves as a nation to renewing the spirit of equality and our love freedom. Together, we can guarantee a future with liberty and justice for all. You and your family have my best wishes for the future.

Bill Clinton

APPENDIX D

IDEAS FOR REPAIRING THE “ACCESS TO HEALTH CARE” BREACH

The issue of health is an important component of the reparations movement. The National Medical Association states that *“the relative poor health of African Americans is not a biological act of nature or an accident, but rather a direct result of slavery and racism”*. As we enter the 21st century, the disparities in health care status among African Americans, when compared to their white counterparts, has been documented by medical and Presidential commissions. Institutional racism remains an insidious and largely unmeasured obstacle towards improving or eliminating the disparate health status of African Americans.

Discussion Questions for Congregational-Based Health Ministries

1. Can reparations be provided to the descendants of enslaved Africans through programs that increase access to needed health care services?
2. What is the role of the faith community in reparations and health care?
3. How can the faith community work collaboratively with each other, health care providers and human service agencies to repair and restore health and wholeness?

Congregational Ideas for “Repairing the Breach”

Make the church a One-stop health action place by hosting an event for the congregation and the community that could provide:

- Bible Study and reflection on health care as a justice issue
- A one-day workshop that focuses on race and its historic impact on medicine, using resources from the National Medical Association.
- Collaboration with a local health department to work on the Healthy People 2010 goal of eliminating health disparities among people of color.
- A “Doctor’s Day In” event where doctors might conduct health physicals and provide other health services pro-bono at the church.
- An opportunity to call/write your Congress person and ask them to sponsor House Concurrent Resolution 99 (R99) directing Congress to enact legislation by October 2004 that provides access to comprehensive health care for all Americans

For more information, contact Barbara Baylor, MPH, CHES, Minister for Health and Wellness, Justice and Witness Ministries, UCC, 700 Prospect Ave., Cleveland, OH 44115; 216-736-3708 baylorb@ucc.org

APPENDIX E

2003 PRESIDENTIAL SPEECH

For Immediate Release
Office of the Press Secretary
July 8, 2003

President Bush Speaks at Goree Island in Senegal

Remarks by the President on Goree Island

Goree Island, Senegal

11:47 A.M. (Local)

THE PRESIDENT: Mr. President and Madam First Lady, distinguished guests and residents of Goree Island, citizens of Senegal, I'm honored to begin my visit to Africa in your beautiful country.

For hundreds of years on this island peoples of different continents met in fear and cruelty. Today we gather in respect and friendship, mindful of past wrongs and dedicated to the advance of human liberty.

At this place, liberty and life were stolen and sold. Human beings were delivered and sorted, and weighed, and branded with the marks of commercial enterprises, and loaded as cargo on a voyage without return. One of the largest migrations of history was also one of the greatest crimes of history.

Below the decks, the middle passage was a hot, narrow, sunless nightmare; weeks and months of confinement and abuse and confusion on a strange and lonely sea. Some refused to eat, preferring death to any future their captors might prepare for them. Some who were sick were thrown over the side. Some rose up in violent rebellion, delivering the closest thing to justice on a slave ship. Many acts of defiance and bravery are recorded. Countless others, we will never know.

Those who lived to see land again were displayed, examined, and sold at auctions across nations in the Western Hemisphere. They entered societies indifferent to their anguish and made prosperous by their unpaid labor. There was a time in my country's history when one in every seven human beings was the property of another. In law, they were regarded only as articles of commerce, having no right to travel, or to marry, or to own possessions. Because families were often separated, many denied even the comfort of suffering together.

For 250 years the captives endured an assault on their culture and their dignity. The spirit of Africans in America did not break. Yet the spirit of their captors was corrupted. Small men took on the powers and airs of tyrants and masters. Years of unpunished brutality and bullying and rape produced a dullness and hardness of conscience. Christian men and women became blind to the clearest commands of their faith and added hypocrisy to injustice. A republic founded on equality for all became a prison for millions. And yet in the words of the African proverb, "no fist is big enough to hide the sky." All the generations of oppression under the laws of man could not crush the hope of freedom and defeat the purposes of God.

APPENDIX E

In America, enslaved Africans learned the story of the exodus from Egypt and set their own hearts on a promised land of freedom. Enslaved Africans discovered a suffering Savior and found he was more like themselves than their masters. Enslaved Africans heard the ringing promises of the Declaration of Independence and asked the self-evident question, then why not me?

In the year of America's founding, a man named Olaudah Equiano was taken in bondage to the New World. He witnessed all of slavery's cruelties, the ruthless and the petty. He also saw beyond the slave-holding piety of the time to a higher standard of humanity. "God tells us," wrote Equiano, "that the oppressor and the oppressed are both in His hands. And if these are not the poor, the broken-hearted, the blind, the captive, the bruised which our Savior speaks of, who are they?"

Down through the years, African Americans have upheld the ideals of America by exposing laws and habits contradicting those ideals. The rights of African Americans were not the gift of those in authority. Those rights were granted by the Author of Life, and regained by the persistence and courage of African Americans, themselves.

Among those Americans was Phyllis Wheatley, who was dragged from her home here in West Africa in 1761, at the age of seven. In my country, she became a poet, and the first noted black author in our nation's history. Phyllis Wheatley said, "In every human breast, God has implanted a principle which we call love of freedom. It is impatient of oppression and pants for deliverance."

That deliverance was demanded by escaped slaves named Frederick Douglas and Sojourner Truth, educators named Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. DuBois, and ministers of the Gospel named Leon Sullivan and Martin Luther King, Jr. At every turn, the struggle for equality was resisted by many of the powerful. And some have said we should not judge their failures by the standards of a later time. Yet, in every time, there were men and women who clearly saw this sin and called it by name.

We can fairly judge the past by the standards of President John Adams, who called slavery "an evil of colossal magnitude." We can discern eternal standards in the deeds of William Wilberforce and John Quincy Adams, and Harriet Beecher Stowe, and Abraham Lincoln. These men and women, black and white, burned with a zeal for freedom, and they left behind a different and better nation. Their moral vision caused Americans to examine our hearts, to correct our Constitution, and to teach our children the dignity and equality of every person of every race. By a plan known only to Providence, the stolen sons and daughters of Africa helped to awaken the conscience of America. The very people traded into slavery helped to set America free.

My nation's journey toward justice has not been easy and it is not over. The racial bigotry fed by slavery did not end with slavery or with segregation. And many of the issues that still trouble America have roots in the bitter experience of other times. But however long the journey, our destination is set: liberty and justice for all.

In the struggle of the centuries, America learned that freedom is not the possession of one race. We know with equal certainty that freedom is not the possession of one nation. This belief in the natural rights of man, this conviction that justice should reach wherever the sun passes leads America into the world.

With the power and resources given to us, the United States seeks to bring peace where there is conflict, hope where there is suffering, and liberty where there is tyranny. And these commitments bring me and other distinguished leaders of my government across the Atlantic to Africa.

African peoples are now writing your own story of liberty. Africans have overcome the arrogance of colonial powers, overturned the cruelties of apartheid, and made it clear that dictatorship is not the future of any nation on this continent. In the process, Africa has produced heroes of liberation -- leaders like Mandela, Senghor,

“Your ancient ruins shall be rebuilt: you shall raise up the foundations of many generations: you shall be called the repairer of the breach...”

(Isaiah 58:12, RSV)

APPENDIX F

3. What suggestions/feedback do you have for additional pieces to be added to existing guide?

4. Would you like to have someone come to your congregation/community to speak about the issue of reparations?

5. Would you like to have someone come to your congregation/community to conduct an Anti-Racism session?

6. Additional Comments:

Please Return Completed Form To:

Justice and Witness Ministries, Racial Justice Team
700 Prospect Avenue - 9th floor • Cleveland, OH 44115

APPENDIX F

FACILITATOR/TRAINER

FEEDBACK FORM

Please feel free to add additional comments to an attached sheet.

Name of Facilitator/Trainer _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Phone Number(s) _____

Email Address _____

Name address of Church/Community Organization using this Study & Discussion Guide

1. Describe how you have used this Reparations Study and Discussion Guide in your local congregation or community.

2. What comments/feedback do you have on existing guide?

Nkrumah, Kenyatta, Selassie and Sadat. And many visionary African leaders, such as my friend, have grasped the power of economic and political freedom to lift whole nations and put forth bold plans for Africa's development.

Because Africans and Americans share a belief in the values of liberty and dignity, we must share in the labor of advancing those values. In a time of growing commerce across the globe, we will ensure that the nations of Africa are full partners in the trade and prosperity of the world. Against the waste and violence of civil war, we will stand together for peace. Against the merciless terrorists who threaten every nation, we will wage an unrelenting campaign of justice. Confronted with desperate hunger, we will answer with human compassion and the tools of human technology. In the face of spreading disease, we will join with you in turning the tide against AIDS in Africa.

We know that these challenges can be overcome, because history moves in the direction of justice. The evils of slavery were accepted and unchanged for centuries. Yet, eventually, the human heart would not abide them. There is a voice of conscience and hope in every man and woman that will not be silenced -- what Martin Luther King called a certain kind of fire that no water could put out. That flame could not be extinguished at the Birmingham jail. It could not be stamped out at Robben Island Prison. It was seen in the darkness here at Goree Island, where no chain could bind the soul. This untamed fire of justice continues to burn in the affairs of man, and it lights the way before us.

May God bless you all. (Applause.)

END 11:55 A.M. (Local)