

THE  
ADDIS ABABA, ETHIOPIA, EAST AFRICA  
DURBAN + 5 ROUNDTABLE DISCUSSION:  
REPORT



APRIL 18-20, 2007

ADDIS ABABA EXHIBITION CENTRE

ORGANIZING PAN AFRICAN NGO:  
PAN AFRICAN AND STRATEGIC FOUNDATION EUROPE REGION

IN COOPERATION WITH PAN AFRICAN NGO'S:  
AFRICA/EUROPE/NORTH AMERICA/SOUTH AMERICA/  
CARIBBEAN/MIDDLE EAST

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## I. PREFACE

Presented in the following pages is related in a queue regarding of the World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance (WCAR) held in Durban/South Africa from 31 August to 8 September 2001. The final documentation of the World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance (WCAR) in Durban/South Africa from 31 August to 8 September 2001 show some interesting text. One of the outcomes is that:

*"....slavery and the slave trade are a crime against humanity and should always have been so, especially the transatlantic slave trade and are among the major sources and manifestations of racism..... and that the Africans and people of African descents.... were victims of these acts continue to be victims of their consequences<sup>1</sup>"*

The adoption of this declaration of the acknowledgement of the transatlantic slave trade as a crime against humanity was clearly the greatest victory during the UN WCAR 2001. This was also the result of the significant role of the Africans and African Descendants, from all over the world, who attending the UN WCAR in ensuring that many declarations of principle, key demands, and project proposals, fundamental to the nations and peoples of Africa and the African Diaspora, found a place in the "Durban Declaration and Program of Action<sup>2</sup>.

Issues of critical importance to Africans and African Descendants were also highlighted in the declarations and plans of action adopted by the NGO Forum<sup>3</sup> and the International Youth Summit<sup>4</sup>, prior to the WCAR inter-governmental conference.

At the close of the conference, the critical question of the African and African Descendants was "where do we go from here?" Many of the measures called for in the Program of Action required concrete work and involvement by the NGOs of Africa and the African Descendants (the Diaspora). The Caribbean Caucus during the WCAR accepted the proposal for an immediate follow-up conference after Durban.

The International follow-up conference took place in Barbados from 2-6 October 2002. At this Conference the Bridgetown Protocol (October 2002) was produced by a large numbers of African and African Descendant NGO's. A year later, October 2003, the

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<sup>1</sup> A/CONF 189/12 Report of the World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance (WCAR) less than 1 agreed to and accepted by 168 nation states.

<sup>2</sup> Important to mention are the several AAD (shadow) preparation caused during the UN general assemblies. And the four months before the WCAR African and African Descendants NGO meeting from 28-29 April 2001 in Vienna, Austria were in unity an AAD Position Paper was developed.

<sup>3</sup> United Nations NGO FORUM South Africa 2001 World Conference Against Racism 03 September 2001

<sup>4</sup> Executive Summary of International Youth Summit Declaration and Plan of Action 2001: UNITED TO COMBAT RACISM: A YOUTH VISION

Rotterdam Report, with the purpose to implement the Bridgetown Protocol in the Europe Region. Besides these two important follow up conferences, on Regional and National Level African and African Descendants groups organised meetings with Reparation as one of the Main Topics.

Many of the Pan African movements in 2006 were waiting for the usual United Nations Review Conference which is normally done after the first 5-years.

During the time that the initiative and the planning of the Addis Ababa Pan African Roundtable took place there was no resolution yet for the Review by the Nation States of the Durban Program of Action.

Now that the UN General Assemble adopted a resolution for a Review Conference on or before 2009 it is a great challenge for the Pan African Movements to organize themselves towards these date 2009.

With the notion of the importance of a good preparation the Roundtable took place in Addis Ababa as the first start on International grassroots level of the Durban Program of Action Review after five years.

To all who have made the Roundtable in Addis Ababa possible I would like to say many thanks:

- ✚ Ambassador Mrs. Halima Muhamed, Director General of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia for the warm welcome in Addis Ababa and advices;
- ✚ The management of the Addis Ababa Exhibition Centre;
- ✚ The Repatriates (USA, Jamaica, Trinidad, Barbados) Africans from Shashamane, Ethiopia, members of the Ethiopian World Federation, in particularly, Elder Gladstone Robinson;
- ✚ The African Hebrew Sisterhood in Addis;
- ✚ Mrs. Iman Drammeh, Liaison Pan African Roundtable on Durban Plus 5, USA Region, for her excellent active involvement and professional cooperation from the start of the decision-making process for a Pan African Roundtable on Durban Plus 5;
- ✚ (Rtd.) General Ishola Williams, executive Secretary General Pan Afstrag International for his cooperation concerning the promotion of a Durban World wide Pan African Durban Review;
- ✚ Mr Robert Eno, Chief in Charge of the African Commission for Human and Peoples Right, for his intermediary role to the UN Office of the High Commissioner on Human Rights

- ✚ Ambassador Mrs. H.B. Mkhize from the Republic in South Africa in the Netherlands for her personal wise advices during the preparation of the Addis Ababa Roundtable on Durban plus 5.

Special thanks go to all who delivered the input for the drafting of this document such as:

- ✚ Professor, Crown Dr. Khazriel Ben Yehuda' Martin Luther King Institution for Reconciliation and Human Rights (Middle East/Israel);
- ✚ Rev. Buddy Lamer, Society for the Resettlement of Caribbean Nationals (Caribbean/Barbados);
- ✚ Professor Dr. David Horne, California State University, Northridge, Los Angeles, California; Co-Founder, the Pan African Organizing Committee (POAC/USA);
- ✚ Dr. Aliu Tunkara, President of the African Federation in Russia/Petersburg (Eastern Europe/Russia);
- ✚ Mrs. Rita Nalooop, President of the Federation of (22) Organisations of Black, Migrant and Refugee Women (Europe/EU);
- ✚ Mrs. Mavis Biekman, board member of the African European Women's Movement "Sophiedela" (Holland);
- ✚ Mr. Iwan Leeuwin, African and African Descendent Network in the Netherlands;
- ✚ Mr. Alex Walle, Board member of the National Platform Dutch Slavery Past (Curacao);
- ✚ Mrs. Dr. Fanta Kaba of the MIR<sup>5</sup> network (France),
- ✚ Dr. Oscar Braithwaite. Network of African Educators (Canada/North America);
- ✚ Drs. Armand Zunder, Pan Afstrag, Republic Suriname/South America/Carricom.

April 2007

On behalf of the Organising Committee

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Liaison Pan African Roundtable Durban Plus 5 Region Europe

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<sup>5</sup> (Mouvement International pour les Réparations)



## II. Introduction and objectives

In October 2005 a forum was called to assemble in Berlin, Germany, by African and African Descendants (AAD), NGO's and Networks of Civil Societies. At this gathering the members took the initiative to organize and convene a ***“Durban Plus 5 Pan African Roundtable”*** scheduled for 2006. This, with the objective of reviewing the Durban Draft Declaration and Plan of Action created at the ***United Nations World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance (WCAR), Durban, South Africa, 2001***. The preparation for the Durban Plus 5 Review was called by PANAFSTRAG Europe Region, headed by Mrs. Drs. Barryl Biekman, The Global African Congress (GAC) European Region, headed by Mr. Gilbert Leonard (France), in collaboration with GAC Berlin Chapter, headed by Mr. Yonas Endrias. Involved in the meeting were Pan African representatives from other general African regions, Europe, United States, Caribbean and Israel.

During one of the Master Class sessions of the Berlin Conference, the status of the implementation of the WCAR Declaration and Program of Action was discussed. This discussion included:

1. The devolvement and progress of the National Action plans by Nation States.
2. The progress of the development of instruments/measures to combat racism xenophobia and related intolerances.
3. The role and involvement of the AAD Peoples towards the advancement of the National Action Plan

These points were discussed with the notion of 2006 as five years after Durban to review the implementation of the Durban Program of Action, with the purpose for the mobilization of Africans and African Descendants towards the development of a Status Report since the (WCAR).

The objectives of Durban Plus 5 Review were to:

1. Develop a Status Report on what has been achieved in the past five years,
2. Develop a Position Paper and Program of Action including strategies and polices for the next five years (2011).
3. To create unifying solidarity regarding Reparation for violations and crimes against humanity during the enslavement of African Peoples and the colonization of African Lands.

It was a general notion that the tragedy of 911 influenced the continuation and worldwide attention of the extraordinary accomplishments of the Durban conference. One of the salient conclusions at the Berlin meeting was to start the lobby for a Pan-African Roundtable on Durban Plus 5 in 2006. As with all significant UN sponsored conferences, it is usual to schedule meetings for reviewing the declarations and proposals coming out of such conferences. Prior to our meeting in Berlin there was not such a plan or intensions at the UN Human Rights Commission for a Durban review in general. As a result of the need for a Durban Plus 5 review, PANAFSTRAG European Region and the National Platform of the Dutch Slavery Past, an umbrella foundation of African (Diaspora) organizations, took the initiative for the organizing and planning of the Pan-African Roundtable Discussion for the Durban Plus 5. This, in cooperation with other Panafstrag Chapters and international Pan African Organizations.

### III. PROCESS TO ORGANIZE THE PAN-AFRICAN ROUNDTABLE ON THE REVIEW OF THE WCAR OF 2001

#### III.1 Historical Process in Perspective

As a means to convene the Durban Review a number of presentations and discussions were held by Pan AFSTRAG Leadership (in casu, Ishola Williams and Barryl A. Biekman (3, 4 and 5) in the international forums of AAD Peoples and human rights institutions. These were:

1. The POAC Conference in cooperation with PANAFSTRAG USA in 2005 in the United States of America
2. PANAFSTRAG Chapters in the Caribbean and Latin American regions
3. African Union African Diaspora Department in Addis Ababa
4. United Nations Economic Commission of Africa in Addis Ababa
5. United Nations Office of the High Commissioner on Human Rights in Geneva.
6. African Commission on Human and Peoples Rights in Banjul Gambia.
7. FAZE 2 of South African Organization on Durban Conference.

During the presentations to the African Commission and African Union, a request was made to be partners in the initiative by Pan-African NGO's for ensuring the success of the Durban Plus 5 Roundtable in Addis Ababa.

A request was also made to the African Commission on Human and Peoples Rights to seek for financial and technical support by The United Nations Office of the High Commissioner. The request to the Pan African Commission for Human and Peoples Right end up in a support letter to the UN High Commissioner on Human Rights for Support.

#### III.2 Pan African Roundtable Durban Plus 5: In Prospective

The initial schedule for the Pan-African Roundtable Durban plus 5 Review was set for December 2006. The initial plans included providing full financial assistance for delegates who were to have key involvement in the programs and agendas. Because of the lack of financial support to enable the planning and organization committees to finance the conference, the meeting was rescheduled for February 2007. While preparing for the February meeting the same financial condition existed therefore it was necessary to reschedule the Roundtable Review to April 2007. Although the Addis Ababa Roundtable Review convened in April, many of the original delegations who planned to attend in addition to major NGO's, could not be there because of the lack of financial support. As a result of postponements the spiritual and psychological dynamics of the Durban Review began to diminish. Nevertheless understanding the importance of the Durban Review some delegates continue with the initiative to convene the meeting scheduled for April.

It must be understood here that everything that was achieved at UN WCAR in 2001 stands to be lost and forgotten like many other important initiatives and visions to restore African dignity, pride and equality. For example; in April 1993 following the first Conference on Reparations in Lagos in 1990, the AU then the (OAU) with its Reparations Commission made a Proclamation on Reparations in Abuja (*Abuja Proclamation of 1993*). In addition, in August 2001 the UN Sub Commission on the Promotion and Protection of Human Rights adopted unanimously the resolution on recognition of responsibility and reparation for massive and flagrant violations of

human rights which constituted crimes against humanity that took place during slavery and the colonial period.

We are aware of the many Pan African Movements, Studies and Lawsuits for Reparations for Africa and African People and their specific activities. Some progress has been made. But as of now there has not been any implementation of concrete policies or processes to provide any significant change in the African world in relation to the tragic and deplorable state Africa and African Peoples find themselves worldwide.

The UN WCAR was the key moment in our history to redress these issues. If Durban fails then what?

#### **IV. Challenges of Addis Ababa Pan-African Roundtable Discussion**

##### **IV.1 The importance of Addis Ababa**

Why Addis is important for Pan African Roundtable on Durban Plus 5? There are several challenges facing the Addis Ababa meeting.

First, because of the opportunities to NGO's and the Civil Societies to have a platform to speak about their opinion concerning the status and progress of the implementation of the Durban Program of Action to combat racism and discrimination including, the measures on topics like poverty, health, education, culture and general social needs.

Secondly; the Addis meeting was a challenge to plan a worldwide mobilization of AAD and NGO's to put strategies together that coincides with the resolution of the UN General Assembly on Nov. 8, 2006 where it is stated to convene by no later than 2009, the Durban Review Conference on the implementation of the Durban Declaration and Programme of Action within the UN system and in advising the General Assembly thereon. It is important for the position of the AAD related to the United Nations coming up conference in Geneva in June 2007.

Thirdly, the Durban Review by the African Commission on Human and Peoples Rights in May 2007 is an excellent opportunity for the dialogue concerning the next steps towards 2009 or before.

Four: the African Commission on ECOSOC invited for the first time the African Diaspora to take their seats in the General Assembly. It is expected that this will be in December 2007. At this historical gathering again there is the challenge, that is for AAD People to put forward ideas for a position paper towards Durban 2009 including preparation strategies.

With the notion of the fact that African and African People had only three months to mobilize the worldwide community towards the WCAR 2001: the first Global Pan African Conference was held at the end of April 2001, whilst the WCAR took place in August 2001.

Finally, in October 2007, African Diaspora AU Representatives, related to the Diaspora AU Policy, has been invited by the African Union to a summit in South Africa. Here the Diaspora will provide the AU with an agenda of issues of concerns regarding the concrete decision and implementation of the Sixth Region Policy. All the sub-regions of the so called "Sixth Region Initiative" are invited to participate in this summit.

##### **IV.2 Methodology and Focus in Addis Ababa**

Because of the numbers of the Addis delegates, the methodology to workout topics in working group's sessions was left. All that was discussed happened during daily plenary sessions in the setup of a Roundtable. The main thing that was achieved at Addis Ababa was the fact that the conference convened. The world observed Durban in 2001 and is yet watching what we will do to advance that historical meeting. One of the main Topics in Addis Ababa was Reparations. Others were about African Leadership in relation to the Durban follow up. One of the main concerns was about "the failure" of African Leadership concerning a unifying structural managing and monitoring process towards the implementation of The Durban Declaration and Program of Action. With the Bridgetown/Barbados Conference, a year after Durban, there has been an interesting opportunity. Addis Ababa delegates agreed that the Bridgetown Protocol<sup>6</sup> is still actual. The Bridgetown Protocol is a document developed by a large group of Africans. It is not always necessary to reinvent the wheel. The human rights situation of Childs and Youth (male and female) on the African continent was an issue of deeply concern. The Situation of African Women: issues for instance of concern are: the Girl Child and Young Women sexual abuse also in relation to the marriage system, domestic/household violence, the mutilation (traditional/cultural) system. Child labour. Healthcare (HIV/Aids); Midwives; Sexual needs/ and irresponsibility behaviour (mostly of African (elderly) men towards Young Women and Girl Childs. Poverty and its impact. The growing of "Homeless" situation: Street children, with the consequence of being easily victims of criminal employers. The Labour system was also issue of the debate. Cases were in discussion about the inhumanity of some of the methods to be comparing with the hard labour during the transatlantic slave trade. Whilst there are international laws of protection, women in the last stage of their pregnancy are (miss) used by Employees. Whilst States were call upon to ensure access to education and promote access to new technologies that would offer Africans and people of African descent, in particular women and children, adequate resources for education, technological development and long-distance learning in local communities. In Addis Ababa participants presented status reports and position papers including the papers that has been received. In Chapter 3 a summary of the Reports

#### IV.3 Implementation of the United Nations Agenda: Declaration and Plan of Action of the WCAR

The WCAR Programme of Action is articulated around the identification of the:

- Sources, causes, forms of racism, discriminations, xenophobia and intolerance related
- Victims<sup>7</sup>,
- Measures of prevention (information, awareness-raising measures, education ),
- Measures of protection of victims, both at international and national levels,
- Provision of effective remedies, recourse, redress and other measures at the national, regional and international levels
- Strategies to achieve full and effective equality, bringing to interact: regional and international organs in defense of Human rights (UN), parliaments, civil societies including religious organizations, and the private sector

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<sup>6</sup> The Bridgetown Protocol, OFFICIAL REPORT, Afrikans and Afrikan Descendants, World Conference Against Racism 2-6 October 2002, Sherbourne Conference Centre, Bridgetown, Barbados.

<sup>7</sup> in particular African and African descendants, indigenous people, migrants, refugees, Roma/Gypsy/Sinti/Traveller, minorities (national/ethnic, religious, linguistic), victims of trafficking, victims of sexual violence and eventually impunity (sexual violence sometimes used as a weapon of war, sometimes with the acquiescence or at the instigation of the State), persons with disabilities.

The Durban Programme urges States to incorporate a gender perspective in all their programmes of action, encourages all sectors of society to empower women and girls who are victims of racism, and underlines that poverty shapes economic and social status.

In particular, the Programme of Action (art.167) “Calls upon States to apply diligently all commitments undertaken by them in the declarations and plans of action of the regional conferences in which they participated, and to formulate national policies and action plans to combat racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance in compliance with the objectives set forth therein, and as provided for in other relevant instruments and decisions; and further requests that, in cases where such national policies and action plans to combat racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance already exist, States incorporate in them the commitments arising from their regional conferences”

#### IV.4 Implementation of the African and African Descendant Caucus Agenda

After having taken part to the Regional Preparatory Conferences of the WCAR, in Europe, Africa, Asia and America, and faced many difficulties for having the anti-black racism specifically taken into account more than 135 activists from African descent decided to meet symbolically in Vienna<sup>8</sup> (Austria) on April 28 to 29, 2001, to establish the appropriate framework to lead the struggle for the acknowledgement of the anti-black racism and in the defense of African interests in Durban.

Three targets were identified in the Position Paper:

- 1) Having the world recognizes and provides reparation for the Black Holocausts (Slavery and Colonization);
- 2) Eliminating anti-Black racism every where it occurs, in any part of the World;
- 3) Restoring Motherland, Africa, to its full glory.

On September 3 the United Nations NGO Forum South Africa 2001 World Conference against Racism presented its Final Declaration as a result of the International Process before and during the NGO Forum of the WCAR held in Durban, South Africa 28 August – 1 September 2001. The Declaration and the Programme of Action is based on the understanding that it reflects the regional processes and that the voices of the victims of Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance must be heard.

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<sup>8</sup> <http://www.unhchr.ch/html/menu5/wchr.htm> On 25 June 1993, representatives of 171 States adopted by consensus the Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action of the World Conference on Human Rights, thus closing the World conference on Human Rights. It marks the beginning of a renewed effort to strengthen and further implement the body of human rights instruments that have been painstakingly constructed on the foundation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights since 1948.

**CHAPTER 2: SUMMARY/ANALYSES AND PROPOSALS FROM THE ADDIS ABABA ROUNDTABLE FOR THE FOLLOW UP DURBAN REVIEWS (WCAR OF 2001)**

- I Introduction
- II The Addis Ababa Results
- III Recommendations
- IV Campaigns
- V How to Proceed Towards the 2009 Review Conference

## I. INTRODUCTION

There are several analyses from the Addis Ababa Roundtable Discussion. The first and most important is that we managed to maintain the integrity of the serious Pan-African spirit. The first Addis Roundtable meeting was set for December 2006. Due to lack of financial arrangements it was postponed until February 2007. By postponing, already the spirit, enthusiasm and focus for the original purpose of the conference are diminishing. Recall that the WCAR in Durban 2001 was no doubt the largest and most important gathering of Africans and African Descendants, NGO's and Grass Roots Peoples in the last 100 years. The reality of this gathering is in the outcome there were no great achievements in regard to implementation of concrete systems, administrations and institutions. The success for Durban was, the extraordinary "initiatives" implemented. However, initiatives are different than achievements. Initiatives must be monitored, reviewed supervised and given follow through meetings in order to keep things on target. In regard to the WCAR 2001, this was the purpose of the Addis Ababa Roundtable Discussion. To loose focus, spirit and enthusiasm for what was initiated in Durban 2001 will have cataclysmic consequence on the progress of the African World. Understandingly, there were those who went forward to work towards February 2007 for the Durban Review in Addis Ababa.

Unfortunately we had to postpone the February meeting because of the same financial problem. However, at this time there were those who had already invested time and monies into the February meeting. It was decided to reschedule the Durban Review to April 2007. This no doubt presented an incredible task to the organizers. Now with the moral and enthusiasm at it lowest point since the conception of the Durban Review, in addition to those who have invested much time and finances toward this initiative, the fact is, there is no way we could postpone the meeting again and maintain our initial objectives for a review of the WCAR Durban 2001. There is also the fact that the world is watching the outcome of Durban 2001 and this particular undertaking. If we do not take ourselves serious enough to overcome obstacles and setbacks, how do we expect the international organizations that were involved with us since the beginning of the project to have serious respect for us? In conclusion, by no means could the Addis Ababa Roundtable Discussion of the Durban Review be postponed again. For reasons far too numerous to discuss in this report, we had to convene the conference in April.

## II. THE ADDIS ABABA RESULTS

With the blessing of the Creator and a few determined Pan-Africanists, the Addis Ababa Roundtable Discussions convened on April 18-20, 2007. Although there were only about a dozen participants, extraordinary tasks were completed. These were:

1. We reviewed the activities of the Nations States to understand the progress that was made concerning their commitments to the WCAR Durban Declaration and Programme of Action Program.
2. We reviewed and discussed the progress and reports of the AAD, and NGO's that are involved in the WCAR Durban Declaration and Program of Action.
3. We maintained the integrity of the organizers and leadership of the Addis Ababa Pan-African Roundtable Discussion by convening the conference after two dispiriting postponements.

4. Those AAD, NGO's and Grass Roots people and institutions that were inspired and dedicated to the Durban Review were facilitated. (There were members who travel as far as Russia and had to spend nights in other countries in order to arrive in Addis Ababa). Food and drinks, accommodation was sponsored by the few individuals. Pan Afstrag Europe sponsored the most of the costs for instance the cost of the venue, logistics, secretariat and the documents
5. Engaged with important Grass Roots organizations in Ethiopia that are deeply involved and committed to the ideas of Pan-Africanism, African Reparations and Diaspora Repatriation to Africa.
6. With the information shared at the Addis Ababa review of Durban 2001, are more prepared with strategic intelligence to convene the WCAR Durban Review set for 2009.
7. We can speak intelligently and factually to the lack of support, attention, and concern on behalf of the Nation States regarding the implementation of concrete action plans which they were committed to after the WCAR Durban 2001.
8. We can speak intelligently and factually to the lack of support, attention and concern on behalf of the AAD's and NGO's who attended the WCAR Durban 2001 and had made commitments to follow up on the ideas and initiatives of the conference.
9. We understand clearly now more than ever, that the Pan-African World Community is in a leadership crisis. When we truthfully evaluate our progress and our present world wide dilemmas, either our present leaders are not sincere regarding the total emancipation from institutional Eurocentric supremacy and the tremendous commitment, work and efforts it will take to liberate African and Peoples of African Descent, or they just don't know how to lead and liberate us and will not confess up to this fact.
10. Following the Durban Review we must develop a shared definition of progress, success and the ultimate victory of the Pan-African liberation struggle. Without this, we can not evaluate if we are progressing or regressing. We must ask ourselves:
  - a) Where are our models of success?
  - a) Are western models our ideals of success? We must first determine if the western world is progressing or regressing?
  - b) Is African progress the idea of more western liberal democracy (the right to create opposition and the right to be wrong) or more unity and "people to people ecology"?
  - c) Is African progress the idea of more unbridled capitalism (creating and maintaining abject impoverishment) or more cooperative sharing?
  - d) Is African progress the idea of more western education (a process that dedicates the student to the advancement of western values)?



### III. RECOMMENDATIONS<sup>9</sup>

- a) There must be efforts to Follow-up on the Program and Plan of Action From the WCAR: The Report of the April, 2007 Addis Ababa Roundtable As A Launching Pad for Diasporan Preparations for the Durban Review Process;
- b) We have to build an International working group on "women and reparation"- it may help to unify the fight as we will contact our different organizations involved to repair the past/present damages for them to name representatives to work in this group + we will contact well known activists concerned about this topic;
- c) We have to build an International working group on the analyze of the current secret international "European strategy of rehabilitation of colonization" (in Europe and in the former colonies too. (NB: in the intergovernmental conference of the prepcom Europe for Durban, they had underscored the necessity/urgency for the European states to recognize sufferings brought by slavery and colonization & the linkage with current racism & the necessity to teach it to the youth)

### IV. CAMPAIGNS<sup>10</sup>

1. To launch a unified campaign to free our historical POW (political prisoners - Prisoners Of War) still encaged in US (Mumia being a locomotive to free them all);
2. To introduce the file in the UN in a renewed way (involving African Union + denouncing the fact that Whites pro apartheid still live in peace on the African continent in South Arica in spite of their passed crimes + ideological defeat, whereas activists from the sixties etc in US are still in jail in spite of their ideological success = desegregation etc);
3. To elaborate a single common poster for this campaign (translated in various languages);
4. To launch a unified campaign for reparation based on a single common poster too (draft picture attached to begin this collective creation) - all concerned organization and individuals have to involve improving it.

### V. HOW TO PROCEED TOWARDS THE 2009 REVIEW CONFERENCE

1. Inventories the Pan African NGO's delegates that attended the first week of the WCAR 2001. Organize a Survey what these NGOs have been able to accomplish within their own communities since the 2001 WCAR, and what they will report as progress toward ending discrimination, abuse of women, etc., will be crucial to any final report on Durban + 7???
2. The same with (a list of) the countries that attended? Doing a research investigation of all and any new legislation pertaining to reducing intolerance is also crucial for the final report.
3. Mobilize Scholars who would like to initiate a grand research project on all this:

<sup>9</sup> These not include the in the next chapters mentioned recommendations in the Regional Status Reports and Position Papers.

<sup>10</sup> Contribute from MIR/France. See also the mentioned suggestions for Campaigns for Reparations in the Bridgetown Protocol (2002); combine with other campaigns like the Berlin International Tribunal for Reparations (2006) and in the perspective of the Abuja Proclamation, the Chicago Lawsuits etcetera.

- A. Commentary from the USA
- B. Commentary from the Continent Africa
- C. Commentary from Europe
- D. Commentary from the Caribbean
- E. A Suggested Timetable and Series of Prep Coms to Produce Detailed Status Reports from NGOs, Government Legislation on What Has and Has Not Been Done to Address the Program/Plan of Action
- F. A Suggested Deadline for All Reports and Papers to be in and Where to Send Them
- G. A Worldwide Call for Papers and Participation in the 2009 Durban Review
- H. Linking the Diaspora and the AU to the Process of Reviewing the Durban Program and Plan of Action. In this sense Promote a (unifying) Pan African Roundtable on Durban Review via the Diaspora Sixth Region Agenda at the (scheduled) Summit in October 2007 and ECOSOCC scheduled for December 2007.

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## I. EUROPEAN UNION

### Preamble

Three World conferences against racism have been organised by the United Nations in 1978, 1983 and 2001. Drawing the lesson of the two first which failed to defeat racism, the third one took great care to identify a pragmatic programme of action and recommended an efficient monitoring in the follow up, based on the launching of National Plans against Racism (NPAR).

WCAR Programme of Action, Art.99:

*« Action-oriented policies and action plans, including affirmative action to ensure non-discrimination, in particular as regards access to social services, employment, housing, education, health care, etc.*

Art. 99. Recognizes that combating racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance is a primary responsibility of States. It therefore encourages States to develop or elaborate national action plans to promote diversity, equality, equity, social justice, equality of opportunity and the participation of all. Through, among other things, affirmative or positive actions and strategies, these plans should aim at creating conditions for all to participate effectively in decision-making and realize civil, cultural, economic, political and social rights in all spheres of life on the basis of non-discrimination. The World Conference encourages States, in developing and elaborating such action plans, to establish, or reinforce, dialogue with non-governmental organizations in order to involve them more closely in designing, implementing and evaluating policies and programmes; » At the Durban plus 5 Roundtable in April the situation prevailing in European Union was as follows :

**DURBAN + 5 (European Union)**  
**Status of development of the National Plans Against Racism (NPAR) at the end of 2006**

	NPAR evaluated	NPAR initiated	NPAR pending	No NPAR
Austria			X	
Belgium		X		
Cyprus		X		
Czech Republic		X		
Denmark			X	
Estonia				X
Finland		X		
France				X
Germany			X	
Greece				X
Hungary				X
Ireland		X		
Italy				X
Latvia		X		
Lithuania/		X		
Luxembourg				X
Malta				X
Netherlands	X	X		
Poland		X		
Portugal				X
Slovak Rep.		X		
Slovenia				X
Spain				X
Sweden	X	X		
United Kingdom	X	X		
Northern Ireland		X		
Scotland		X		
Wales		X		

**I.1 European Union States**

(Input by Tiye International)<sup>11</sup>

**Preface**

<sup>11</sup> Tiye is the umbrella organizations of 22 NGOs of Black, Migrant and Refugee Women and with a Special Consultative Status with the ECOSOC of the United Nations

This paragraph of the report does not claim to be a complete statement on racism, racial discrimination or related intolerance. It is the summary of the result of the analyses of the reports issued from the Declaration and the Plan of Action of the WCAR, Durban 2001 and the National Action Plans against racism (NPAR) in the member states of the European Union.

In this context it is relevant to say a word about definitions and it is extremely difficult to define racism and racial discrimination in a precise way. The definition of the International Convention on the Elimination of all forms of racial discrimination (CERD / 1965, article 1.1) is a point of reference and to take into consideration that this international definition, used by the United Nations, should be read. Racial Discrimination is defined in article 1.1 of the CERD as:

“ Any distinction, exclusion, restriction or preference based on race, colour, descent, national or ethnic origin which has the purpose or effect of nullifying or impairing the recognition, enjoyment of exercise, on an equal footing , of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural or any other field of public life.”

This definition does not meet all requirements (think for example that some states distinguish in law between citizens and non citizens (see also article 1.2.). It does not cover gender discrimination; however gender discrimination is addressed by the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women, (CEDAW, 1979).

We have to be aware constantly that only when racism is named and not denied, racism can be recognised, understood and addressed effectively.

In the key findings from the Euro barometer and the European Social Survey, Summary March 2005, it is clear that the attitudes against ethnic minorities, immigrants and asylum seekers are key indicators of levels of intolerance in society. The European Union agency for Fundamental rights (FRA), (former EUMC) had commissioned a major analysis of the results from the 2003 Euro barometer survey on majorities' attitudes against minorities. The result also has implications for how politicians and the media refer to these minorities in Europe. Media and political support for dimensions of ethnic exclusionism are both influenced by the dominant populations' attitudes towards minorities... (See Annexes)

Therefore public attitudes related to minority populations in Europe need to be carefully monitored and appropriate policies introduced in an effort to avoid more hostilities and the potential for conflict.

## 1. Methodology

- First, the methodology for this Report was to analyse the available reports issued from the WCAR Durban Declaration and Program of Action by the European Union States and the National Action Plans against Racism (NPAR).
- Secondly, a target group of AADs were selected to be interviewed by telephone and compared with the first observation.

A summary of the result of the methodology is reflected in the paragraph evaluations. Since 2001 several EU Member States have worked on their National Action Plans in very different ways. To date there have been determined that the implementation of any action plans will be undermined by a lack of clarity and ambiguous language in most of the NPARs (National Action

Plans. Even if the NPAR clearly designates a specific task to a specific ministry, lack of time frames and vague language can lead to government departments criticized by an NGO Alliance for failing to provide for specific timed actions. Clear sustainable outputs are still missing.

## 2. Evaluations

- Most of the implementation NPARs has not been evaluated and there is no standard on how to measure the impact of government's efforts. The EU Member States that have evaluated their action plans are Sweden, the United Kingdom and the Netherlands. Belgium and Finland are still in the process of evaluations.
- The evaluation of the United Kingdom's NPAR, focused on the progress that has been made in public services (education, the labour market, housing, health and the criminal justice system), progress in integration at the local community level and how the legal framework can protect against discrimination. It concludes with a section on statistics and areas where improvement is vague about what actually has been done. The concrete recommendations for future action plans are limited and there is little criticism and review of the current plans.
- **In the Netherlands** a NPAR was realised in 2002. The (former) Minister of Immigration and Integration informed the Parliament in 2005, for the first time, on the progress in the implementation of national action plan. In the Netherlands, the coordination Ministry is supposed to send the Parliament an update every year of the progress, so far this has happened only once in the past years. This is not in accordance with the Durban Declaration 2001 and Program of Action, Durban/2001.

The issue of "structural racism" is not clear addressed and related anti discrimination regulations in this context are invisible till now. "Structural Racism" refers to forms of racism and other forms of discrimination that are not institutionalised, rather than individual, generated by the economic and social institutes operate in education and at the labour market for example, but not limited to these areas. Discrimination occurs through subtle mechanisms in which racism is often difficult to detect, indirect and improvable.

- **In Sweden** there exist problems between the national and local level of government and these are addressed in the Swedish NPAR report. In Sweden, the terms multicultural and intercultural for example in education are used synonymously and interchangeably.

There is also a need for the development of anti racist awareness training for all teachers. (Swedish National Focal point, 3003, pp 25f.)

- **In Finland** the co-operation between the national and the local level is a potential problem as the municipalities of Finland enjoy a high degree of independence. This implementation problem is quite common where different levels of government of different departments pass responsibilities between each other. Therefore it is imperative that in the future the plan that names of the persons and administrations that are responsible for particular actions are recorded for review.
- **Belgium, Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Finland, Ireland, Latvia, the Netherlands, Poland, the Slovak Republic, Sweden and the United Kingdom (including Northern Ireland, Scotland and Wales)** have initiated NPARS. However the content of these plans varies widely. There

is no consistence in definitions for words such as racism, equality, justice, **diversity** etc. No doubt this will strongly inhibit the need to have a common resolution of the European problems in African society and/or communities.

- Austria, Germany and Denmark have prepared a plan of action but to this date (November 2006) nothing **specific** have been implemented related to the Durban Declaration or Plan of Action
- One of the problems that **occurs** from having access to other (**digital**) reports is the fact that they are in languages which **NGOs for example** do not have immediate interpreters **for** or the reports have not yet been made available to download.

### 3. Conclusions and Recommendations.

- Five years after the WCAR Durban 2001, less than half of the EU Member States have initiated a NPAR. Only a few have been evaluated.
- None of the AAD respondents (20), those who have been interviewed factually understand how any of the plans of action positively effect their lives and communities.
- There are extreme weaknesses with the implementation of the action plans in general such as, lack of clarity on responsibility for local authorities. The responsibilities of the government are fundamental, to enact fair laws to ensure that justice is administered impartially and equality is guaranteed in political and economic life.
- Economic and Social policies should also be judged by their racially discriminatory effects and not merely in terms of their intention.

Monitoring and more appropriate policies are urgent needed to avoid more hostilities and the potential of conflict.

- Evaluation of the action plans is essential in order to review both positive progress and to understand the weak points of previous action plans and the challenges that need to be addressed.
- There is no consistence in definitions for the following, but not limited to:

Racism, diversity and integration. Therefore consistencies in these definitions should be on the political agenda to promote non discrimination effectively in society at all levels.

- As long as there are no comprehensive actions plans developed and presented to the governments of the EU States, their government agencies will not be able to systematically deal with the issues put forth at the WCAR Durban 2001.

It is imperative that all EU Member States develop and implement a NPAR in order to enhance quality for all peoples and societies of the world especially when we take into consideration that the year 2007 is the “European Year of Equality for All” and that there is no posture of program, in the context of the Durban Platform of Action 2001, on any of the European agendas for 2007.



## Resources

- EUMC Annual report 2006, Regarding Racism and Xenophobia in the EU Member States/Austria.
- Key findings from the Euro barometer and the European Social Survey, EUMC 2005.
- National Report from the Relevant Websites of Member States in the EU.
- ENAR fact sheet 2006 RE: The Implementation and Evaluation of the National Action Plans/Belgium.
- The Resistance and Mutation of Racism, International Council of Human Rights 1999 / Switzerland.
- Social and Cultural Sensitivity in Labour Market Organisations, Tiye International – Towards a Workforce Without Discrimination – NL 2005
- Interviews with AADS.
- Migrants, Minorities and Education in 15 Member States of the European Union.  
**Report submitted by Dr. Mikael Luciak, 2004.**

## **I.2 The Netherlands:**

(input by Sophiedela and ADD Network Holland)

### **I.2.1 A short background about the Dutch Colonial History**

The Dutch entries into the Slave Trade start in 1597.

By the 1600s, the Caribbean became the sugar archipelago due largely to ideas perfected by the Dutch in Brazil, English and French enterprise, and Afrikan slave labor. The Slave House, designed especially for the detention of slaves waiting to be sold or shipped, was built by the Dutch and is the symbol of the crime against humanity. When the Spanish expansionists “rediscovered” Suriname at the end of the 16th Century they encountered the Indigenous people of that Territory. At that time their number was around 70.000. The Spanish expansionists took their Land and furthermore enslaved them. After the Spanish expansionists left, they were replaced by British and Dutch expansionists.

At the census of 1919/1920 around 1.400 Indigenous people were left in Suriname. These people virtually disappeared as a result of:

- Contagious diseases that the European expansionists brought with them to the New World;
- The losses they suffered during the wars with the intruders;
- Alcohol abuse;
- Destruction of their agricultural grounds by the intruders;
- Sexual misconduct of the intruders towards Indigenous women drove many into suicide.

In 1634 the Dutch captured Curacao from Spain. Curacao was in the eye of the Dutch an effective mission post because of the natural harbor in the Caribbean. The slaves were being bought and sold to the neighboring countries.

In 1660 Curacao became the Centre of the Caribbean Slave Trade. Hundred and twelve thousand enslaved Africans were sold.

In 1713 the decreasing began due to the English concurrency.

In 1795 the (so called) Slave Rebellion with Tula and Karpata broke out. Tula and Karpata were killed by the Dutch, and the resistance towards the Slave Trade was growing. Western New Guinea, Dutch East Indies: Indonesia, Cape Colony, Suriname, The Dutch Antilles, Brazil, and New York all countries that were under Dutch colonial rule. The Dutch fortress and activities along the West African coast were mainly in connection with the Dutch role in the slave trade and in Christian missionary work. The Dutch colonies were initially founded and governed by the East en West Indies Trading companies (The East Indies Company is known as the VOC founded in 1602), the main instruments through which Dutch commercial power in Asia and the new world was built. The Dutch also used Indonesian people as slaves extensively in their Eastern Empire and some Japanese slaves at their base at Nagasaki. This changed dramatically when the West Indies Company grasped fully the potential for profit in the African slave trade. The Company began systematically to challenge the Portuguese on the West African coast for slave stations. In August 1637 Johan Maurits, the company’s governor in Northern Brazil, led a fleet of nine ships in the capture of the Portuguese fortress Elmina on the Gold Coast Luanda and other Portuguese coast settlements experienced the same troubles. At first the main sources of slaves were Guinea, Angola, and the Congo; the main Dutch market was in Brazil and the Antilles.

The Dutch West Indies Company found that it was able to supply the Spanish and French as well as the Dutch colonists with slaves, as this trade proved a more lucrative contraband activity than the privatizing already taking place. With the establishment of Curacao as a slave depot in 1654 and transformation of the Lesser Antilles into sugar-producing islands, the slave trade became the main occupation of the West Indies Company for the rest of its existence.

By 1668 a warehouse on Curacao could house 3000 slaves for immediate delivery. In 1675 the Dutch finally obtained the asiento from Spain, through a surrogate, the Portuguese Antonio Garcia, and in the 1680 it came briefly into the hands of the Amsterdam merchant house of Johannes and Balthazar Coymans.

Despite the growing competition between slavers of various nationalities made enforcement of this license impossible, Dutch involvement in the trade would remain sufficiently high for them to account for shipment of some half-million Africans to the Americas before it ended. Period after the Abolition in 1863 illegal transportations of enslaved Africans still went on for almost ten years.

### **1.2.2 Introduction Slavery in Brazil and Suriname (South America), and the Caribbean**

In May 1697 the Dutch exposed their production plan for their newly seized colony Suriname from the British. It was their intention to produce on at least 1.000 only sugar plantation enterprises 120 million kilograms of sugar for the Amsterdam Commodity Market. The expected returns amounted at an annual turnover of 67 million in prices of those days. In reality the Dutch managed to produce no more than around 10 percent of the forecast. In order to produce these expected revenues the Dutch and other Expansionists organized the massive forced migration of Africans to the New World. It is expected that 300.000 to 350.000 Africans were enslaved and shipped to Suriname. Research has showed that The Dutch were the cruelest slave-owners amongst the British, Spanish and Portuguese Slave-owners with a great deal of the Jewish Dealers. For calculation purposes the average amount of 325.000 persons has been used. These voyages continued for centuries, until due to different circumstances, where under the resistance by the maroons and the Dutch abolitionists slavery was abolished in 1863. Before that In 1818 Holland and the British signed an Act to end the Slave Trade.

In 1821 England proclaimed the Abolition While Holland in 1863. At the date of the Abolition the number of enslaved Africans was 32.911. This implies that 292.089 Africans did not survive this Maafa.

### **1.2.3 The Process of the development of the National Action Plan**

#### **1.2.3.a European Union Policy and the Policy of the Member-states**

“The EUMC Annual Report 2006 the Situation regarding Racism and Xenophobia in the Member States of the EU follows the structure of previous years, in that it covers developments in five thematic areas: employment, housing, education, racist violence and crime, and legal and institutional developments relevant to issues of racism and discrimination during the year 2005. As with last year’s report, there is a separate chapter devoted to each of these five thematic areas. However, one new Development for this year is a further chapter which describes relevant developments during 2005, at the level of the EU and the European Commission, rather than at the level of individual Member States.

The EUMC will continue to give its support to the European Union and its Member States in their efforts to promote integration, fight racism and discrimination, and demonstrate the positive value of diversity and equality. It continues to support the European Commission on its agenda to work on integration and on combating violent radicalism.”

### **I.2.3.b. Contribution of AAD Organizations**

1. In The Netherlands a large network of AAD organizations on several occasions has delivered input for the National Action Plan
2. In April 2004 a Petition was handover to the Dutch Parliament regarding the cut of the African Chapter in the National Action Plan and because of the Institutional Racism
3. In November 2005 an Expert meeting<sup>12</sup> titled “Focus on Black” was organized. One of the main focus at the Expert meeting was a debate of the yearly celebration of the Sinterklaas Tradition in December. The concept of the celebration of Sinterklaas, with Black Petes as his companions, provides a negative image for children in relating to Dutch people of African descent, for instance the projection of a superior white “race” expressed as the good and holy Sinterklaas against an inferior black “race” acting as a silly Black Pete as a servant, as food for the concept of supremacy and inferiority; the celebration of Sinterklaas accompanied by Black Pete is explicit racism because of the exploitation of black slaves/immigrant workers as servants. The Myth of Sinterklaas does not acknowledge the Rights of the Individual, especially Human Rights in several International Law and Values such as the European Convention of the Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms (ECHR), The International Act of the Rights of the Child, the Resolution of the Global Afrikan Congress Europe of 2003 October 5th, and the United Nations Draft Declarations and Programme of Action and the related Bridgetown Protocol. Due to the implementation of Article 13 in the ECT Agreement, there is a legislative basis from which the European Union can undertake actions against States and individuals, who are supposed to adopt policy or practices as specified in the Evrigenis Report and the Declaration against Racism and Xenophobia from 1986.

### **I.2.3.c. The Dutch Final NAP Document**

The Dutch National Action Plan in its present form does not show any evidence of acquired insight in the form of respect and acknowledgement for the exceptional position of the descendants of the victims of the Dutch colonial and transatlantic slave trade.

The document as presented is insufficiently directed towards the measures and facilities concerning Africans and African descendants in the Diaspora. The Dutch National Action Plan also is not implemented according the Draft Declaration and Action Plan of the WCAR, Durban 2001, South Africa.

### **I.2.4 Conclusion**

- According to the EUMC annual Report 2006 the European Union did not implement the Action Plan regarding the Durban Draft and Declaration 2001.
- The Perspective in the European Report is a reflection of the National Policies of the European Member-States. The European Union, just like the Member-States, did not address the specific institutional Questions of AAD-peoples living in Europe, in the Action Plans.
- The European Union and its Member-States are refusing to look at the effects of the Trans Atlantic Slave Trade and slavery on AAD-peoples. The anxiety from the European Union, and the Member States for Reparations because of the effects of the Trans Atlantic Slave Trade and Enslavement of African people, just as the problem that there is no unity amongst AAD-

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<sup>12</sup> Organised by the Working Group (Combat Afrofobia) of the NPRD in cooperation with LBR (facilitator), NiNsee (Chairing) and SIO. Keynote Speaker was Omali Yeshitela, Chairman of the International Reparation Tribunal

peoples, could be fundamental for the fact that the Voice of AAD-peoples has not been heard.

- Ignorance and arrogance, from the perspective of Europeans in general, are also fundamental for not having a Policy towards AAD-peoples.

**An Example:** In 1998, on the Initiative from the African European Women's Movement Sophiedela, led by Mrs. Barryl Biekman, the Foundation National Dutch Slavery Past (LPS) was founded. The goals of this Platform, in which several organizations of descendants of enslaved Africans were unified, were on speaking terms with the Dutch Government, to build a Static - and Dynamic Monument for the Commemoration of the Dutch Slavery Past. After several Meetings with the Minister of Integration, State-secretary of Cultural Affairs from the Department of Education, and long deliberations with senior officers, an agreement has been concluded to build the Static Slavery Monument, and a year later, the Dynamic Monument NINsee. This Process began long before the World conference against Racism in Durban 2001. In all the Meetings, and in the Reports, there was never an action of Reparation.

Suddenly, after the WCAR, the Dutch Government and senior Officers begin to talk about the Monuments as if they were compensation for Reparation, and as it was their Initiative.

- The method used for this report was to analyze the available Member-States Reports, but a target group of AAD and NGO's were interviewed and compared with the first observations, none of the documents and reports were analyzed
- The AAD-peoples need to emphasize that in no way these Monuments can be an outcome of Reparations for the crimes against humanity by the Dutch in their Slave Trade and Slavery Past.
- Since the European Union is the Leading Institution regarding the WCAR Durban Draft and Declaration, the Member-States have the Opinion that they are entitled to follow their own Policy in the National Action Plans. Therefore a significant paragraph for Africans is cut in the European and Member-States' Action Plans.

### **I.2.5 Recommendations**

1. The AAD-peoples urge that an Afro centric redefinition of the Terms Racism, Racial Discrimination, Neger (nigger), and Maafa are necessary because of the ongoing Rhetoric's of members of Parliament, politicians, artists, and journalists who think that because of "freedom of speech" it is permitted that they can say everything or calling people by racist names, even if it is offensive for non-white people "RACISM is a system of domination, of one race by another, which combines the superstition of racial hierarchy with a racialized structure of socio-economic domination and exploitation, and which is instituted and maintained by the violent practices of conquest and suppression, including torture, terrorism and mass murder."

2. To sanction the use of the term "neger" (nigger in English);

3. To add a paragraph AAD-peoples in the Europe - and National Action Plans of the Member-States. The European Union and the Member-States has the moral plight to identify the Institutional Questions as an effect of the Trans Atlantic Slave Trade and Enslavement. In relation to this the proposal is made that the European Union should emphasize its obligation to eradicate Racism and Xenophobia by pointing out to the Member States that expressions of racism, conscious or not, exist within traditionally

cultural folklore like the Dutch Celebration of Sinterklaas; The celebration of Sinterklaas has components of daily institutionalised racism, which need to be eliminated and eradicated immediately. The elimination of the celebration of Sinterklaas will be a form of "self-reparation", and has a direct relation with the process of healing from the slavery syndrome of Africans and descendents of enslaved Africans in the Diaspora, and fits in the same category as the term "Neger" to identify AAD-peoples. (The celebration of Sinterklaas is also comparable with American minstrel shows, which were famous and respected in the white world during the Civil War, when workers dressed and painted as black plantation slaves, was eliminated because of the racist elements these entertainment shows presented)

1. This is not issued according to the WCAR Durban Declaration and Program of Action.
2. The last proposal is the outcome of the feelings expressed by the several national and international Organizations, who would like to bring attention to the structural and institutionalised Racism;

### **I.3 France and the French Colonies**

(input by MIR Network)

#### **I.3.1 A short background on the colonial history of a still colonial country: France**

The French Colonies are not homogenous.

**Concerning black people :**

- **Nearby Australia**, Nouvelle Calédonie (New Caledonia) in national language, KANAKY; French state completely destroyed the movement for independence killing all the heads, and organised migration so that indigenous people are now minority in their country (one of the most important reserve of Nickel). For 2004 natives have launched a process of reconciliation (after so much blood, and the blood of the best) and try progressively to recover;
- **In East Africa**, two islands: nearby Madagascar, La Reunion (African descendant of enslaved people largely mixed with whites, Indians, Chinese, Arabs...) & in the archipelago of Comoros, Mayotte island, with an homogenous native people culturally matriarchal but Muslims (mixed a bit with Arab who brought slaves),
- **In the Caribbean**, Martinique and Guadeloupe (and a few little islands around, among those the tax haven of half the island of Saint-Martin),
- **In South America**, Guyana. The movement for independence was defeated long time ago, and the indigenous people (AAD and Amerindians) are now minority. People in Guyane are not numerous (around 200.000 inhabitants) and this country is of much importance for the French State not only for the resources (gold, forest...) but because of the space station built on its soil (European (!) rocket).

#### **Background on the French colonial history in America**

**North America:**

It is the year 1534 that the French Jacques Cartier "takes possession" of Canada.

At the next century, France starts a colonization in direction of the south of Canada; the whole territory controlled by the French in the actual area of USA, in XVII and XVIII century, is called Louisiana (immense Territory extending from the current States of Montana and North Dakota at

the Canadian border to the present state of Louisiana in the south). The hostilities between French and British end in the middle of the XVIII century by the loss of the majority of the French "possessions" in North America, and Louisiana is reduced to a portion of territory in the south. In 1803, the crushing of the French troops in Saint-Domingue (see below Haiti) cumulated with the rupture of peace with the United Kingdom, convinces the French State to sell Louisiana to the United States.

#### **Martinique and Guadeloupe (French colonies):**

During XVI century, the rival European colonial powers block the attempts of French colonization in the Caribbean. Thereafter, certain islands (such as Sainte-Lucie or La Dominique) after having changed hands several times escape from France. They are independent countries today.

Martinique and Guadeloupe become French properties in 1635, and the first Africans deported arrive in 1644. The beginning of the colonisation is difficult. But ... *"The Dutch international in outlook, did not limit their pupils to the Barbadians. The expulsion of the Jews from Brazil sent one thousand Dutch to Guadeloupe in 1654 and another three hundred to Martinique. The early French experiments with sugar cultivation and manufacture received a great stimulus from this migration"*.<sup>13</sup>

#### **Guyana (French colony):**

The French attempts to establish in South America, in particular on the littoral of Brazil, are pushed back by the Portuguese who definitively expel the French colonists in 1615 by an armed expedition. The French colonization of Guyana begins in 1604 but is delayed by the resistance of the inhabitants and the lack of means of the colonists; it officially starts in 1652, year of the arrival of the first Africans deported. After a short Dutch occupation which brings the culture of the sugar cane, followed by some hostilities with the English rival, the territory becomes permanently under French control.

#### **Haiti**

It is the year 1697, that Spain acknowledges the control by France of the third of the island. The island had been discovered in 1492 by Cristobal Colon, and the first Africans deported have arrived in 1501.

#### **Regulation and abolitions of slavery in the French colonies**

1685, French kingdom promulgates the Black Code.

1789, French revolution brings up and abandons the idea of abolition of slavery considering the economic loss.

1791, African people enslaved in Saint-Domingue (Haiti) fight for their liberation and success

1794, Considering the well established freedom of former slaves in Saint-Domingue, and its impact on the colonies around, French Republic officially abolishes the slavery. It's the first French abolition.

1802, Emperor Napoleon decides to restore slavery

1802, May, Guadeloupe – Hundreds of fighters who are defeated by Napoleon's troops choose to make themselves explode after having killed as many enslavers as possible (they are the "rebels of Matouba" led among others by Delgres)

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<sup>13</sup> Eric WILLIAMS, From Columbus to Castro, The History of the Caribbean 1492-1969, Vintage books ed. Feb. 1984, p.114 NB concerning the know-how of the Portuguese as soon as XV century, thousands of Jews have been sent by the Portuguese crown to set up plantations for sugar in the islands alongside the African coasts. In particular Cape Verde, Sao-Tome and Principe. In Sao-Tome the slave plantations established at the XV century, are destroyed by at the time of the great revolt of 1574.

1803, November, Saint-Domingue, the Napoleon's troops are crushed by the freedom fighters who proclaim in January 1804 the independence of their country, baptised Haiti. It is the second independent state in the Americas.

1848, second and last French abolition of slavery. The French Republic compensates the enslavers for their loss, order the former slaves to forget and to make up with the former enslavers, criminalizes vagrancy (for those who refuse to stay on plantation and work for the former masters), and organises the coming of workers from India.

Well on, the round table of Addis Ababa is not a conference of history, on the basis of the communications on Surinam (colonial History of the Netherlands & Case study on Reparations), it is the opportunity:

- to show the shared colonial history between the various territories of Americas, and the aberration of divisions, even xenophobia inside our Diaspora of Americas (see 1.3.9 Anti-black Racism and xenophobia in the French colonies),
- to demonstrate the importance to take in hand the writing of our own history and its inscription in the official landscape that is to say, the names of the streets and buildings and monuments.

This is why we present below an outline of a piece of the French Guyana history, based on the oral Guyanese tradition, presented by a member of MIR-Guyana at the commemoration of the abolition of slavery in 2004, and entitled:

#### **Guyana, June 10, 1848 – June 10, 2004**

Du Marronage à la Réparation

(From Escaping as Maroons, Towards Standing for reparation)

The colonization of Guyana began in Armire.

*"The first slaves arrived to Guyana in 1652. They were 15 and had been captured in an English boat. As meanwhile, the Jews had become undesirable in the Spanish and Portuguese colonies, a small group of about sixty of them fleeing Brazil settled in Armire with their slaves. With their confirmed experience of the sugar cane growing, they developed it in Guyana and installed the first sugar refinery as well as a hydraulic mill. It is known that following their departure from the colony to the Suriname, the old church of the district had been built at the exact place where a synagogue stands. After a short English occupation, France will impose itself in Guyana and will install the Jesuits on the lands abandoned by the Jews. The success of this religious congregation is due to the forced labour of the Blacks in slavery".*

At the XVIII century, the forced departure of the Jesuits, the French revolution (1789) and the 1st abolition of slavery (1794), and the development of the city of Cayenne, leads to the decline of Armire. In 1802 slavery is restored by Napoleon, and one records at the XIX century an increase of the colonial productions with the installation of new dwellings.

The principal one is the Mondelice dwelling, belonging to the colonist VIDAL DE LINGENDES. He will even own a steam engine. With 300 slaves, this dwelling becomes in 1830 the largest sugar refinery of Guyana. It will be abandoned in 1880.

Besides the farm work, the Africans are assigned to carry out earthworks, in particular the digging of channels (with eventually paved bottom), the building of dams, and the over deepening of coves, in Guyana as in Surinam. The channels ensure travels and routing of the products, notably the farm produces sent to the Portuguese slave's owners of Brazil.

At the beginning of the XX century, after the volcanic irruption in 1902 of the Montaigne Pelee in Martinique, the city of Armire receives a new flood of population, with the installation of refugees from Martinique. ... Misled by the French authorities, they will be left to their own device and



settled in the most swampy part, and will have to count on the only solidarity of the Guyanese population.

#### **ACCOUNT OF ANTOINE LABONNE, CAPTAIN OF SARAMAKA PEOPLE OF CAYENNE ON THE VIDAL: DWELLING**

*"When we hunted on the area of former Vidal, what the old people of Roura told me, (...) is that VIDAL was a French Jewish colonist associated with a Dutch Jewish colonist, Goliath MARTIAL, who lived in Surinam but came regularly to Guyana. Both had Africans in slavery. (...) What is necessary to know of this relation between these two colonists, is that the slaves whom they owned were relatives (...). When one had a greater number of slaves, he sold some to the other.*

*(...) At Martial-crique in Surinam, there was long before site VIDAL a hydraulic factory. The slaves of Goliath MARTIAL already know how to turn the factory, it was a hydraulic mill. Over there one calls these Negroes "Martial-nenge" and finally as they worked in a factory using water they still had another name « wata bii nenge » (Negroes of the water mill). They are those who were sold by MARTIAL to VIDAL.(...)*

*The first maroons are the Wata bii nenge, but their true name of Africa is Kwabi; these people, their village in Africa is called Massay. (...)*

*(...) In Guyana, there were also maroons among the Negroes of the Vidal plantation, but some were again captured. Like CHENBO. (...).CHENBO had been sold to VIDAL because of its competence and it is from Vidal dwelling that he escaped as maroon until his execution. I do not have the name of the person who betrayed him (...) Her cut head was exposed at the local museum of Cayenne. His head is not there any more but I nevertheless be lucky enough to see it. He was a beautiful Negro. I was 18 years old and when I asked to my father the significance of this gesture of the authorities, he said to me not to seek to understand and to stop going to see the head of CHENBO; that it was not a good thing for me. (...)*

*Concerning the Negroes sold by Goliath MARTIAL... Some of them also were sold by VIDAL to Portuguese slaves owners. Many in the area of Bahia in Brazil. (...)*

*What is necessary to well understand, it is that in this time there were no Saramaka, no Boni, no Djuka (Dju meaning Jew), no Paramaka, Watawai and Kwenti. These names were all given to the Negroes according to the place where they lived. All our languages have a common root, that's why we understand each other, although there are differences between our languages. When we make the communication drum APINTY resound, there is no difference either. Thus at the time, we were all Africans."*

And to end this short travel through French Guyana , let notice that in 2007, the Cayenne airport is still named : "International Airport ROCHAMBEAU". ROCHAMBEAU is the name of the major of the French troops sent in 1802 by Emperor Napoleon to restore slavery, and defeated in 1803 by the Haitian freedom fighters. He remains in the history as the man who hated black people; as the sadistic torturer of Maurepas in Haiti; as the specialist of the use of dogs as weapons, dogs trained to devour human beings...

The choice of the French authorities, in spite of the activists protests, to maintain at the XXI century AD, the name of this man, at this airport, expresses the whole soul of the still alive French colonialism.

#### **I.3.2 Emergence of a black question at the end of the 90'**

Among AAD currently leaving in France, the majority who has migrated to France, arrived from the Caribbean and Africa around the seventies. In the past, all intended to return in their country and lived as staying in France temporarily which helped them to endure racism; and the African

workers returned the most part of what they earned to their countries (... which in the Seventies saved their communities of hecatomb at the time of the dryness in Sahel).

The generation born in France starts massively to be constituted in the Eighties.

Because of the lack of developing prospect, the young people and in particular the graduates, know that they can get out it by leaving, in particular towards England, Canada and the USA where many emigrants of the French ex-colonies are already established, many having migrated to the US directly from Africa.

At the beginning of the Eighties, the protest movement of the young people from Arab Berber descent (in particular Algerian born in the end of the Fifties and the beginning of the Sixties)<sup>14</sup> strongly appears at a given moment on the scene but is deceived by the left wing government, which creates the first antiracism GONGOS to break the dynamic.

Among AAD, to the many existing *development associations* of people originating from the same villages (Africa), and the many *cultural and of solidarity associations* (Caribbean's...), associations more diversified by their purpose are added: politico-cultural Pan-African associations, tontines, choral societies and churches etc.

Politically, in addition to the denunciation of the French imperialism and to the discriminations in France, the issue of the decolonization of the last colonies is revived at the time of the emergence of independent local radio stations, and repression is drastic<sup>15</sup>.

It is only during the following decade that "the black question" succeeds to impose itself in France. At the time of the beginning of the WCAR preparatory process, compared to other western countries with huge black population, France appears as a country where discrimination against Black people is extreme: on top of the "usual" discriminations, a total absence of black journalists at the TV, a total absence of Blacks in prestigious roles in the series, a total absence of recognition of the black talents never yet awarded in France by the cinema and theatre world, a quasi-total absence of Blacks in the politics (out of colonies) etc. It is obvious that France has not moved at the same rhythm like the rest of the world. The reason is quite simple: France is still a colonial country, and it is the French State which ensures its largest companies to continue their plundering in Africa, which constitutes the major share of their profits. As in the time of slavery, the purpose of the French policy is still "to contain the Negroes": politically, economically, and mentally.

From the second part of the Nineties, the movement of occupation of the Churches by illegal migrants (who re-baptise themselves "without papers" - 1996), like the movement for the restoration of the memory of slavery (1998), are started by AAD without the support of French structures ("of solidarity", "antiracist", of "defence of the humans right", trade-union etc.), which at the beginning are hostile to both of them. Those movements are followed by a global movement of denunciation of anti-black racism and second class citizenship (in the media, in the employment, in the housing etc.).

This sudden visibility of the black claim is reinforced:

- by a revival of the denunciation of the criminal imperialist system of France in sub-Saharan Africa with the revelation of the key role of France in the conceptualization and implementation of the genocide in Rwanda in 1994, and the denunciation by a judge from Norwegian descent, of the criminal activity of the Elf oil firm in Africa;
- by the fires of 2005 in Paris (April-August), which put in light the inhuman living conditions of families, primarily African, in full Paris, in XXI<sup>st</sup> century, between bites of rats, lead poisoning, and sometimes lack of running water;

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<sup>14</sup> <http://mibmib.free.fr/>

<sup>15</sup> The President Sankara of Burkina will besides give the political asylum to one activist originating from the French colony of Guadeloupe.

- by the riots of 2005 which start in Parisian suburbs (October-November), as a response to the death of two teenagers, an African and an Arab; coming back home after having played football at the nearby stadium during school holidays, to escape from umpteenth control by the police officers in their housing estate, they run away and jump over the wall of a power station (*the recording of a conversation among police officers shows that they watch the children running to their death without trying to alert them*) and finally two die electrocuted as a third one is seriously injured
- by the rising up of a movement known as "The indigenous", on the initiative of Arab militants, referring to the system historically applied in the colonies to the "subjects of the empire" to whom the civil rights were denied, the justice being for them delivered by the administration rather than by magistrates;
- by Internet, which has unable a critical look of AAD on the French society in the public space; France which had taken great care to maintain the myth to be an example of integration, permanently denouncing the so called "Anglo-Saxon system" of communities juxtaposition, is publicly revealed by the "Non-Whites", as Internet prevent to lock as information.

The movement known as of "Without-papers" (African of the continent and Haitians, 1996) will extend in France to all groups (Asians etc.) and all over Europe.

The movement claiming of the recognition of the tragedy of the trade and slavery will lead at the end of 1998 to introduce a bill which will concretized after a three years fight by the passing in May 2001 of a law recognizing the trade and slavery "crime against humanity".

The preparatory of the WCAR of Durban begins around 1998. In the climate which prevails in France, the State as the well established antiracist organizations and the trade-unions choose to lock information. Knowing that the black community of France at that time is not yet much present on Internet (in the colonies it is worse considering the cost of connection) and that all the "strategic" information is in English, very little are informed of the importance of the next UN conference.

### **I.3.3 Acknowledgement of trade and slavery crime against humanity**

In February 1992, a small group of anti-colonialists members of the Comite International des Peuples Noirs (International Committee of Black People )<sup>16</sup>, protests on the Place of Human rights (Trocadero in Paris) and few weeks later sends a letter to the President of the French Republic to demand to Europe:

- to Acknowledge the three following crimes against humanity : slavery of Black People, Amerindians genocide, African genocide,
- to Restore the memory of the martyrs from one part to another of the American and the African continents,
- to Repair/compensate.

Six years later (1998), consequence of a huge mobilization of the black community, Mrs Taubira, Deputy of French Guyana (*unexpected impact of colonization !*), introduces a bill at the French parliament....

In may 2001, after a 3 years legal battle, the French state pass a law which acknowledges the trade and the slavery crime against humanity, but several major constituents of the Taubira's bill have been deleted. In particular,

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<sup>16</sup> ...referring to the Black People Institute (Institut des Peuples Noirs) designed by Pt. Thomas Sankara middle the years 1980', one of its goals being to restore the historical consciousness among black people.

- the criminalization of the challenging of this particular crime against humanity;
- the right to compensation,
- the correction of the schoolbooks; the law mentions the syllabus which is less accurate.

### **I.3.4 Continuation by the French state of its policy of genocide in its colonies**

The use of the word genocide might seem indecent, it isn't. **Among others**, it is based on:

- 1 ) the so-called "assimilation",
- 2 ) the substitution,
- 3 ) the institutional discrimination in economics

It anticipates the management of the independence one day or another... At that time native people won't no more constitute a *danger* due to their low demography and subordinate existence in the economic system.

#### **1) The so-called "assimilation"**

No need to detail on alienation in the French system. Nothing but classical:

- Absolute Silence on slavery which must be perceived as a shame for the descendant of the enslaved,
- Denigration of the African culture and being,
- Panegyric of the so called West culture and being.

NB: even the broadcast of Roots of Alex Haley was forbidden in the French colonies.

#### **2) The substitution**

A mere transfer of population in the old colonial tradition, both quantitatively and qualitatively, completed by a politics of division among different groups:

- Organisation of migrations of African Descendants to France, versus organisation of Migration of French people to the colonies,
- Migration of French people as civil servants, who control justice (judges 100% white...), police etc. and who for around ten years make a rush in the education (from the nursery school), and even in all the petty jobs like taxi... in the genuine tradition of European settlement,
- Organisation by the French state of migration and financing of settlement (business) of migrants of diverse communities: Chinese in Pacific region, Hmongs in Guyane<sup>17</sup> etc. under the umbrella of defence of human rights if necessary. France can then reorganise the local political game, based on these new groups.
- Prohibitive rates of travel tickets and calls from France to colonies, inducing de facto the weakening of families<sup>18</sup>.

#### **3) The institutional discrimination in economics**

- Institutionalized prevention of the emergence of a black modern economy, by all means necessary rooted in complete illegality<sup>19</sup>;
- Financing on public funds of the endogamy caste of the Descendants of slavers for them to develop their private familial capitalism at a regional level. Colonies already ensure a political French presence in all over the world allowing this country to be part of numerous regional

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<sup>17</sup> NB: during the Vietnam War of liberation which spread to Cambodia and Laos, the ethnic group Hmong has a history of alliance with the US, and of funding by CIA.

<sup>18</sup> even if specific dispositions had been applied to the first generation of migrants (born in the colony) working as civil servants to unable them to travel.

<sup>19</sup> Jet Aviation Service 's case etc.

organisations. France uses currently this colonial caste to reinforce its economical presence in the world capitalism.

### I.3.5 In the after 2001, concealment of both WCAR and Global Compact and put on ice of the Taubira's law

The time of the WCAR preparation matches with the time of a renew rising of the black movement in France as explained before. Moreover, 2002 was the bicentenary of the slavery restoration (*slavery firstly abolished in 1794*) in the French colonies by the official national hero, Napoleon.

#### WCAR

In this "hot" context, French state takes great care to conceal the WCAR, before, during and after the conference.

During the WCAR, the accounts of the mainstream press (held in France only by three big companies) are systematically negative, greeted with derision:

- mess (meaning African mess),
- anti-Jews racism (the top for a meeting against racism), and
- dictatorship in the adoption of the final resolution, which consequently lacks of legitimacy.

After the conference, the main concern of both the French State and the GONGOS is:

- to blot out the memory of the WCAR,
- to go back over the legitimacy of the Taubira's law.

#### TAUBIRA'S LAW:

Firstly, the socialist Prime Minister Lionel Jospin didn't sign the implementing decree.

After having postponed until 2004 the appointment of the committee in charge of the law implementation (and having done it seemingly with a quasi non existent operating budget), in 2005 a kind of lobby appears which firstly works to go back over the legitimacy of the Taubira's law, and later try to empty it. Let's remind some events among others...

**Historians attempt:** ...going back over Taubira's law means going back over the legitimacy of other laws. In 2005, 19 French historians sign a petition demanding the abrogation of the laws on Jew & Armenian genocides as well as of the law on slavery.

**Press attempt:** The AAD had well noted that an obscure professor had written one - inadequate - book pompously entitled "Black slaves trades – Essay on global history<sup>20</sup>" which had been promoted by the press and awarded by the Establishment as the final book on the matter.

But it is in June 2005 at the time of an interview of the author in the French Sunday Time that they understand what is being hatched:

Question of the journalist in connection with the AAD qualified anti-Semites when they mention the enrichment of the Jewish professionals in the system of enslavement:

Answer of the historian: *"This charge against the Jews is born in the American black community from the years 1970. It rebounds today in France (...) It is also the problem of the Taubira's law which regards the black slaves trade by Europeans as a "crime against humanity", including by the way a comparison with Shoah. The black slave's trades are not genocides. The purpose of the trade was not to exterminate people. The slave was a good which had a commercial value that one wanted to make work as much as possible. The Jewish genocide and the black slave trade are*

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<sup>20</sup> Les Traites négrières - Essai d'histoire globale.

*different processes.*" ...Thus, the AAD would be anti-Semites, and the Taubira's law, legally unfounded, result of a mix-up.

One more time, activists must rally to cause this trick to fail. One on a long list.

**Deputies attempt:** the May 5, 2006, (*five days before the first official French commemoration of the abolition of slavery*) 40 deputies of the right wing UMP (Nicolas Sarkozy's Party) send a letter to the President of the Republic to ask for the withdrawal of the following paragraph in the art.2 of the Taubira's Law: "*The slave trade and slavery will be given the place it deserves in school curricula, and in research programmes in history and in the humanities*". The motive adduced being that all subjects must be dealt with, on an equal footing. ...Let remind that this subject (Slavery and Black code, non-abolition of slavery by the Revolution in 1789, restoration of slavery in 1802 by Napoleon and extermination plan in Haiti, compensation to the slaves-owners at the abolition of 1848 etc. etc.) is non-existent in the school-books.

AAD notice: the African history and memory scare the powerful.

### **I.3.6 Denial of the criminal characteristic of colonisation**

The French state fights for half a century to keep its last colonies or to keep it enough time to have significantly changed their population.

**By passing the Taubira's law, it had expected to defuse the tensions.**

**After Durban, it may have been obvious for everyone, that the calculation was incorrect.**

The march of history is the matter and it may be more difficult to brake in a globalise world.

Four years after the passing of the French law on slavery, the February 23, 2005, the French parliament tries to go back in time, by passing on the sly a law with a paragraph on both the historically positive impact of colonization and the imperative to teach it.

The mobilization rises up:

- in France, among teachers and historians, who it abnormal to issue such a law which encroaches upon their job and undermines openly their function;
- in Caribbean and specifically Martinique, among the AAD who denounce one more provocation, one more trick, one more proof of the absolute lack of minimal respect towards all the victims of the criminal colonial system, and specifically towards themselves as enslaved African descendants.

In November 2005, Deputies refuse to amend the law.

In December 2005, the Interior minister, Nicolas Sarkozy, is obliged to cancel his scheduled travel to the colonies of the Caribbean. In Martinique Aime Cesaire has warn that he would not receive him, and the activists that, if he dares to come, they know how to welcome him.

The following month, in January 2006, the President of the Republic who decides by himself to lead the deletion of the paragraph, and five days after the deletion of the infamous paragraph, receives the members of the CPME (Committee in charge to implement the Taubira's Law), to tell them how he appreciates their work and that in accordance with their suggestion, the national date for yearly commemoration will be the May 10.

...Therefore, the determination to prevent a demand of reparation for colonization (Africans, Arabs, and Asians from Vietnam...) remains. And in the meantime, the French state launches through the intermediary of the African Presidents who are under his control, a huge rehabilitation of the image of the colonisation in Africa itself.

### **I.3.7 Reluctance to take in account the specificity of the anti-black racism**

The claim for the acknowledgement of anti-black racism is badly received.

Officially, because France refuses the Anglo-Saxon system of alleged juxtaposed communities, because French Republic gathers citizens linked by their involvement in a republican pact which doesn't take into account the origin.

Also, because the Blacks are not in France the only one discriminated because of their descent: and the fact is that Arabs and Roms in particular are also discriminated in the same register (employment, housing, formation, relations with the administration in general, degrading image...) even if there are notorious differences... After all, in France like in other West countries, monkey cries and banana throwing are inflicted only on black football players in the stadium; and that's only Black people that a famous writer and show man at the French TV dares in 2006 publicly call to sterilise.

AAD notice that the acknowledgement of the anti-Semitism against the Jews (*knowing that France is part of the Allies who overcame the Nazism*) and of Islamophobia (*which one enjoy to make go up to the crusades and to the invasion by Muslims of the Iberian peninsula followed by the Reconquest by the Christians*) does not pose the insurmountable problems raised by the acknowledgement of anti-black racism.

Anti-black racism draws its whole origin in a colonial fact still topical. It is not a matter of the past but of the present, which relates in particular to the current colonial politics of France and to its fatal neo-colonial politics of plundering of Africa which continue.

AAD must therefore clearly pursue the fight for the acknowledgement by France of the anti-black racism and for the acknowledgement of its economic root.

### **1.3.8 Anti-black racism in France**

In France, AAD who are currently officially estimated to 5% (3 millions) went through three stages:

- Until the Eighties: the denial by France of being a white supremacist society<sup>21</sup>;
- In the Nineties: the emergence on the public scene of the eye and judgement of Non-whites on the French history and society;
- From 2001 (Taubira's Law, WCAR, attacks on the World Trade Centre): in a context of increasing disparities, precariousness and poverty, the reaction to this opinion of Non-Whites, largely perceived like an aggression, even a betrayal, with in particular:
  - the challenging by the AAD of the most glorious pages of the official history: a colonial history over several centuries, with in line of sight the "philosophers of the enlightenment era" *mostly living on slaves trade incomes*, the French revolution *which did not abolish in 1789*, and Napoleon, *who restored slavery and promoted segregationists laws* which will directly inspire at the following century the South-Africans. If official French mind has gone blank, AAD seem now determined to help to recover, and seem to have an increasing number of allies among the researchers;
  - and the loss by France of the control on its own image abroad, for example at the time of the riots of 2005 in Paris area<sup>22</sup> and during the "Protest march of the Indigenous" (see 1.3.2).

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<sup>21</sup> Let remind that in the UK, The Commission for Racial Equality has been created in 1976

<sup>22</sup> And US press was not tender considering how French press had been openly delighted during the tragedy of hurricane Katrina in New Orleans, the (bad) treatment of the damages being daily commentated in France as the proof of the failure of the US system thus systematically done in a way implying the superiority of the French humanism.

In 2002, Mrs Taubira, Deputy and woman of African descent from Guyane, stands in the presidential election representing the Party of the Radical Left.<sup>23</sup> She faces a specific boycott by media. Only black important persons make their indignation know.

In 2005, Paris compete to organize the Olympics in 2012, and fails. Media and politics express great bitterness. The AAD notice that the film presented to introduce the French candidature, under the pretence of picturesque, focused on a seemingly ideal time (around years thirties) when the typically French people (Basque beret and French stick) lived among themselves. Those among AAD who listen the Blair's speech after the UK victory, underlying the multiculturalism of London, laugh illicitly. No need to be a big intellectual to see the colour of numerous French winners in sport...

### **About the current atmosphere**

In 2007, among the white majority more and more people introduce themselves openly and without complex as racists. The expression "us, civilized countries" is usual at the television and radio. And the *mantra* directed to foreigners (meaning people from extra-European descent especially African) is: "Love France or leave it" (*as if AAD in France had come by choice for mere tourism!*). Diversity and multiculturalism is globally perceived as negative, and those daily discriminated, who dare to show attachment to their roots, even more if growth in France (*meaning in the mind of the white majority having enjoyed the fruits of French generosity, among which nationality*), are seen as interior enemies, potential danger, divisors splitting up the nation to weaken it. Journalese like political public language is generally extreme<sup>24</sup>.

As for those so called "well integrated", they have often the feeling that when a black person obtains a position of responsibility or a place in a Grande Ecole of Engineering or famous business school for instance, it's as if he had stolen the due of a white one.

### **The spread of the USA Patriot Act in France**

The attacks of September 2001 have allowed a dramatic acceleration of the process towards the integration of the Western police<sup>25</sup>.

The evolution has appeared in full light in France during the last years.

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<sup>23</sup> Parti des Radicaux de Gauche.

<sup>24</sup> During the riots, the scenario seemed to be white Homo Sapiens Sapiens (final stage of the human evolution) facing the import on his land of the archaic African tribal system. Thus in spite of the fact that Arabo-Berber and whites were globally by a wide margin the most numerous to take part to the riots which in October 2005 spread all over the country in the districts confronted with poverty, unemployment and lack of hope. But the focus of press and politics was on Africans, and the prevailing comments led to consider the riots the result of the (lack of) education of children by African families still polygamous and perpetrators of female circumcision and forced marriages (!). Meaning recalcitrant to civilisation and consequently integration. To react to the riots, deputies of the right wing asked for pursuits against several group of rap having formerly criticised the French Republic in their songs. ...But what deserves to be underlined, is the fact that Press and politics served to the public about the riots (October-November 2005), the same arguments used after the fires which had taken place in Paris from April to August 2005 to seemingly justify the tragedy (killed 49, injured 77 great majority of African descent - And criminals still running). Tragedy for AAD and human rights defenders only. Because official France, therefore reputed for its hypocrisy, made not even the minimum to publicly show compassion. African victims had been transformed in defendants. And the protest marches were practically not broadcasted.

<sup>25</sup> For the Nineties, there is a plan to change the police and legal systems in the European countries (notably) to make them evolve towards the US system. Concerning the police, not only institutional integration of the west policies, but even via the unions recently revealed in France by the Mumia Abu Jamal's case; to counter the solidarity in France, the FOP - Fraternal Order of Police from USA gets its alter ego (the right wing French police union) "Alliance" to take over.



Between 2002 and 2004, the judiciary French system has been completely changed to nearby the US one, and the equivalent of the US Patriot Act has been passed (Sarkozy's law and Perben's laws). In the same time, several national watchdogs have been created to control the people considered potentially dangerous and foreigners.

Among the main characteristics of this evolution: the widening of the rights of police officers and French policemen; the reducing of the procedures which carry out to the arrest and judgement; the criminalisation of poverty; the infringement of the presumption of innocence; the development of penal sanctions against minors; the promotion by the French State of the cohabitation of several systems of justice depending on the targeted public, with in particular the recruitment of so called "judges of proximity"; the payment of bonus to those police officers and magistrates who are efficient (meaning who have the highest rates of arrests and convictions); and in addition, an extreme vagueness in the specification of the offence called "organised crime", an offence which allows all kind of emergency measures.

For the moment, in the everyday life, AAD and particularly those who don't have a French nationality, already clearly feel the worsen of repression according to the ethnic origin: the power of the law diminishes and the people suffer more and more arbitrariness, particularly in their relation to the public administration. In addition, strong repression of the solidarity with those targeted becomes the rule.

As regards AAD claims, the will of a huge part of the officials to regain the control of the situation is manifest since the WCAR of Durban: "Let's stop with repent!" is the current slogan.

...Answer truncated to elude the question.

Who has spoken about repenting?

Not AAD in any case. AAD speak about Reparations.

Reparations which pass as much:

- by an integration of the historical FACTS in the history taught in the schools and in the encyclopaedias; facts to replace plots and fill the vacuums aiming to conceal;
- than by financial compensations.

### **The plan of development of the prison business**

The targeting by the media of the black Africans strongly intensified these last years.

AAD are indexed as the non-integrable group.

As said before, at the time of the riots, whereas the images indicated that they were minority, the comments of the press focused on the young black boys and the incapacity of their families, to raise and control them.

In the same time, one notes that the left wing trade unions of the penitentiary employees become alarmed by the current vast plan to build prisons in which design, funding, implementation and daily management are intended to be entrusted to the private sector, the State becoming tenant of the walls. It's obvious that the US model is setting up in France.

Considering the predominantly colonial functioning of the country, it wouldn't be a surprise if the government appointed someone of African descent to implement the infamous plan.

### **I.3.9 Anti-black racism and xenophobia in the French colonies**

In spite of a significant trend of resistance, the French colonies are like the whole Americas, infected with white supremacy. Still alive is the same European legacy of:

- anti-black African racism,

- hierarchy of complexions,
- classification of the various groups inside the Diaspora according to their alleged more or less nearness of the African barbarism. Haitians being considered as the Africans of the Americas<sup>26</sup>.

The specificity of the French colonies is due to:

- the self-denigration by singers and radio/TV hosts<sup>27</sup>,
- the support of the French authorities which allow them to express non-stop racism.

### **One example will be more efficient than theoretical speech on this mostly important matter**

1990, a private television is created in Guadeloupe: in its programming the two pillars are: pornography (which gives its name "©Anal 10") and the filthy speeches on the Blacks in general and on Haitians in particular. These are the speeches of Ibo Simon, the star presenter (Black singer bearing locks) who is each day on the air six days out of seven.

Ibo Simon is sponsored by a particularly wealthy Beke (meaning slaves owner descendant) of Guadeloupe.

The TV broadcasts without the authorization of the French CSA, the Broadcasting Higher Council which monitors broadcasting in France and French colonies.

*...Negroes are incompetent, they never invented nothing, they are not serious... time has come to clean the Guadeloupe of all these assholes, of all this vermin, coming from the close islands... all of that of course in laughing and song, in a selfderision style.*

Then Ibo Simon set up a political party: « Gwadeloup Doubout » (Guadeloupe stand up).

Middle and senior executives and boss of small firm join it. Moreover Ibo Simon canvass explaining his project to create a company to ensure security and safety at all levels: a team of guys wearing uniforms, perfectly disciplined, who could maintain the order including making strikers go back to work if necessary.

And to the general surprise, Ibo Simon is in 1995 elected with 8% of the votes as town councillor in Point-à-Pitre. Two years later, in 1997, he rises up to nearly 15% of the votes.

In 1998, "its" TV gets the official authorization to broadcast.

And 2001, the year of the WCAR of Durban, is also that of the recognition of Ibo Simon who makes his entry in the regional Council and obtains in Point-à-Pitre 22% of the votes at the local elections.

Finally, Canal 10 TV goes one step further : beyond launching true calls to lynch the Haitians, Canal 10 decide to broadcast the images of these expeditions aimed, as Ibo Simon said it, to exclude the "undesirable ones".

And it is only in 2002, that is to say after having raged twelve years, that Ibo Simon is forbidden on the air. It was time. Point-à-Pitre was full with graffitis saying "Haitian get out" and armed militia had started to form.

What is interesting in all that, it is that during twelve years, in spite of the complaints and protests

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<sup>26</sup> Nevertheless the hatred of the Haitian may possibly be related too to the history which makes the Haitian the icon for the global black world activists of the rebellion and victory over slavery and colonization (even if the West does not end to make the Haitian people pay for it). A symbol difficult to stand, for those among people still remaining under colonial domination who don't decide to engage in the fight for liberation.

To the groups in Guadeloupe supporting the candidature of Nicolas Sarkozy during the French election time at the beginning of 2007, and who make higher bid on stopping the flood of Haitian migrants, Gilbert Leonard (GAC/ European Region) uses to retort: "Let France reimburse the ransom of 150 million gold-franc extorted to for independence !".

<sup>27</sup> Ibo Simon and Paulo Albin's cases etc.

(to be started with that of the deputy and mayor of the city) and the constitution of the collective "Call against barbarity", the French authorities made the deaf person ear to avoid to apply the law and have to administer a sentence to this TV. The CSA (French broadcast body) even delivered an authorisation in 1998, well knowing that the programming was heavily racist and illegal. All this in Guadeloupe. A land of resistance which several times challenged the colonial system. And the country of many of those who, in 1992, had written the letter to the French President of the Republic to claim for acknowledging of the colonial crimes and demand reparation.

Let remind that for 1994 a complaint had been lodged against "©Anal 10".

This same year 1994, when another television in the nearby Martinique, TV Moun Matinik<sup>28</sup>, also without the authorization of the French CSA, had carried out its first tests with the broadcasting of "L'aube Noire" (The black dawn), Haitian cartoons on the history of slavery and on the Haitian revolution, as well as of documents on apartheid in South Africa... Without delaying, and without any complaint being lodged, September 21 at dawn, the French Army had unloaded in the town of Saint-Anne, seized the material, destroyed the studios and roughed up its Mayor.

**This same year 1994 too**, which would remain engraved forever in the black memory because of the genocide in Rwanda. A Genocide in which a media had played a central part in the conditioning of the spirits. Free Radio-television so called "of the thousand hills", started in spring 1993. A radio financed and assembled by France. A radio which during one year, before the signal of the beginning of the genocide has been given distilled its poison daily by diffusing comic satires intersected with merry Congolese music. ... it might have been sufficient to scramble the waves, to avoid the worst. Considering this, one must conclude that the worst might have been part of a program in Rwanda too.

### **I.3.10 Institutional fight against racism, xenophobia and related intolerance since 2001**

#### **The French context:**

Since 2001, year of the passing of the Taubira's law (May), and of the WCAR (September), Reparations are the real stake. Officials don't speak openly about it, but many of their political actions and declarations manifest their hidden obsession: how to stamp it out.

#### **Institutionally, which progress recorded since 2001?**

2004, appointment of the CPME, the Committee for the Memory of Slavery<sup>29</sup> in charge of implementing the Taubira's law.

In spite of it having been freeze for too long (law 2001 – CPME 2004), and the members having been appointed seemingly at the beginning without money to work, in three years of existence it has revealed positive. With Pr Maryse CONDE as chair, CPME members have made a huge work, pioneer, and of quality, acting both as experts and as human rights activists.

Human rights activists aware of both the seriousness of the situation and the opportunity for them to contribute to coordinate initiatives and to develop synergies

The committee has drawn up an inventory and statement of state of repair and made concrete proposals about:

- the necessity of a commemoration in France (not only in the colonies where it already exists for many years). A commemoration articulated around the memories and history of the organisation of this crime, and around the celebration of its abolition;

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<sup>28</sup> People of Martinique TV.

<sup>29</sup> Comité Pour la Mémoire de l'Esclavage. <http://www.comite-memoire-esclavage.fr>

- the curricula and schoolbooks from primary to higher education, the pedagogic initiatives, and the training of the teachers;
- the organisation and improvement of the research and its formally link to the international research on this issue; France is a country where forgetting has been organised and silence maintained until recently when silence was broken under the pressure of the AAD;
- archives and collections of artefacts linked to the trade, the slavery and the abolition. To free the archives: private archives are mainly non-accessible (rich families who built their fortunes on the infamous trade resist and can destroy it), and public archives lack identification, are scattered here and there and not easily accessible.

In addition, the Committee currently elaborates a plan of work to develop the knowing and acknowledgement of:

- The past of human trade and slavery,
- Its impact on the present and future,
- The contemporaneous forms of servitude.

And last but not least, the committee works for the creation of a National Centre for the History and the Memory of the slave trade, of the slavery and of the abolitions.

The suggestion of a date for the yearly official commemoration in France was part of the mandate of the Committee, and the official commemoration has become effective, on the May 10, 2006.

In the presence of the President of the Republic accompanied with Ministers and representatives, a solemn ceremony was organised in Paris in the Luxembourg Garden transformed for two months by the huge work of art (musical, photographic, mineral with perfumes and various artefacts and materials) of Lea de Saint-Julien, a woman from Guadeloupe. A long arch of bamboos fifteen and higher, with hanged portraits, entitled “La Forêt des Mânes” (forest of the spirits of the ancestors). The same day, an exceptional concert was presented by the French senate, of the music of the Knight of Saint-George, the son of an enslaved African woman, one of the most creative composers at the end of the eighteen century, and completely forgotten for two centuries.

Many progress have already been registered because of the work of the CPME, and the presence of UNESCO in Paris must favourable the task of the CPME to contribute to articulate the written archives of Europe with the oral archives/tradition of our countries.

Therefore, we know that CPME suggestions won't become effective in schoolbooks if we don't keep the pressure. Secondly, as much interesting is the work began by the CPME, activists must keep in mind that for the moment its mandate still focuses on slave trade, slavery and abolitions, as we urgently need a complete rewriting of the history schoolbooks since the human geneses.

### **WCAR, and national fight against discriminations**

In spite of the power of the internal lobby determined to erase the WCAR, France which remains member of the international community, is obliged to face its commitments at the international level (Europe: EUMC/FRA & ECRI<sup>30</sup>, and United Nations); this fact combined to the internal pressure of the black and Arab denunciation and demand, has led the French State to finally act: in particular,

- by establishing in 2000 the National Commission on Security Ethics (CNDS), to provide comprehensive reports on the behaviour of police officers;

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<sup>30</sup> EUMC/FRA (European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia / European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights) and ECRI (European Commission against Racism and Intolerance).

- by passing in February 2003 a new law which increases the sanction when the offence is motivated by “racism, anti-Semitism or xenophobia”;
- by adopting in January 2004, the Positive Action Plan<sup>31</sup> for the public broadcast,
- by promoting at the end of 2004 a so called Charter for Diversity<sup>32</sup>, probably just to avoid to refer to the WCAR because it appears the mere tracing of *Global Compact* launched in Durban by UN GS Kofi Annan,
- by creating in 2005 (riots being the starter), a High Authority to Fight against Discriminations and for Equality<sup>33</sup> devoted to the general fight against all discriminations (not specifically racial).
- by establishing in 2006 the French National Agency For Social Cohesion and Equality<sup>34</sup>.

It's premature to evaluate the impact of those late initiatives.

In addition, after the increase in the number of the meetings and university publications on the damage of colonization during the past decade, the other constituent put at the agenda by the activists, namely Reparation for this damage, has made its entry in a French university with the first Conference on reparation organized by the English Department of the University of Tours in December 2006. The focus was to have academics and activists of the United States, France and Great Britain talking on Reparations in order to compare the cultural, social, historical and legal basements of their approaches in a global context.

### 1.3.11 Fight of the AAD against anti-black racism since 2001

The struggle of the AAD should logically focus:

- on the implementation of the Taubira 's law
- on the spread of the Durban Agenda
- on the writing of our history and on the development of autonomous media,
- on the development of a powerful Pan-African movement
- on the development of a strong ecumenical movement inside the community.

At the moment, this struggle is in France disturbed by two factors:

- the Blacks/Jews conflict that a few individuals get down to build<sup>35</sup>,
- Money.

### AAD and White Jews in France:

That's a fact that for the last years a tension has developed in France between White Jews and AAD.

Without detailing the many ups and downs of its apparent genesis, one must know that there is a subjacent political plan. Some individuals try indeed to create in France as in the Mediterranean basin, a euro-méditerranéen unity (in this case seemingly meaning for them White, Jews, and

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<sup>31</sup> Plan d'Action Positive

<sup>32</sup> Charte de la Diversité

<sup>33</sup> Haute Autorité de Lutte contre les Discriminations et pour l'Égalité – HALDE - <http://www.halde.fr>

<sup>34</sup> <http://www.lacse.fr>

<sup>35</sup> Neither genuine Jews nor Christians. ...was it the case, they undoubtedly would have better to do. "The call against anti-White racism" is its caricature. Made in March 2005 following the demonstrations of the secondary school students in Paris, this appeal issued at the instigation of Alain Finkielkraut, Bernard Kouchner, Pierre-Andre Taguieff, Jacques Julliard, Elie Chouraqui, and Chahdortt Djavann had been relayed by Radio Shalom and Hachomer Hatzair.

Arabs/Berbers in particular) to confront the AAD, knowing that with regard to colonialism and slavery, and consequently Reparations, AAD are justified to mention equally Jews, Christians and Moslems.

How does it impact on the AAD?

It necessitates a constant watch over and being always ready with a reply, now the main activity of many people or groups.

For those activists, beyond the ups and downs, a fundamental problem remains which need to be resolved: namely,

- the denial in the prosperity of the Jewish community, of the share (seemingly major) provided by the trade and slavery the day before yesterday, from colonization and apartheid yesterday, and from neo-colonialism today;
- the denial of the role (major too) of the reference to the Jewish religious ideology (curse of Kam) in the historical justification of slavery and its current legacy, namely anti-black racism;
- the responsibility (judged by them considerable) in the perpetuation of the dissemination of a racist image of the Blacks, taking into account the particular role of the Jewish community in the media in France (*both by their financing/management and by the number and importance of the journalists of Jewish descent*) and its perfect knowledge (*so alleged by those AAD taking into account the Jewish experience of oppression in Europe*) of the wheels of racist handling.

As long as these problems will not have been dealt with in depth, the same minority of evil individuals will most probably continue to devote itself to manipulate the “communities”.

And in this context, knowing that comrades of Jewish descent are numerous and active in the antiracist movement, and that they manage the main national antiracist organizations in France, non-stop since the war 1939-45, and one should not either be surprised by the radicalism in France of the will to erase Durban.

### **The role of money**

There is a political support and financing behind some organizations and AAD leaders who occupy the front of the scene these last years: that it originates in French parties, in Tripoli and/or in the US Foundations, does not matter. External financing assumes negotiations and assumes to soften and even deflect original agendas.

In France, in the absence of leaders of stature, each and all backers currently compete to quickly create a leadership and organizations in their's pay.

But nevertheless, the AAD in France have made these last years an efficient work, considering that the fundamental problems formerly hidden are now at the agenda (the AAD agenda and even the national agenda) and that a dynamic work of co scientism (itself part of reparation) continues.

And internally, in spite of their lack of means, many black activists do their best to continue to investigate and popularize the global African history, not only around the slavery but since the genesis and through antiquity.

### **1.3.12 Recommendations relating to France and its colonies**

The intensity of racism that AAD undergo is directly linked of the situation of their countries of origin. The completion of decolonization and the continuation and speeding up of the liberation of Africa are the point. The fight against anti-black racism and the fight for the recovery by Africa of its total independence and power are closely dependent.

Meanwhile, we can recommend:

- 1) To put Durban at the agenda in France and in the colonies,
- 2) In the wake of the action of 1992<sup>36</sup> and of the Africans and African Descendants Conference of Vienna held within the framework of the preparation of the WCAR of Durban:
  - to pursue the struggle for the acknowledgement of the criminal character of colonization,
  - to campaign through Africa to denounce on this issue of the instrumentation of the African governments in the pay of the French State, to botch the work of the activists.
- 3) To fight for the complete implementation of Taubira's Law article 3, specifically concerning Europe : « *A petition for recognition of the transatlantic slave trade as well as the slave trade in the Indian Ocean and of slavery as a crime against humanity shall be submitted to the Council of Europe, to international organisations and to the United Nations Organisation.* »
- 4) To fight for the publication<sup>37</sup> of broken down statistics on relevant subjects for the setting in light of discriminations against AAD, in particular:
  - on life expectancy of the AAD in France and in each French colony,
  - on womb removal of black women in France, and in each colony,
  - on caesareans practised on the black women in France, and in each colony,
  - on the rate of cancers of each category, in each French colony
  - on the variation of the ethnicity of the teachers in the French colonies,
  - on the ethnicity of the judges and the police officers in the French colonies
  - on the convictions of the AAD, in France and in the French colonies,
  - on the imprisonment of the AAD, in France and in the French colonies,
  - on the formation of the AAD, in France and in the French colonies,
  - on the employment/ unemployment of the AAD, related to the academic level, in France and in the French colonies,
  - on the funding, both public and private of economic projects submitted by AAD,
  - on the wage level and career of the AAD related to their academic level.

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<sup>36</sup> Demonstration on the Human Rights Place in Paris, by CIPN.

<sup>37</sup> For more than fifteen years important work to tie in statistics (from police, social services, education...) have been done in France which take in account the ethnicity, but they are not made public.

## II. EAST EUROPE-RUSSIA

### II.1 The African People Experience

(Input by Federation of African Organisations in the Republic of Russia)

- Generally, we do not entirely understand the severity of the problems we African People are experiencing in the Eurocentric social systems. The presentation given by the Afro-Russian delegation caused us to realize the urgency for creating global institutions of learning that will enable us to understand the universality of the African social, health, education and economic dilemma.
- The Afro-Russian communities have had a unique experience. Unlike the African in the Western Liberal and Democratic society, their dilemmas are far more subtle and obscured. For example, under the idea of “Peoples Friendship” the European Communistic appeared as if they were “friends of Africa”. Nonetheless, the Socialist regimes and ideas which independent African states embraced from the former communist regime have left degenerating African societies different from the Democratic Liberal ideas of the West.
- The crisis of the Afro-Russian community is one concerning identity, education, economic underdevelopment and poverty.
- There are no major political institutions that have a positive progressive agenda for the Afro-Russian Community. Neither is there any Afro-Russian political leadership.
- When asked, “If there is a “National Position on the status of Africans living in Russian”, the response is negative.
- The racial discrimination against the Afro-Russian community is extreme. Absolutely no legal protection against exploitation and general crime.
- However, there are some Afro-Russian community members who are ready and prepared to fight for change. This constituency is presently organizing and developing the proper documentation to legalize its efforts and initiatives. Due to the lack of information and communication networks in the country, most of the information never reached the general Afro-Russian community. And there is the complacency of many of the Africans living in Russia that change in a far fetched reality so they just settle for the way things are.
- The more general problems are:
  - *The general political problems which face the Post-Soviet Union and the former satellite states.*
  - *Peculiarities of Black Man’s position in Russia.*
  - *Russia social and geographical heterogeneity.*
  - *Social stereotypes.*
  - *Social hierarchies within the Black communities.*
  - *Legal discrepancies – Law and Order.*

### II.2 Resolutions for the Social Dilemmas



- *Organizing and uniting members of the Black communities in Russia.*
- *Public awareness campaigning i.e. waging educational campaigns on tolerance in academic and state institutions, mass rallies and cultural exhibitions.*
- *Integrating the Black Community into the mainstream of Russian society to gain full respect, justice and equal rights as a diverse and unique culture.*

<b>III. North America:</b>
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### **III.1. United States of America**

#### **III.1.1 What Durban has changed?**

(Input by the Pan African and Organizing Committee USA)

- In August and September, 2001, over 700 community based organizations met in Durban, South Africa as part of the UN WCAR. Some groups were small in terms of membership, and some huge; some were officially registered NGOs within their respective countries, and some were makeshift and bootstrap oriented operations. These all met for a week in the Durban Soccer Stadium as the first part of the overall WCAR.
- The primary objective of this gathering was to allow organizations to network, state their missions, describe their track records at getting things done, and basically to speak in their authentic voices and to tell their own stories to a worldwide audience. Through tent-talks, press conferences, t-v interviews, panel discussions, meetings with students, and daily news coverage of the triumphs and foibles of such a large undertaking, all those objectives were met.
- The secondary objective was to have that motley crew organize themselves into an Interim Executive Council and produce a written document of issues, aims, principles and approaches toward higher ground that could be used as a reference point for the 155-nation heads of state, foreign ministers, and ambassadors who were meeting during the WCAR's second week. There was a very great deal of difficulty in getting that document done, which was a testament to enthusiasm, energy and a singular lack of political discipline in that short a space of time by that many groups (in spite of the several pre-coms that occurred in various parts of the world prior to Durban).
- The overall political-economic result of the twin gathering was the now famous, 'slavery and the slave trade are crimes against humanity and should have always been seen as such, and the UN Plan of Action, both of which were eventually approved by the General Assembly. Clearly, there were other gains too, including the mature diplomatic skills shown by the Diaspora representatives which helped to secure the WCAR's final negotiated language, UNESCO's public dissemination of its new *Slave Routes* text, the Dalits of India demonstrating sophisticated PR aplomb in letting the world know of their existence and their crisis, etc.
- In order to properly assess the WCAR, one must look at a representative proportion of those NGOs and civil society groups (at least 350) in the post-Durban years to see whether: (1) women are abused less and encouraged towards leadership more, (2) relevant anti-discriminatory laws have been passed, (3) racism and intolerance have at least lessened in most areas (as demonstrated by a reduction in hate crimes, police profiling, wetc.), (4)

sexism and xenophobia have been repeatedly challenged and publicly exposed, (5) female genital mutilation has become extinct, (6) the war against HIV-AIDS and preventable epidemics is going to the 'good guys for a change, (7) child and female slavery have been expunged de facto, (8) religious and sexual orientation persecution have at least been addressed in a rational way, and (9) the world in general was safer from genocide and ethnic cleansing than it had been in 2001.

- Essentially, the assessment should be about whether the world is a better place yet and have we reached any higher moral ground? But the answer to that is definitely no, not yet, even before and without the empirical evidence that is available. Daily news coverage tells enough of the ugly truth about where we still are. But the major issues are being addressed in large portions of the planet. Positive steps, some infinitely hesitant and small, and some very substantial, are occurring. There is a broader hope and light because of the WCAR and its subsequent Plan of Action.
- Let the Durban plus 5 (or 6 or 7) begin there: the journey is still a bridge too far, but enough things are being attempted to justify the compilation of successes and failures and the future of the efforts.

### III.1.2 The after 911

(Input by CIPS-MAJ)<sup>38</sup>

The attacks against the World Trade Centre towers are perpetrated on September 11, 2001. As soon as the next October, a set of laws are passed in the USA in the name of the fight against terrorism

#### The USA Patriot Act

These laws mark a historical regression of the freedom of individuals: more particularly, a new legal statute appears, of "enemy combatant", "illegal combatant", who allows to detain indefinitely someone described as terrorist, thus without notifying the charge and without judgement.

These laws undermine both, the freedom of expression and the rights of defence (reasons for the arrests not specified to the person concerned, absence of judgement, end of the confidentiality of the correspondences between the defendant and his lawyer when he is allowed to have one etc...) and legalize the violation of the private life (trivialization of phone tapping, of searching, of collecting confidential information from banking records or medical or even libraries etc).

These laws constitute a major historical roll-back and the official swing of the power in a system of dictatorship and arbitrary: Such turn which takes place in a few weeks, has been made possible by the climate of panic and paranoia in which the attacks and the great "official" media plunged the inhabitants of the USA.

*And last but not least, the promoters of this infamous Patriot Act plan to make its copy passed in the whole West.*

NB: It is important to stress that hundreds of cities in the USA via their elected representatives entered in resistance against the Patriot Act.

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<sup>38</sup> Collectif International Panafricain de Soutien à Mumia Abu Jamal et aux Prisonniers Politiques des USA / International Pan-African Collective to support Mumia Abu Jamal and the Political Prisoners in the USA

### **III.1.3 The question of the historical US political prisoners still unresolved.**

(Input by CIPS-MAJ)

... In 1978, during an interview in Paris with the newspaper The Morning, Andrew Young, a close friend of the Reverend Martin Luther King and the first African-American ambassador of the United States with the United Nations states: "*There are hundreds, perhaps even thousands, political prisoners in the American prisons*". This declaration leads to his immediate dismissal by democratic President Carter... In fact, there are long-standing political prisoners in the USA, prisoners who pay their involvement in the struggle against racism, prisoners who are mainly African-American.

They denounce the violence and the bribery of the police force, of the legal system and of the political apparatus, the racist administration of the death penalty and the rule of a real State terrorism: (see Documents of the United Nations, Amnesty International etc.).

They denounce the collusion of the American authorities with the rings of production/ processing/ imports/ marketing of drugs and, before their arrest, were generally engaged in a militant struggle against the distribution of narcotics in particular in the black community (Besides, one of the columns of Mumia Abu-Jamal is entitled: "CIA, lords of Crack").

They denounce the planning at the highest national and international levels of the genocide of certain populations and in particular of the populations of African origin in the USA and in the rest of the world (and the reports of the surveys carried out in South Africa after the fall of apartheid confirm it).

They denounce the swindle which originates the boom of the imprisonment in the Eighties in the USA;

These humans right defenders are the prisoners of the war carried out by the black people in the USA against racism and segregation.

### **RECOMMENDATION**

Their release is a priority and an action plan must be elaborate urgently.

### **III.1.4 The US industrial carceral complex still prosperous.**

(Input by CIPS-MAJ)

It should be recalled that at the beginning of the Seventies the number of the prisoners was close to that of 1950 and that the American authorities were on the point of closing large penitentiaries in Georgia, in Kansas and in the State of Washington.

In less than one decade, one attends the installation of a real prison industrial complex whose openly acknowledged objective is to bring the production cost to the level of what it is in the countries such as Mexico. With nearly 2 millions prisoners and half of African origin whereas the

Africans do not reach 15% of the total population what is at stake is a process of re-  
esclavagisation, which unable a relocation of work inside the US.

The strategy is implemented at the beginning of the Seventies, following two decades of intense  
political dissent in the USA.

The building and management of prisons becomes a tremendous business.

One of the tools for its development is the passing of anti-drug laws... one dealer is liable to be  
sentenced to life. The "anti-drug war" and the growth or the keeping of enough poverty makes it  
possible to fill the prisons;

That is how the flourishing prison business continuous to develop, and like any source of profit, is  
intended to corrupt the rest of the world. It is in particular what is brewing in France.

III.2.1 Anti-Black Racism in Canada

- This Summary speaks to the impact of anti-Black racism on African Canadians, i.e. African descendant people living in the Canada, and how our situation relates to your conference here today in Addis Ababa, April, 2007, and the Resolutions on Racism, at the World Conference against Racism (WCAR).
- The history of African Canadians is one of slavery, segregation, economic marginalization, and legally-sanctioned discrimination experienced over the last two centuries. The legacy is manifested in the current social, economic, and political marginalization of African Canadians in Canadian society. This marginalization is evidenced by the lack of representation of African Canadians in the mainstream; the lack of opportunities; lower socio-economic status; higher unemployment; significant poverty; overrepresentation in the criminal justice system; and the alienation of African Canadians.
- Canada has an international reputation as an advocate against intolerance and as a protector of human rights. In theory and policy, Canada has a well-established human rights protection system, which is established under the *Character of Rights of Canada*. For example, in the province of Ontario, the *Ontario Human Rights Code* states that:
  - *“Every person in Ontario has the right to be free from racial discrimination and harassment in the social areas of employment, services, goods, facilities, housing accommodation contracts, etc.”*
- Unfortunately, under that veneer of protection from racial discrimination, there is glaring evidence of anti-Black racism in Canada. Research shows that African Canadians continue to experience racial discrimination in numerous areas, including social and economic marginalization in the society. Therefore, in any social analysis, we can conclude that African Canadians continue to encounter problems of racism in the educational systems, the criminal justice system, the employment sector, business opportunities, health, housing and social services.
- Anti-Black racism in Canada is manifested in racial prejudice, stereotyping and discrimination directed at African Canadians. Anti-Black racism in Canada can range from subtle to blatant, but in whatever form, its effects are extremely devastating. The most significant results are the social and economic marginalization of African Canadians.
- The subtlety of anti-Black racism in Canada permeates its institutions. For example, a cursory examination of the educational systems across the country shows a blatant disparity of underachievement and disproportionate dropout rates of African Canadian students. Unemployment and underemployment rates among African Canadians, especially among the youth, are disproportionately high. Research shows that there is a gross overrepresentation of African Canadians in the criminal justice system.
- Negative stereotyping of African Canadians is often perpetrated and reinforced by the Canadian mass media. This same media influences the formation of public agendas and policies, which in turn, can determine the success or failure of the equitable development of the African Canadian community.

### III.2.2 Recommendations

In light of the brief summary above, included are some actions that the Canadian government should and must take immediately:

1. *Recognize the African Canadian community as a distinct and historically disadvantaged group because of anti-Black racism in the society.*
2. *Acknowledge that anti-Black racism is a result of historic injustices against African Canadians, and that realistic measures must be put in place to correct the damages.*
3. *Develop measures to address the underachievement of African Canadians in the school systems, the high unemployment rate among African Canadians, and the over-representation of African Canadians in criminal justice system and correctional institutions.*
4. *Develop measurable policies and programs to ensure the economic development of African Canadian businesses, by ensuring access to government contracts and procurement.*
5. *Collaborate with the leaders in the various African Canadian communities in identifying the problems that anti-Black racism has caused, and injecting the necessary resources to rectify and correct the problems.*
6. *Engage the expertise and resources within African Canadian communities, implementing new and existing recommendations which focus on the cause, effects and remedies of racism in Canada.*
7. *Acknowledge and support the claim that reparations for Slavery and anti- Black racism and racist practices should be compensated by governments responsible for these practices.*
8. *The comprehensive implementation of and follow up to the Durban Declaration and Program of Action*

I CASE STUDIES

I.1 Mental Health: From the Slave Laws of the 18<sup>th</sup> to the Mental Health Acts of the present

I.2 Africans and lead poisoning in France: Story of State crime which continues

II EUROPEAN RETICENCE TO ACKNOWLEDGE ANTI-BLACK RACISM

III RECOMMENDATIONS

## I. CASE STUDIES

### **I.1 Mental Health: From the slave Laws of the 18th to the Mental Health Acts of the Present**

(Input by the Society for the Resettlement of Caribbean Nationals/Barbados)

#### **Preface**

- Although the report from the Society did not address the broader content of the subject in review we yet selected to focus on this particular topic of importance because it gives us a factual matter to understand how racial discrimination still dominates the African societies and communities. Situations such as this should be the main responsibility for the Declaration and Program of Action.

#### **Introduction**

***“Health is a complete state of physical, mental and social well-being and not merely absence of disease” ‘World Health Organization’ definition 1947***

- The United Nations World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance (UN WCAR) held in Durban South Africa, in 2001 concluded that the Trans-Atlantic Trade in Afrikans and Colonialism were crimes against humanity. The subsequent Durban Declaration and Programme of Action require Nation States to adequately address the legacies of Slavery and Colonialism.
- It is a general concern to everyone that are conscious of the injustices perpetrated against the Afrikan Caribbean people that nothing significant has occurred neither has a policy of system been implemented to positively advance the Durban Declaration and Programme of Action requiring the Nation States to adequately address the legacies of Slavery and Colonialism since the UN WCAR. This paper calls on this august gathering assembled here in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, April 18-20, 2007; to lend its support to all campaigns for a radical review of the many injustices that face the Afrikan Worldwide. One in particular is the Mental Health Act of Britain and for Afro-centric training of psychiatrists who practice their profession of mental health in former colonial countries. The following seeks to momentarily update the conference on this inhumane occurrence.
- The rationale for this campaign is to challenge the British Mental Health Act of 1981 and any subsequent review of the said act, to adequately address the mental health needs of people of Afrikan descent. This Act is based in principle, on the ‘Lunatic Act’ of the 1840s, and the Lunatic Act on the British Slave Laws of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. These Slave Laws classified Afrikans as less than human and consequently affirmed that they could not suffer complex mental health issues. Still, when they ran away from the brutality endured on the plantation, they were then considered to be mentally ill. Additionally, several studies have reported that the over-representation and misdiagnosis of Black people detained in hospitals under Compulsorily Section is due to biases of this Mental Health Act. These reports estimate that the Afrikan Caribbean population in the secure units (where people are considered a danger to themselves) is between 50 and 60 percent of the entire hospital population. Most are diagnosed as schizophrenic; the most serious form of mental illness and they are often treated with Electro-Convulsive Therapy (ECT). Often, this diagnosis stays with the person their entire life.



- Research by Rev. Buddy Aaron Larrier and his own experience, has led to the conclusion that the disproportionately high level of compulsory detentions - especially under sections 29 and 136 and the resultant misdiagnosis and treatment meted out to people of Afrikan descent, is buttressed by prejudices resulting from the Trans-Atlantic Trade in Afrikans and Colonialism. Additionally, the Act has been used (and is being used in collaboration with other state agencies) as a form of social control that can also lead to deportation even if one is a naturalized British citizen. This has led to the mass assumption by Caribbean people that returning nationals from Britain are “mad”.
- In addition, Rev. Larrier, who served as a member of the Board of Management of the National Association for Mental Health (MIND), has ascertained that through the Mental Health Act, racism has been responsible for hundreds of deaths and other forms of human rights violations to Black people in Britain – (crimes against humanity). A recent case is that of David ‘Rocky’ Bennett in 1998. Following the inquiry into his death in May 2001, the health secretary John Reid said: “I accept that there is discrimination in the National Health Service (NHS), both direct and indirect”.

### **Crime against Humanity**

- Now, as we commemorate the 200<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Abolition of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade, places into context why this campaign is critical to addressing the mental health of Afrikan descendants as it relates to the legacy of Slavery. In 1977 Rev. Larrier experienced the kind of institutional racism within the British Mental Health Act that has ruin the lives of countless numbers of Afrikan descendants in Britain and the Caribbean.
- In the case of Rev. Aaron Larrier’s pursuit for justice began following an experimental operation that doctors persuaded him to undergo which was later deemed to have been unnecessary, ill advised and unsuccessful. He vehemently complained about his treatment and consequently was locked away in a mental institution and treated with drugs under Section 25 of the 1959 British Mental Health Act (Section 2 of the revised 1981 Act) which can mandate a stay of up to 28 days in a mental institution during which time one can be treated against one’s will.
- In 2001, Rev. Larrier led Barbados’ NGO delegation to the historic Durban conference and played a pivotal role in the follow-up to that conference, the ‘African and African Descendant World Conference against Racism’ held in Barbados in 2002. He is of the view that the pronouncement in the Durban Declaration and Programme of Action, that Slavery and Colonialism were crimes against humanity, which is reaffirmed in the Bridgetown Protocol from the Barbados conference, supports the claim that of all the human rights violations in the world today, racially motivated mental health abuse is the most emotive.

### **Hope For The Future**

- With the commemoration of the 200<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Act that abolished the Transatlantic Trade in Afrikans, there is a call for universal recommitment to combat all contemporary forms of the scourge of slavery. To this end, we must be cognizant of the fact that some aspects of the Slave Laws and attitudes of the enslavers have been drafted into present day Mental Health Acts. These attitudes and laws, when applied to people of Afrikan descent in contemporary forms of the vestiges of slavery – racism, racial

discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, result in inferior mental health treatment and the continuous human rights violations of Black people.

- Rev. Buddy Aaron Larrier has documented his experience in a book entitled **“Against the Edge – Patient or Prisoner”**. Here, he documents the crucial link (formal or casual) between the Slave Laws of the 18<sup>th</sup> century and the Mental Health Acts of the present era. To establish this link on an international basis would greatly advance the cause for reparations.

## I.2 Africans and lead poisoning in France: Story of a State crime which continues

### (Input by Mir Network)

With or without incomes, Africans of the continent<sup>39</sup> always encountered enormous difficulties to find accommodation in Paris area. In the Past, on the one hand the private refused to rent them normal flats, and on the other hand, single workers had not priority to get a social housing. Afterwards years of celibacy in unhealthy rooms, much of workers decided to marry and have children expecting when renewing their request for social housing to have now priority. **20 or even 30 years later, many of these families have failed to leave the slums.**

In these slums, there are old paintings. However lead is released by old paintings (used until 1948) which flake away (*radiators, windows edges, walls*) and crumble in dust.

Lead is absorbed by breathing and, for the little children, by ingestion because they tend to carry to the mouth the pieces of paintings which have a sweetened taste: the children are thus the principal victims, their brain in growth being more sensitive to toxicity, their ingestion and digestive absorption being high, their inhalation massive when they play or run in the staircases, and their renal elimination capacity low.

It is not recommended to the families to repaint by themselves the flats and the common parts, because one must certainly not scrape (the risk of intoxication becomes major, inhaled lead passes directly in blood), sweep dry, or use the vacuum cleaner. And the cover of old paintings by news does not eliminate the risk.

In fact, the treatment of these paintings requires the evacuation for one month and half of the inhabitants, and the use by specialized engineering departments of a column of humidification to make painting fall.

For the daily management of this poison in their house, the inhabitants can thus only cover the polluted areas and go over windows edges, furniture and beds with a dump cloth.

The lead rate in blood is the principal marker for the poisoning.

In France one estimates the **victims among the children to approximately 100.000** and the poisoning is maximums among boys between 2½ and 5 years.

From 100 µg/l theoretically one crosses the threshold of alarm, and the patient becomes a medical urgency and requires an immediate re-housing. The medical profession considers an

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<sup>39</sup> It was different for the migrants brought in mass from the French colonies of the Caribbean in the Sixties seventies by the French State to defuse the development of a fight for independence. These were looked after, receiving an employment in the public sector (hospital, post office, public transport) and an accommodation to base them in France. Via the mixed marriages, it was expected them to be absorbed by the French society.

increase of 100 µg/l of lead rate to cause an average loss of Intelligence Quotient (IQ) of two points.

However in France many thousands of children have a rate higher than 250 Mg and several recorded rates exceeding 800 Mg.

Because lead is stored in the bones, the teeth and the red cells and because it is eliminated very slowly, the poisoned young girls when becoming adult will face pregnancies at risk; indeed, even if they have moved the progressive release by their bones of the lead in their blood, will be likely to contaminate the foetus (disturbance of the growth, malformations, poisoning of the baby by breast feeding...).

Deaths by intoxication have been recorded, and as from the Eighties the attention of the French administration was drawn to the problem.

And as from the years 90' associations raised the alarm. ... In response, THE MEDICAL AUTHORITIES OF THE TOWN OF PARIS THEN PROHIBIT THE MENTION OF THE LEAD RATE CONTAINED IN BLOOD ON THE HEALTH RECORD OF THE CHILDREN.

Worse, in 1999, an elected official comment publicly: "*Lead poisoning must not be a godsend to obtain a social housing*" (Newspaper Le Monde, November 6, 1999). ... Just to show the denial of the humanity of the Africans in France, since all this is about our housing.

Although since 1993 a Technical Committee for Lead was created by the Ministry of Health, although various legislative measures were adopted, although in Paris (the most concerned area) lists of unhealthy buildings were drawn up, because of the lack in the French legislation of a legal obligation of rehousing, it had no impact.

Worse, the race for profit prevents the resolution of the problem: thus, rather than to help financing the owners who lack the means to renovate their buildings, some prefer to let degrade these buildings, so that repurchasing them at low prices when they will be threatened of demolition; and thus obtaining plots of land of great value as located inside the city.

1. By leaving the lead in the concerned buildings,
2. and not rehousing the families who live there,

the French State daily perpetrates a crime against tens of thousands of children who are mostly from African descent.

And by officially disregarding the situation of the families who lack an available residence permit in rule and whose parents and children are poisoned, the French State scorns the human rights.

<b>CHAPTER 5:</b>	<b>ERADICATION OF SLAVERY AND COLONISATION: EVALUATION AND RECOMMENDATIONS</b>
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**Vienna Declaration and Program of Action, April 28 to 29, 2001**

*Respectful of the Memory of Our Ancestors and the ultimate sacrifice which they paid, and mindful that this memory must never be forgotten; and,  
As a Community, Committed to the elimination anti-Black racism wherever it occurs in the World; and,  
Cognizant of the Enormity of the depredations of the Black Holocausts (Slavery and Colonization) and the significance of these historical epochs for the world; and,  
In fraternity with all peoples imbued with a sense of genuine respect for the rights of people of all races, ethnicities and creeds; and,  
In abhorrence of all forms of African Slavery and the African Slave Trade (Trans-Atlantic, trans-Saharan and trans-Indian Ocean) and the Colonization of Africa;*

BE IT RESOLVED that this Assembly:

CONDEMNS AFRICAN SLAVERY in all its manifestations (Trans-Atlantic, trans-Saharan and trans-Indian Ocean) and calls on the United Nations and the governments of the World to do likewise;

(...)

DEMAND THAT THE Governments of the World condemn the trans-Saharan and Indian Ocean slave trade which, like the trans-Atlantic slave trade, brought serious damages to Africa. Unlike the trans-Atlantic slave trade, vestiges of the trans-Saharan slave trade continues this day unabated (specifically in Mauritania and Sudan); and, call on the governments of Mauritania and Sudan to recognize this problem and to eradicate it completely.

(...)

DEMAND THAT THE TRAFFICKING OF AFRICAN AND AFRICAN DESCENDANT women, children and youth for sex, and for forced labour and various forms of enslavement be stopped in both locations receiving victims of trafficking, and in locations of origin.

The Durban Declaration and Programme of Action are absolutely clear on this issue, even if no specific country is mentioned:

**WCAR Declaration**

13. We acknowledge that slavery and the slave trade (...) were appalling tragedies in the history of humanity not only because of their abhorrent barbarism but also in terms of their magnitude, organized nature and especially their negation of the essence of the victims, and further acknowledge that slavery and the slave trade are a crime against humanity (...) and are among the major sources and manifestations of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance (...);

29. We strongly condemn the fact that slavery and slavery-like practices still exist today in parts of the world and urge States to take immediate measures as a matter of priority to end such practices, which constitute flagrant violations of human rights;

### **WCAR Programme of Action**

2. Urges States to take all necessary and appropriate measures to end enslavement and contemporary forms of slavery-like practices, to initiate constructive dialogue among States and implement measures with a view to correcting the problems and the damage resulting there from;

**119.** Invites States and relevant international organizations and non-governmental organizations to build upon the efforts of the Slave Route Project of the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural organization (UNESCO) and its theme of “Breaking the silence” by developing texts and testimony, slavery multi-media centres and/or programmes that will collect, record, organize, exhibit and publish the existing data relevant to the history of slavery and the trans-Atlantic, Mediterranean and Indian Ocean slave trades, paying particular attention to the thoughts and actions of the victims of slavery and the slave trade, in their quest for freedom and justice;

### **Five years after the Durban Conference,**

1) Far from slowing down, the traditional Arab-Berber enslavement and trade has increased and continue to modernize, the old trade by caravans of African People from Africa to Middle East being now organized by trucks and planes.

2) The Arab Berber governments don't participate to the Slave Route Project of the UNESCO,

3) In Africa, the colonisation of the lands and the monopolizing of the sources of water led by the Arab Berber people in the Sahel increases (from Mauritania to Sudan) pushing towards the south, African people who loose both pastures and cultivable lands, and subsoil resources.

4) Through the world the traffic of people of African descent for prostitution has boomed; especially women in Europe and children for paedophile tourism in Africa.

5) Five years after Durban, in spite of formal decolonization and ending of apartheid, the African people especially in the south part of Africa must still fight against the descendant of colonists backed up by the whole West, to recover their ancestral lands stolen during the colonial invasion (Zimbabwe, Namibia, South Africa, Kenya...),

5) five years after Durban, the formal decolonization of the few countries on the earth still under colonial rule has not make progress.

### **Recommendations:**

1) To develop a global strategy to put an end to the double problem of Arabo-Berber slavery and colonisation;

2) to develop and strengthen the connection between the global African community of activists and the African people still under colonial rule and help them to integrate the dynamic of the WCAR (African and African Descendant Caucus & United Nations) and of the African Union in the prospective of the implementation of the 6<sup>th</sup> region.

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  - I.1 One urgency: to achieve to free our minds
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## I. SELF-REPARATIONS

### Vienna Declaration and Program of Action, April 28 to 29, 2001

*Respectful of the Memory of Our Ancestors and the ultimate sacrifice which they paid, and mindful that this memory must never be forgotten; and,*

*As a Community, Committed to the elimination anti-Black racism wherever it occurs in the World; and,*

*Cognizant of the Enormity of the depredations of the Black Holocausts (Slavery and Colonization) and the significance of these historical epochs for the world; and,*

*In fraternity with all peoples imbued with a sense of genuine respect for the rights of people of all races, ethnicities and creeds; and,*

*In abhorrence of all forms of African Slavery and the African Slave Trade (Trans-Atlantic, trans-Saharan and trans-Indian Ocean) and the Colonization of Africa;*

BE IT RESOLVED that this Assembly:

(...)

CALL ON AFRICANS AND AFRICAN DESCENDANTS to urgently free themselves from slave and colonial mentality and attitudes. The rich African cultural heritage at our disposal serve as the first step in a real liberation and renaissance of Africa and its people all over the World.

### I.1 ONE URGENCY: TO ACHIEVE TO FREE OUR MINDS

(Input by the MIR-network)

The historical crushing of our societies by the European and Asian invaders has made us doubt of our potential. The purpose of Reparations is to ensure the recovery of our self-confidence which means the recovery of our autonomy in thoughts as in actions. In the colonial legacy, both alienation and disorganisation are a major brake to our recovery. Political assassinations or eliminations of our thinkers and effective/potential genuine leadership, being another one.

After abolition, slavery stays alive by its mental constituent.

Let recall that this mental constituent is not a dying after-effect.

In the post-slavery period, as material chains are broken, the chain in the mind becomes the pillar of the politics of oppression. Its instigators expect it to have an unprecedented extend to fully replace material chains, and they base their politics on a strict organisation:

- the organisation of the silence about slavery
- the organisation of the falsification of history, focusing particularly on:
  - the history of the mankind,
  - the history of science and techniques,
  - the African history,
  - the European history.

This politics of **neutralization of the Afrikan people** is a work of destruction of the mental: it works like a drug, its aim being **to distort the evaluation of the people concerning their potential: aptitude and holdings.**

Objectively, 50 years after the de-segregation in USA, and after most African independences, we have all over the world the minimal critical mass of people technically formed in all fields to plan our recovery.

#### **Recommendation:**

To escape from this “post-slavery” time, and enter the “recover of our freedom” time, we need Pan-African space(s), curses :

- 1) to de-construct the colonial system of mental enslavement,
- 2) to elaborate our re-organisation, to produce, in all sectors, frameworks matching with our genuine needs, as defined by ourselves.

#### **I.2 An introduction of a New African/Edenic Geo=Political and cultural scenario regarding Northeast Africa/Middle East**

(Input by Martin Luther King Institution for Reconciliation and Human Rights)

As we construct the systems and institutions that will represent our new posture for the new millennium, there are certain issues that must be brought to our attention. We, African Edenic People, are standing at the threshold of the most momentous period of human history. The decisions our leaders make for us will determine if there will be a “New African Century” or shall we maintain our condition as international beggars imbued in a state of perpetual pauperism. These are very critical times necessitating very critical decisions. Are our leaders going to continue to follow the path of the ideals of “western progress”? Or are they going to create for us a new value system to give new and autonomous direction for total independents from the degeneracy of western ethics and establish an ideal New African Century.

One of the issues we are challenged with is the idea of Reparations. Our scholars and intellectuals must design a unified idea of African Reparations. We must be able to see our world wide redemption from new perspectives that are holistic. For example, let us briefly look at the full definition of the word “reparation”:

**Reparation: *To compensate; to pay off; or give back; to balance; to repair; to restore; to renovate; to make new; to amend; to make corrections; to reverse or change; to undo the wrong which has been done; to redeem; to restore to original state and original strength; to restore all that was lost; to atone/atonement; penance; self-punishment; introspection and retrospection (looking back in order to move forward).***

In order for a true reparation movement to be defined as successful, all of the words above must be given form and presence in our social conditions. Let us look deeper into the idea of “self-repair”:

*Self-Repair: The repairing of the mental and psychological damage, which resulted from the “colonized and neo-colonized” mindset, is paramount for the ideal reparations movement. If we were to receive a trillion dollar claim, before the neo-colonial mind has been repaired, we would only funnel the money back into the same materialistic system that we are at war with. There are no international monetary institutions nor are there any global industrial and financial infrastructures for us to properly manage major reparations*



*claim. Without first having a revived standard of morals and values, which express our true African character and personality, what would be our actions once we acquire the financial recompense? We would only become Black capitalists and build cities replicating Paris, New York, London or Tokyo. We would become Black industrialist and continue with the immoral and careless destruction of the earth's bio-life support systems and natural environments for our monetary profits. We must prioritize our objectives. First; employing a holistic idea for the reparations movement and secondly; the repair of the damage from the Eurocentric mindset. The greater objective is to create a new image for Africa and African/Edenic People. This objective must take priority in our reparations claim.*

Reparations in the idea of "self-repair" can be summed up in the words of Jon Van Dyke who said so profoundly;

*"The severity of slavery's injury is far more profound than any cash transfer will be able to reverse".*

### ***Reparations in the idea of "Reconstruction of History, Education and Family"***

To experience the ideal reparations we must be given access to "Truth". This is to say, given access to the proper education /knowledge regarding the true history of the hundreds of millions of African Edenic Peoples found in the Western Hemisphere. Who are these Africans, what part of Africa did they come from? How and why were we brought to the western hemisphere? Only with a reconstruction of history that is based on truth can we be totally repaired. This can never be a reality as long as Africans are unaware of their purpose and the true knowledge of themselves. Only with this knowledge can we return to our true roots and fundamental beginnings. We must often ask the question, how is it that 15<sup>th</sup> century Europeans were able to conquer 15<sup>th</sup> century Africans and with such completeness and totality. Do we recall the social, intellectual, condition of Europe in the 15<sup>th</sup> century? Now compare this to what was happening in Africa in the 15<sup>th</sup> century. It does not make sense. Africa was far too advanced. A 15<sup>th</sup> century Europe was not capable of conquering a 15<sup>th</sup> century Africa. So than, what was the condition of Africa in the 15<sup>th</sup> century? What happened to the Africans who governed the earth and how did we become so weak and feeble that by the 15<sup>th</sup> century Europeans were able to overwhelm us in such a manner? Only when we are able to reconstruct our true history can we understand how to recover. Components of our ideal reparations claim must be to demand that our scholars and historians have unrestricted access to the "archives of the Vatican" and the secret corridors of the British Library, British Museum and Louver Museums. For remember the saying *"Know ye the truth and the truth shall set you free"*. The information, data, and writings that testify of the true history of the African World lay hidden away in the corridors of these institutions.

Another important fact that confirms the need for a reconstruction of history is, part of Africa which is historically understood to be the "spiritual" center of the earth is bordered by the Great River of Egypt (Blue and White Nile) and the Great River Euphrates (Iraq). Each of these rivers is originally part of African/Edenic lands. This is to say, all of the lands within the vicinity of these two rivers are African Edenic lands and the Spiritual Center of the Earth. This includes Egypt, Israel/Palestine, Sudan, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Djibouti, Tanzania, Kenya, Uganda, Saudi Arabia, Lebanon, Jordan, Iraq, Iran, Yemen, and all the other so-called Middle Eastern States. The original Hebrew Scriptures of the Bible play a very important historical role in the idea of reconstructing African history. The Hebrew Scriptures refer to this part of Africa in two historical and essential geo-political and geo-

cultural terms; 1) The Garden Eastward in Eden (The Garden of Eden)<sup>1</sup>; 2) the land of the Abrahamic Covenant (The African Hebrew Abraham)<sup>2</sup>. Why is this important to the Durban Review and our Declaration and Program of Action? Excellent question. In regard to racial discrimination and international conspiracies perpetrated against the African World, one of the greatest plots occurred when Europeans annexed part of Northeast Africa into so-called Eurasia, today called the Middle East. By doing so the conspirators hijacked a very key element of African History into Europe.

There must be a recreation of the original African mind. This can only be achieved when the process of education is higher than the formal education that Africans receive in western institutions. African People must know that a thriving, productive, flourishing Africa is not in the best interest of Europeans and Euro-Americans. Therefore, everything that they offer Africa will ultimately underdevelop African societies and institutions. They would never provide us with the necessary sustenance to reconstruct African society and its institutions. Only with a renewed African mind and the process for a new Afro centric way of thinking will Africa be developed properly in the true spirit of African character and values.

The European idea of Africa and African People is an idea steeped in racism and bigotry. Take note of the Euro-Christian definition of the word “black” taken from the Webster’s Encyclopedic Unabridged Dictionary of the English Language;

*Black: Adj. Lacking hue and brightness; without any moral light or goodness, evil, wicked, marked by ruin or desolation. Pertaining specifically to the dark-skinned people of Africa, Oceania and Australia”.*

*Syn. “Dark; dusky; sooty; inky; swart; dirty; dingy; sad; depressing; doleful; mournful; funereal; disastrous; calamitous; sinful; inhuman; fiendish; devilish; monstrous; atrocious; horrible; nefarious; treacherous; traitorous; villainous”;*

Now look at the words which define “white”

*White: Ant. White; clean; hopeful; cheerful.*

The participants in the WCAR Durban 2001 must be aware that the greatest crisis facing African Edenic people is still the identity crisis. Eurocentric science and Euro-Christian religion still hold Black Peoples imprisoned by the negative and degenerate image in which we see ourselves. The subliminal image of the Blackman that the world sees can be found in the definition of the color “Black”. By no means are the Africans living under Euro-centric ideas going to be able to live regenerative and progressive lives. Especially when Africans being defined as; inhuman; lacking moral light and goodness; evil and wicked.

We must now create new definition for ourselves by ourselves and with the intention of recreating ourselves. We must reconstruct our idea of family. This idea must be one where the African mother again nourishes the African child. We have a new image of the African Father; caring for his home while he also governs his community. We must construct new values that place our children back under our care, protecting them from the degeneracy of cultures which enforce child marriages,

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<sup>1</sup> Eden is a Hebrew word for “paradise”. The Garden of Eden is only a metaphor for an extraordinary society which was holistic referred to as “paradise on earth”.

<sup>2</sup> Abraham is the founder of the African Hebrew Israelites.

female circumcisions and the general exploitation of women and girls. No longer will we allow the oppressive labor system, which is only a form of “neo-slavery”, to enter our communities while the hierarchies of Western religion exploit the people by propagating the idea of a posthumous heaven in order to deter them from the idea of creating the reality of Heaven on Earth.

### **I.3 Repatriation**

Thousands of people of African descent born in the Americas have repatriated in Africa. The West governments (In particular of USA) don't appreciate this flood towards the African continent of activists who know the west system in depth. The Durban Declaration and Programme of Action were clear on that issue:

“158. Recognizes that these historical injustices have undeniably contributed to the poverty, underdevelopment, marginalization, social exclusion, economic disparities, instability and insecurity that affect many people in different parts of the world, in particular in developing countries. The Conference recognizes the need to develop programmes for the social and economic development of these societies and the Diaspora, within the framework of a new partnership based on the spirit of solidarity and mutual respect, in the following areas:

(...)

Facilitation of welcomed return and resettlement of the descendants of enslaved Africans;”

#### **Recommendations:**

1) To elaborate a series of demands to submit to the:

- Colonial governments
- African governments and African Union

2) to publicize our initiative both to pressure the authorities and to conscientize our people

## II. REPARATIONS DUE BY EUROPEAN AND EURO-AMERICAN STATES - CASE STUDIES

*"If you are the son of a man who had a wealthy estate and you inherit your father's estate, you have to pay off the debts that your father incurred before he died. The only reason that the present generation of white Americans are in a position of economic strength...is because their fathers worked our fathers for over 400 years with no pay (...). Your father isn't here to pay. My father isn't here to collect. But I'm here to collect and you're here to pay."*  
Malcolm X, 1964

### **II.1 – \$ 777 TRILLIONS, AFRICAN WORLD REPARATIONS AND REPATRIATION TRUTH COMMISSION (1999)**

Outside of the late Mansood Abiola's Reparations Conference held in Lagos, Nigeria 14<sup>th</sup> December, 1990 the only other genuine Reparations & Repatriation organization on the Afrikan Continent that "immediately" followed in his footsteps with a Mini-Reparations & Repatriation Conference was the Afrikan World Reparations & Repatriation Truth Commission (AWRRTC); it was during Ghana's First Emancipation Day Celebration 1st August, 1998.

However, in August, 1999 and July, 2000, respectively, was the Afrikan World Reparations and Repatriation Truth Commission (AWRRTC) 1st and 2nd Historic International Conference on Reparations and Repatriation, held at the W.E.B. Du Bois Memorial Centre for Pan Afrikan Culture, Accra, Ghana.

AWRRTC's demand of \$777 Trillion dollars U.S. (August, 1999) to be paid to Afrikan victims of this Holocaust, shocked particularly the USA and European Union members even up to this very date, and gave impetus to bringing on the UN-WCAR held in Durban, South Africa, 28th August through 7th September, 2001.

#### **The Accra Declaration on Reparations & Repatriation Thursday 12 August 1999**

We the participants of the First History International Reparations and Repatriation Truth Commission Conference give homage to the history of the Pan-African movement and pioneers such as W.E.B. Du Bois, Honourable Marcus Mosiah Garvey, Osagyefo Kwame Nkrumah, His Imperial Majesty Haile Selassie, Paul Robeson, etc

The Afrikan World Reparations and Repatriation Truth Commission (AWRRTC) declares, as we enter the 21st century, that Reparations & Repatriation are paramount issues and concerns of the African World, consistent with the principles established during the **First Reparations Conference, held on the African continent December, 1990 in Lagos, Nigeria** (under the auspices of the late Moshood Abiola); the **Reparations Conference held April 1999 in Ouidah, Benin** and the **National Coalition of Blacks for Reparations in America (N'COBRA) held June, 1999 in St. Louis, Missouri, USA.**

We hereby resolve, and it hereby resolved:

1. That the Afrikan World Reparations and Repatriation Truth Commission successfully hosted the First Historic International Truth Commission Conference on Reparations and Repatriation, held in Accra, Ghana August 9 – 13, 1999 at the W.E.B. DuBois Memorial Centre for Pan-African Culture.

2. That the Truth Commission Conference was held as a result of the socio-economic deterioration of the global African society today, which is directly linked to the burdensome African ‘debt crisis’, which has strangled development in sub-Saharan Africa.

3. That the Truth Commission Conference noted the root causes of Africa’s problems today are the enslavement and colonization of Africa people over a 400 year period – through the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade and the illegal occupation by European nations on Africa’s sovereign soil.

4. That an international team, of continental African and Diasporan lawyers, will be established to pursue all legal means, to demand justice (e.g. monetary compensation, US\$ 777 trillion per annum with interest) from those nations of Western Europe, Americans, and institutions who participated and benefited from the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade and Colonialism. This will be done through international bodies, such as the United Nations, International Court of Justice, Organization of African Unity, International Labour and Trade Organizations and other bodies. Compensation will be paid to a Foundation, which will be administered by designated individuals. An African People’s Bank (APB) will be established in order to help develop intercontinental trade on the African Continent and trade between the continent and the Diaspora, as well as the development of a Pan-African currency.

5. That Diasporan Africans, who are direct descendants of enslaved Africans, have the unconditional “Right of Return” to the continent of Africa. Those African descendants, who wish to remain in the land of their captivity, should be granted full human rights in that country and institutions developed to improve their community, their economy and African centred educational systems. Measures are to be implemented to rehabilitate and integrate all political prisoners into both African Continental and Diasporan communities.

6. That worldwide monitoring and networking systems are to be instituted to ensure that Reparations and Repatriation will be achieved by the year 2004, and that yearly conferences will be held to provide updates and progress reports on our declared goals.

7. that there is no African ‘debt’, therefore AWRRTC demands that the current so-called ‘international debt owed’ by Africa and all countries of African slave descendants, be unconditionally cancelled.

8. that AWRRTC charges the Organization of African Unity (OAU) with the following:

8.1 To co-ordinate the African approach to Reparations & Repatriation, by encouraging African states to acknowledge that ‘crimes against humanity’ have been committed against African people and to seek legal redress through the International Court of Justice. African states such as Nigeria, Ghana, and Benin, as well as others in the sub region are to be the Flag bearers for Reparations and Repatriation Issues.

8.2 To Promote the Union of African States (UAS), thereby establishing a general identity card for descendants of enslaved Africans, which will enable free entry into any African country. ,

8.3 To lobby those nations of Western Europe, the Americas, and institutions who participated and benefited from the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade and Colonialism, to provide seaworthy vessels and aircraft for Diasporan Africans to facilitate their Repatriation to the African Continent.

8.4 To re-activate the Group of Eminent Persons, to encompass the ideals and goals of Reparations and Repatriation.

8.5 To allocate permanent seats in the O.A.U. to representatives of the Diaspora. One observer seat to be allocated to AWRRTC, for the purpose of monitoring the progress of Reparations and Repatriation to its successful end.

8.6 To implement the OAU Charter as a blueprint for nation building.

9. That AWRRTC is committed to the following:

9.1 To facilitate the development of two-way orientation centres, which will assist the Diaspora to adjust and integrate into Africa and her communities (receiving centres). To this end, a Marcus Garvey Repatriation & Reparations Centre is to be established to facilitate an orderly return to Africa from the Diaspora.

9.2 In 1994 an atonement and purification ceremony was performed, in Ghana, led by the President of the National House of Chiefs, representing the traditional stools and skins seats of authority, under the initiation of the Africana Mission, in the spirit of apology for the mistakes of some of their ancestors during the Trans-Atlantic slave trade. Therefore, in the spirit of re-unification, approaches will be made to the traditional owners of the land or traditional chiefs in Africa, to grant land to returning African descendants.

9.3 To encourage Diaspora and Continental Africans to develop strategies to better educate urban, rural communities and the youth. Additionally, to establish and develop African-centred primary, secondary and tertiary institutions.

In conclusion, African people should remain true to our spiritual origins.

"If we Africans forget the atrocities committed against us in the past (slavery & colonialism), surely, our children will suffer tomorrow"

SIGNED by:

Dr. Hamet Maulana, Co-Chairperson, AWRRTC

Mrs. Debra Kofie Co-Chairperson, AWRRTC

*Even if the complain has not be filed until nowadays, the political and symbolic impact of this action on the building of the African reparation movement remains historical.*

## Republic Suriname

### - Looking back with perspective on the future – A Case Study on Reparation From Drs. Armand Zunder: Panafstrag Suriname - ©Armand Zunder - February 2007

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### I. Introduction

When the Spanish expansionists rediscovered Suriname at the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> Century they encountered the Indigenous people of the Territory. They called the Territory 'The Wild Coast'. At that time the number of the Indigenous people was around 70,000. The Spanish expansionists took their Land and afterwards enslaved them. After the Spanish expansionists left, they were replaced by French, British and Dutch expansionists. From 1667 Dutch expansionists took over the Colony, at that time called Suriname.

At the census of 1919/1920 around 1,400 Indigenous people were left in Suriname. These people virtually disappeared as a result of contagious diseases brought by the European expansionists to the New World and the losses they suffered during the wars with the intruders. They also suffered from alcohol abuse.

The expansionists also destroyed agricultural grounds of the Indigenous people and sexual misconduct of the intruders towards Indigenous women drove many into suicide.

The plantation-economy in Suriname was introduced by British expansionists who entered Suriname from the hub-Caribbean island Barbados, with Jewish planters including enslaved persons who forcedly accompanied them. In a later stage the plantation society was strengthened by other mainly Jewish emigrants who entered Suriname after the Dutch expansionists were driven out of North Brazil by Portuguese expansionists.

From the perspective of research the time span of the plantation economy in Suriname covers the period 1650 till 1940. The core objective of the plantation-economy was to produce agricultural

crops and other raw materials almost solely for the Commodity markets in the Netherlands and especially to the Commodity Bourse (see enclosure II in the study) in the city of Amsterdam. From 1683 until 1792 the “Geoctroyeerde Societies van Suriname”, a merger between the West Indian Company, the City of Amsterdam, and the Dutch noble man Van Aerssen van Sommelsdijck were the sole owners of the Colony. From 1797-1802 and 1804-1816 (why) Suriname was also temporary colonized by English expansionists, who returned the Colony to the Dutch in 1816. From that time until 1940 the plantation-economy was directed by Dutch expansionists. The massive forced migration of enslaved Africans to Suriname was initiated around 1650 and lasted until the Emancipation<sup>40</sup> in 1863. During this period of more than two hundred years the enslaved Afro-Americans were cut from their families, their homeland and their languages. They were furthermore heavily restricted to practice their original African cultures.

At Emancipation the merchant-bankers and plantation owners received compensations from the Dutch Government, but the enslaved people did not even receive a penny. After Emancipation in 1863 the formally enslaved people were still not really free. They were obliged to sign a ten year contract to work for a few pennies in the same plantation system.

Experiments with indentured labour started in 1853 when the first Chinese contract labourers arrived in Suriname. In 1873 after an Agreement between the Dutch and English expansionists mass immigration followed from India to Suriname. From 1882 the Dutch Government in cooperation with Dutch merchant-bankers also initiated mass immigration of indentured labourers from Java. The aim was that these workers would become the major workforce in the plantation-economy. Immigration from Asia lasted just until before World War II, which also marked the end of the plantation production period in Suriname.

So the Surinamese society of the past has been a Dutch creation, but from the perspective of the ancestors of the current Surinamese people, not such a pleasant one. The Surinamese society was created by merchant-bankers and their associates in the public sector to benefit to the maximum of what the Colony could produce for exports to the Netherlands. To a certain extent raw materials exported from the Surinamese economy were processed in the Netherlands and than re-exported to Suriname.

In this summary we will focus on what has been produced, the value of the production, the major beneficiaries in the plantation-economy of Suriname and the other side of the story of crops produced, seen from a Surinamese perspective.

The other side of the story is how the current people of Suriname and other similar countries in the world, whose ancestors for centuries have been forced to produce under conditions of forced labour look at the plantation-economy and its social and economic impacts. The second element in this summary is how we can proceed towards the future. This approach will bring us in the centre of the debate on the subject matter of Reparations.

Reparations can be considered as a two way street. The first street is related to Reparations for social wrongdoings of the past. Most Reparation matters focus on these Reparations. The other street is related to the effects of bad governance, resulting in an emancipated economy at the end of the plantation-economy.

In this summary the emphasis will be on the following two matters:

1. A Road Map for Reparations will be unfolded;

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<sup>40</sup> British Emancipation took place in 1838.



2. The case of Suriname will be presented by quantifying reparations for social wrongdoings and the consequences of economic neglect resulting in the emancipated economy at the end of the plantation-economy.

## II. Production and exports in the plantation economy

In May 1697, 30 years after Dutch expansionists had forcefully seized Suriname from the British, they exposed their production plans for the newly acquired colony. Governor Scharpenhuyzen was the one to announce the plans.

The Dutch expansionists had the intention to establish at least 1,000 sugar plantation enterprises exporting annually 120 million kilograms of sugar mainly to the Amsterdam Commodity Bourse. The expected returns amounted to annual revenues of 67 million florins in prices of those days. In reality the Dutch managed to produce not more than around 10 percent of the forecast. Profits related to the production level reached were however high enough for the City of Amsterdam to try to keep these profits secret for the other Provinces in the Netherlands at that time.

In order to produce the projected revenues the Dutch and other European expansionists did not recruit workers from the labour pool of their own country to conduct the heavy work in the plantation-economy. Instead they organized massive forced migration of Africans to the New World. This is the way Dutch expansionists created the Surinamese plantation-economy, which was based on forced labour, along racist lines.

According to historical research figures 300,000 to 350,000 Africans were enslaved and shipped to Suriname from around 1667 to 1830. For calculation purposes the average amount of 325,000 enslaved persons have been used in the study. The forced mass migration voyages continued for centuries, until due to different circumstances slavery was finally abolished in 1863.

At the date of the Abolition the number of enslaved persons in Suriname was 32,911. This implies that 292.089 Afro-Surinamese did not survive this 'Black Holocaust'. One of the conditions for the Abolition was the compensation to the Slaveholders by the Dutch Government for their "Human Stock".

It was agreed upon between the Dutch Government and the Slaveholders/Plantation entrepreneurs that they would receive an average compensation of 300 guilders per enslaved person. At that time approximately 80% of the plantation owners were merchant-bankers who resided in the City of Amsterdam.

During the period 1683 to 1940 (257 years), with an exception of a minor period of 17 years, Dutch expansionists exploited the Surinamese economy to their benefit. The registered imports, mainly to the Dutch Commodity Bourse, located in the City of Amsterdam amounted to more than 1.7 billion florins of that time. Products from Suriname were traded from a fixed<sup>41</sup> seat on that market and were also registered on the than international market price list. At that time these price lists were known all over Europe as the "Amsterdam Price Lists".

The net future value of the amounts imported from Suriname into the Netherlands, during the time span of the plantation-economy, if discounted at 3% is €. 1.288 billion as per 31<sup>st</sup> of December 2006. Ten years later (in 2016), the net future value will increase to €. 1.731 billion.

While the Dutch Government accommodated their Merchant bankers to do business in Suriname and to accumulate these fortunes, investments in the Surinamese economy were almost nil. Virtually nothing was (re)invested into the human resource force and in the country. Instead the labour force was exploited to the maximum and deprived of their cultural heritage as much as the expansionists could.

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<sup>41</sup> See floor plan of the Amsterdam Commodity Bourse attached as enclosure II in the study.

So the fortunes migrated to Amsterdam and some other major Dutch cities, where investments preferably were conducted in processing industries, warehouses and many luxury dwellings along the canals of Amsterdam. The consequences of the squeezing social-economic policies on the economy of Suriname around 1940 at the end of the plantation-economy can be summarized as follows: the infrastructure, if any was left in a terrible condition; the education system was poor and not adequate; the supply of social housing was not adequate; the public budget showed structural deficits and a local business sector almost did not exist. In summarizing the social-economic situation at the end of the plantation-economy one could say that the society was in shambles and almost everything was below reasonable standards.

### III. Beneficiaries from the Slave trade and Slavery

During the time span of the plantation-economy in Suriname the major crops produced for export were sugar, coffee, cotton and cacao.

From the perspective of the beneficiaries of the plantation-economy the major beneficiaries of the system can be fitted in the following time categories:

- A. From 1650-1683. During this period the Indigenous people traded with Europeans, namely Dutch expansionists and were later on enslaved and forced to work on the newly established plantations. French, British and Dutch expansionists were the major beneficiaries in this period;
  
- B. From 1683-1873. This period marks the rise and fall of the peak of the plantation-economy. In this period of the economy the workers were mainly enslaved Africans. Dutch merchant-bankers and other Dutch business suppliers were the major beneficiaries. British merchant-bankers profited from around 1799-1802 and 1804-1816 of the Surinamese plantation-economy, since the colony was in their hands during that time span.  
Plantation owners in Suriname also benefited from Slavery during the captioned period. In this time span the following values of the main agricultural crops were produced in Suriname and imported in the Netherlands.

**Table 1**

#### Registered imports in the Netherlands from Suriname, 1683-1863

Major crops	In kilograms	In florins	Net Future Value in Euro per year end 2006	Net Future Value in Euro per year end 2016
Sugar	1,513,649,000	750,503,000	850,716,883,000	1,143,292,353,000
Coffee	405,110,000	470,722,000	364,664,926,000	490,079,166,000
Cotton	52,437,000	95,921,000	35,992,352,000	48,370,711,000
Cacao	16,653,000	14,831,000	12,237,749,000	16,446,512,000
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,987,849,000</b>	<b>1,331,976,000</b>	<b>1,263,611,910,000</b>	<b>1,698,188,742,000</b>

- C. From 1873-1939. This period marks the restart and formal fall of the plantation-economy and plantation system. Slavery was abolished and indentured workers with a

five year contract continued the existing production system. At the end of the nineteenth century gold mining and later on wood products like balata and bauxite mining enhanced the export base of the economy.

In this time span the following values of the main agricultural crops were produced in Suriname and imported in the Netherlands.

**Table 2**

**Registered imports in the Netherlands from Suriname, 1873-1939**

Major crops	In kilograms	In florins	Net Future Value in Euro per year end 2006	Net Future Value in Euro per year end 2016
Sugar	677,963,000	172,149,000	5,016,604,000	6,741,896,000
Coffee	62,676,000	33,274,000	385,638,000	518,265,000
Cotton	-	-	-	-
Cacao	97,652,000	68,757,000	1,809,906,000	2,432,363,000
<b>Total</b>	<b>838,290,000</b>	<b>274,179,000</b>	<b>7,212,148,000</b>	<b>9,692,524,000</b>

In the total time span of the plantation-economy the following numbers of the four major crops have been produced in Suriname and imported in the Netherlands, England and the USA.

**Table 3**

**Registered imports in the Netherlands from Suriname, 1863-1939**

Major crops	In kilograms	In florins	Net Future Value in Euro per year end 2006	Net Future Value in Euro per year end 2016
Sugar	787,715,000	235,582,364	8,922,368,000	11,990,917,000
Coffee	870,000	685,000	45,700,000	61,418,000
Cotton	63,198,000	33,603,000	407,073,000	547,072,000
Cacao	103,022,000	68,757,000	1,809,906,000	2,432,363,000
<b>Total</b>	<b>954,805,000</b>	<b>338,628,000</b>	<b>11,185,048,000</b>	<b>15,031,769,000</b>

As mentioned earlier also gold, balata and bauxite have been produced and exported mainly to the Commodity markets in the Netherlands and the USA.

The first serious signs of decomposition of the plantation-economy in Suriname occurred after the Dutch King William I decided to establish the Dutch Trading Company in 1824 (parent company of the now well-known ABN-AMRO-bank) and put all hands on deck towards the exploitation of Indonesia. Instead the Surinamese plantation-economy was put 'in the waiting room'. The official stoppage of the slave-trade by the Dutch expansionists in 1814 also played a pivotal role in the first signs of effective decline of the plantation-economy. Only 13 years after the official termination of the slave trade of Africans to Suriname the decomposition process of the

plantation-economy was already clearly noticeable. An overview of the plantation enterprises is showing this trend in the next table.

**Table 4**

**Total number of plantation enterprises in Suriname in 1827**

Type of plantation enterprises	Total number of Plantations	Total in production	Total abandoned	Total square acres known	Total square acres not known
Sugar plantation enterprises	141	110	31	157.691,11	29
Coffee plantation enterprises	245	205	40	140.125,66	17
Cotton plantation enterprises	73	72	1	39.472,50	9
Timber plantation enterprises	199	135	64	166.338,50	94
Coffee- and Sugar plantation enterprises	4	4	0	5.800	0
Coffee- and cacao plantation enterprises	14	13	1	7.138	4
Coffee- and Cotton plantation	31	25	6	16.178	5
<b>Total</b>	<b>707</b>	<b>564</b>	<b>143</b>	<b>532.743,77</b>	<b>158</b>

Source: Surinaamsche Almanak, 1828

The figures in the table undoubtedly show that the plantation-economy was clearly going down. This downward spiral would continue until the end of the plantation-economy before the beginning of World War II.

The next table illustrates the value of registered raw materials produced in Suriname during the time span of the plantation economy as imports into the Netherlands.

Table 5

## Migration of Capital from Colonial Suriname to the Netherlands, 1683 to 1940

Product	Import value In Guilders	In percentages	NFV in euros year end 2006	NFV in euros year end 2016
Sugar	979,244,000	56	859,156,524,000 (sugar excluding derivates)	1,154,634,525,000
Plus molasses	Inclusive	-		
Plus rum	Inclusive	-		
Plus dram	Inclusive	-		
Coffee	504,237,000	29	365,056,741,000	490,617,829,000
Cotton	96,436,000	5	36,026,038,000	48,415,983,000
Cacao	86,810,000	5	14,241,172,000	19,138,944,000
Balata	54,651,000	3	7,785,453,000	10,462,998,000
Wood products	1,779,000	0	253,432,000	340,592,000
Gold	35,286,000	2	5,026,760,000	6,755,546,000
Tobacco				
Rokou				
Indigo				
Raw wax				
Woodpaint	5,000,000	0	712,288,000	957,256,000
Copiague				
Honey				
Coconuts				
Lime Juice				
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,763,442,000</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>1,288,267,409,000</b>	<b>1,731,323,000</b>

Compilation: Armand Zunder, January 2007

Export consisted of seven major branches, including a brand called 'other branches'. The value of the registered exports to the Netherlands during the time span of the plantation-economy amounted to more than 1.7 billion florins of that time. The table also demonstrates the cash value of the migration of capital from the colony Suriname to merchant-bankers and other beneficiaries in the Netherlands.

The net future value of the export value, discounted at 3%, amounts to more than €. 1.288 billion at December 31<sup>st</sup> 2006. Ten years from then (in 2016) the net future value rises to more than €. 1.7. billion.

During the English occupation<sup>42</sup> of Suriname in the period of the plantation-economy the net future value of the exports of British expansionists, discounted at 3%, amounted to €. 99 billion at year end 2006. Ten years later the net future value rises to more than €. 135 billion.

The major beneficiaries in the plantation-economy were not located in Suriname, but in the Netherlands and particularly in Amsterdam. The major beneficiaries were merchant bankers. Other

<sup>42</sup> The British Protectorate lasted from 1799-1802 and the British Temporary Rule lasted from 1804-1816.

beneficiaries were ship owners, warehouse owners, suppliers of ships sailing to Africa and the West-Indies, slave shippers, bookkeepers and suppliers of export goods to Suriname, notaries, insurers<sup>43</sup>, insurance brokers, plantation-owners, and administrators. The Central Government of the Netherlands and the Municipal Governments of Amsterdam, Middleburgh and Vlissingen also directly benefited from the exports from Suriname. And of course also the workers on the quays of Amsterdam and other cities were the indirect beneficiaries of the plantation-economy.

It is estimated that around 57% of the revenues generated from imports from Suriname have been absorbed by merchant-bankers for their business services, 16% of the revenues went to the Colonial Authorities in Suriname as taxes, while only 27% of the net revenues produced in the time span of plantation-economy remained for the producers, who were the plantation entrepreneurs. This last percentage has not been enough to autonomously sustain the plantation system.

#### **IV. The Road Map for 'Wiedergutmachung' between Suriname and the Netherlands**

The Dutch Government still has an obligation to the Surinamese people for the historical moral wrongdoings that their forefathers have committed against the people of Suriname.

These historical wrongdoings go back to the times in history when crimes were committed by their forefathers to the Indigenous people, to the people enslaved from Africa, to the people from China, India and Java that were used as indentured labourers in the plantation-economy. And last but not least to the Maroons and the so-called Boeroe's. These wrongdoings go far back, but still have a traumatic influence on some descendants of the people that were victimized in the past.

The moral wrongdoings also include taking away the original names and cultural heritage from the enslaved Africans that were employed against their will and mistreated in the plantation system.

Furthermore there is a causal connection between the underdevelopment of the Surinamese plantation-economy and the migration of capital from colonial Suriname to the Netherlands, especially to the City of Amsterdam. The other side of the story is that there is also a causal connection between the slave trade and slavery and the migration of capital from Colonial Suriname to the Netherlands during the time span of the plantation-economy.

During the World Conference against Racism, in Durban in 2001 a Cabinet member of the Dutch Government stated among others the following words:

"This World Conference in Durban is in our view a necessary moment to state to all people that racism and discrimination must be eradicated. But we can only be credible if we recognize the great injustices of the past. We express deep remorse about the enslavement and slave trade that took place. But an expression of remorse as such is not enough and cannot be used as an excuse for not taking any action in the present. It is important to take structural measures that have effects for the descendents of former slaves and next generations".

At the same World Conference the Ambassador of Suriname in the Netherlands expressed among others the following words:

"My delegation is therefore convinced that reparations and compensatory measures are indispensable for acknowledging for past wrongs, for the healing process that will accelerate the process of inclusion of the most marginalized groups. The ways and means of these measures should be negotiable. The basic principle here should be understood as measures that will strengthen the development capabilities of affected countries and affected groups".

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<sup>43</sup> See [www.rsgincorp.com](http://www.rsgincorp.com). On this website one will find a case where compensation is demanded from the American Insurance Company AETNA for profiting from slavery. The company profited from slavery by insuring enslaved people on behalf of plantation-owners.

So, a representative of the Dutch Government as well as one of the Surinamese Government has expressed an opinion on repairing the history between the people of both Nations. But no fundamental steps have been taken yet by either side of the deep blue ocean.

This study refers and focuses on the Surinamese side and proposes a structural restitution and compensation Road Map that does not primarily focus on monetary compensation only. Monetary compensations are however part of the healing process. The restitution and compensation Road Map is called “Wiedergutmachung”. The fundamental meaning of the word is that wrongdoings of the past must be cleared and settled.

“Wiedergutmachung” in the case of The Netherlands and Suriname will imply, initiating and implementing the following components of this Road Map:

1. Establish a platform of Surinamese organizations with ramifications to Surinamese organizations in the Netherlands (45% of the Surinamese population is now [2006] living in the Diaspora in the Netherlands). This platform of organizations will be the mouthpiece for the ‘Wiedergutmachung’ movement for Suriname towards the Netherlands. This strategy implies that the leading organization in the ‘Wiedergutmachung’ is not the Government, but a Non-Governmental Organization that will be operating in close cooperation with the Government whenever this is considered necessary;
2. Rewrite the curriculum of history (science) for schools and introduce this new curriculum as soon as possible in the time tables of the schools. The Surinamese economic and social history will have to be rewritten from a Surinamese perspective;
3. Establish two Chairs at the Anton de Kom University of Suriname. One for research and teaching on the social history and one for research and teaching on the economic history of Suriname;
4. Start with the formulation of the Terms of Reference of a broad and thorough scientific research project on the social and economic history of Suriname. This project will cover the period of the plantation-economy and its effects on the period thereafter;
5. Rename ‘Fort Zeelandia’ in Fort ‘BUKU’, as a victory of the good historical times over the bad historical times. Establish a mausoleum in this historic fort as a memorial to the thousands of forefathers of the current descendants who were tortured and, or lost their lives in this fort in the time span of the plantation-economy. The mausoleum must be guarded 24/7 by the armed forces of Suriname;
6. Develop and implement a program on self reparations. The main objective of this program is to start the long lasting battle on all types of ‘mental slavery’ that have been planted during centuries in the minds of Surinamese people through the education and social system;
7. Establish a Research Institute for the ‘Wiedergutmachung’. This Institute will have to be on the forefront regarding research on this matter;
8. Establish a centre where descendants of victims from Dutch colonial rule can report to organizations in the platform mentioned in point one to represent them in a collective litigate against a Dutch Government for historical wrongdoings against their forefathers, if this should be necessary;
9. One may believe it or not, but at this moment there is no monument in Suriname, that demonstrates the (historic) Unity of the Surinamese people. So there is great need in establishing a monument for Unity and Prosperity from the perspective of Nation building on a central location in the City of Paramaribo;
10. Calculate and file a claim against the Government of the Netherlands, Dutch Companies and Institutions that benefited directly and indirectly from wrongdoings against the forefathers of the Surinamese people. These claims must be calculated to cover the periods of the enslavement of the Indigenous people, the slave trade and slavery as well as the period of indentured labour in Suriname.

We are convinced that only through a Road Map of 'Wiedergutmachung' between Suriname and the Netherlands the impure pages between both countries in their mutual history can be considered as a matter of the past. Only than the people of both countries can face a future without mix feelings originated from the past.

## V. Methodology to calculate reparations in the case of Suriname

The methodology used to calculate reparations is divided into two sections. The first section regards a methodology with reference to calculate restitutions for the emancipated economy at the end of the plantation-economy. This second section is related to symbolic reparations for human sufferings during that same period.

### V.1. Methodology for calculation of restitutions

Suriname<sup>44</sup> should demand restitutions from the Netherlands for the extreme social-economic neglect and improper management of the Surinamese economy in the period of the plantation-economy.

From this perspective Suriname should demand an amount of at least 30 percent of the registered and calculated sum that merchant-bankers and others have extracted from the Surinamese community during the period 1683 to 1940.

The following basic formula is used to calculate the net future value of the amounts in the past:

$$P=Y(I+X/100)^Z$$

P stands for the amount of the net future value

Y stands for the amount in the past

X stands for the interest rate per year used to compound the amounts in the past

Z stands for the number of years

The interest factor of the formula is  $[(1+i)^n-1]/i$ . The result of using the formula is that  $n=67$  and  $i=3$ . This results in a factor of 208.1976. This factor is multiplied by 1 billion, divided by 2.20371 results in a net future value as per year-end 2006 of €. 383 billion. The 30 percent stake is based on a reasonable return of funds for the structural rehabilitation of the Surinamese economy. After deduction of €. 3.3 billion for development aid<sup>45</sup>, the net future value of the restitutions at year end 2006 is €. 379 billion. At year end 2016 the net future value has grown to €. 510 billion.

### V.2. Methodology for reparations for human suffering

When calculating reparations for human sufferings one should keep in mind that these figures are always symbolic and sensitive, since human suffering cannot and should not be expressed in monetary terms. This especially counts for forced labour and continuous and extreme suffering as was the case during the plantation-economy in Suriname.

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<sup>44</sup> From the perspective of reparations we mean the earlier indicated platform of organizations.

<sup>45</sup> From the perspective of reparations the tied development aid that Suriname received from the Netherlands during 1947-2007 is deducted from the calculated net future value.



The same basic formula to calculate the net future value of amounts in the past will also be used to calculate reparations for human suffering.

Human suffering under colonial rule started with the forcefully dispossession of the land of the Indigenous people of Suriname and their enslavement by European expansionists. In the period from around the period 1640 – 1920 approximately 68,600 Indigenous people disappeared. As a reference point for our calculations the amount of 300 florins per person is taken. That amount was paid to the plantation enterprise owners and merchant-bankers in 1863 at Emancipation. The payout than amounts to 20,580 million florins. This amount is discounted at 3% per year as per December 31<sup>st</sup> 2006. The amount for the reparations for the suffering of these ancestors is equal to €. 7 billion. Ten years later this amount would increase to around €. 10 billion. One should take into consideration that this amount does not include the brutal expropriation of the land of these ancestors without even paying one cent for the lease or ownership!

Reparations for the Afro-Surinamese for human suffering, who have been enslaved from around 1650-1863. During this time frame around 292,089 of these enslaved workers disappeared. This number is multiplied by the aforementioned amount of 300 florins. The result is an amount of 88 million florins. An amount of 100 florins per person is added for tools and equipment, necessary to be able to start a business after the Abolition of Slavery. The total amount is compounded at 3% per year as per December 31<sup>st</sup> 2006. The net future value for the reparations to these ancestors amounts to €. 3 billion. Ten years later the net future value rises to around €. 4 billion.

Calculations for reparations with reference to the disaster that hit the indentured workers from India and from Java are based on the following assumption. The Surinamese author Oedraydsing Varma calculated an amount for 3 billion florins to be paid to the descendants of the indentured workers from India, as per 1994. The same amount is added for the suffering of the indentured workers from Java.

The total amount is compounded at 3% per year as per December 31<sup>st</sup> 2006. At that date the net future value reaches the level of €. 2.5 billion for reparations for the suffering and loss to these ancestors. Ten years later the net future value increases to a level of €. 3.8 billion.

Reparations can also be calculated for Chinese indentured labourers, Boeroe's<sup>46</sup> and Maroons. They also suffered under Dutch colonial rule.

In conclusion, the calculations are shown in the next table.

**Table 6**

**Reparations and restitutions per 31 December 2006 and 31 December 2016**

Description	Amount in euros per 31-Ded-2006	Amount in euros per 31-Dec-2006
For Indigenous people	7,438,814,000	9,997,144,000
For enslaved Africans	2,826,296,000	3,798,305,000
For Maroons	93,259,000	125,332,000
For the Boeroe's	1,588,000	2,134,000

<sup>46</sup> Boeroe's are descendants from Dutch farmers, who migrated from the Netherlands to Suriname

For Chinese indentured labourers	9,776,000	13,138,000
For indentured labourers	2,587,928,000	3,477,959,000
Restitutions for economic mismanagement of the Colony	<b>379,197,532,000</b>	<b>509,609,774,000</b>
<b>Total compensations and restitutions</b>	<b>392,155,192,000</b>	<b>527,023,786,000</b>

From the perspective of a 'Wiedergutmachung' between the Netherlands and Suriname as per year end 2006, compounded at 3% per year, a symbolic amount of over €.392 billion, being the net future value can be taken into consideration as restitutions for structural rebuilding of the country and for reparations for the healing process of human suffering.

Ten years later the net future value of this amount increases to €. 527 billion.

### II.3 (FORMER) FRENCH COLONIES AGAINST FRANCE

**PREAMBLE – FRENCH LAW ACKNOWLEDGING  
TRADE AND SLAVERY CRIME AGAINST HUMANITY**

Taubira's law adopted in may 2001  
(comparison – On the left the private bill (1998) on the right the final law (2001))

Taubira's Bill n° 1297 - 1998	French law – may 2001
<p><b>Article 1</b></p> <p>The French Republic recognizes that the trans-Atlantic slave trade and slavery, perpetrated from the fifteenth to the nineteenth century by European powers against the African people deported to America, constitute a crime against humanity.</p>	<p><b>Article 1</b></p> <p>The French Republic recognizes that the transatlantic slave trade as well as the slave trade in the Indian Ocean, on the one hand and slavery on the other, perpetrated from the XVth century, in the Americas the Caribbean, in the Indian Ocean and in Europe against the African, Amerindian, Madagascar and Indian, constitutes a crime against humanity</p>
<p><b>Article 2</b></p> <p><b>Schoolbooks</b> and programmes of research in history and human sciences give to the longest and most massive deportation in the history of human kind all the importance it deserves. Cooperation, which will enable the written archives available in Europe to be linked together with the oral sources and the archaeological knowledge that has been accumulated in Africa, in the Americas, in the Caribbean and in other territories that have known slavery, will be encouraged and fostered.</p>	<p><b>Article 2</b></p> <p>The slave trade and slavery will be given the place it deserves in school curricula, and in research programmes in history and in the humanities. Cooperation, which will enable the written archives available in Europe to be linked together with the oral sources and the archaeological knowledge that has been accumulated in Africa, in the Americas, in the Caribbean and in other territories that have known slavery, will be encouraged and fostered.</p>
<p><b>Article 3</b></p> <p>A petition for recognition of the transatlantic slave trade and of slavery as a crime against humanity shall be submitted to the European Union, international organisations and, first and foremost, the UNO.</p>	<p><b>Article 3</b></p> <p>A petition for recognition of the transatlantic slave trade as well as the slave trade in the Indian Ocean and of slavery as a crime against humanity shall be submitted to the Council of Europe, to international organisations and to the United Nations Organisation. This petition will also aim to seek a common date at the international level for the commemoration of the abolition of the slave trade and of slavery, without prejudice to the commemorative dates peculiar to each of the overseas territories.</p>

<p><b>Article 4</b></p> <p>On 8 February, each year, the Vienna Congress of 1815 will be commemorated as the official condemnation by European nations of the slave trade regarded as "negating the principle of humanity and universal ethics". The utmost will be done, to have this date adopted by free nations as the international commemoration date.</p>	<p><b>Article 4</b></p> <p>The last paragraph of the only article of the law N° 83-550 of June 30 1983 relative to the commemoration of the abolition of slavery is replaced by three paragraphs, as follows: "A decree establishes the date of the commemoration for each of the above territories concerned. "In metropolitan France, the date of the annual commemoration of the abolition of slavery is set by the Government after the widest consultation, "A committee of qualified personalities, which will include representatives of associations defending the memory of slaves, is established with the responsibility of proposing, over the whole of the national territory, places and actions guaranteeing the durability of the memory of this crime through the generations. The composition, the competence and the missions of this committee are specified by a decree in the Conseil d'Etat within six months of the publication of the law N° ..... of ..... , ..aiming at the recognition of the slave trade and of slavery as a crime against humanity."</p>
<p><b>Article 5</b></p> <p>A committee of qualified personalities is established <b>in charge of examining the damage and the conditions of compensation for this crime</b>. The competences and goals of this committee will be determined by a decree of the Conseil d'État (State Council).</p>	<p>deletion (partially in art.4)</p>
<p><b>Article 6</b></p> <p>It is inserted after the article 24(2) of the law of July 29, 1881 on the Freedom of the Press, the following article 24(3):</p> <p>"Art.24(3) - Those having <b>contested the crime against humanity defined at art.1 of the present bill</b>, by one of the means mentioned at the art.23, Will be <b>punished</b> according to sanctions provided at Article 24 (2).</p>	<p>deletion</p>
<p><b>Article 7</b></p> <p>It is inserted after the article 48(2) of the law of July 29,1881 on the Freedom of the Press, the following article 48(2-1):</p> <p>"Art 48(2-1): any association which has been legally registered for two years at least at the moment when the facts took place and of which the statutes stipulate the defence of the moral</p>	<p><b>Article 5</b></p> <p>In article 48-1 of the law of 29 July 1881 on the freedom of the press, after the words: "by its statutes, of", are inserted the words: "defend the memory of the slaves and honour of their descendants,"</p>

interests and memory of slaves, and honour of descendants of slaves can exercise the rights belonging to the party claiming damages concerning the apology of crimes against humanity such as established by Article 24(3).

### II.3.1 HAITI : OFFENSIVE OF 2004

January 2003 –

Written question at the parliament of Mrs Taubira, Representative of the French colony of Guyane: France must pay off the ransom extorted from the Haitian government by the French state under the threat of war in the XIXe.

April 7, 2003 (birthday of the murder of Toussaint Louverture, on Napoleon's order) Pt Aristide asks it officially.

Few months later, Haitian people sing all over Haiti in each meeting, "Restitution, reparation":

- Restitution of the ransom - this sum is the exact price of the freed slaves, which will be pay to the colonists
- Reparation for trade, slavery and the damages linked to the payment of this ransom

France answers with an amazing hypocrisy and scorn to the Haitian demand:

- 1) French Pt Chirac decides to form with so-called "friends of Haiti" and experts (left wing people...), an Independent Committee of Reflection and Proposition on Franco Haitian relations,
- 2) This committee releases an official report. A report which is a shame for France, and an insult to all black people intelligence, and deny of course the well grounded of the demand.

### II.3.2 SUMMONS OF THE FRENCH STATE BY SEVERAL GROUPS FROM THE FRENCH COLONY OF LA REUNION FOR CONTEMPORANEOUS TRAFFIC OF CHILDREN

It's about the concealed scandal of a contemporary dehumanisation: the use of children from La reunion Island by the French State between 1960-1980.

In 1963, the French politician Michel Debré undertakes massive deportation of children from the Reunion Island in order to repopulate and provide agricultural labour to depopulated areas of the centre of France and, killing two birds with one stone, reduce the island's population.

It is actually a process which follows the normal framework of the colonial system: the colonial administration has always deported people towards its building sites the same way it did with its machines.

THIS IS HOW FROM THE EARLY SIXTIES, THE FRENCH STATE IMPULSE THE EXPANSION OF MODERN SLAVERY BETWEEN THE INDIAN OCEAN AND FRANCE.

The crime is committed in the greatest secrecy under the governments of three presidents, and the main architect is Michel Debré who manages a whole network of «lieutenants » (some having previously served in Algeria) in the civil services in charge in La Reunion, in Paris and in the central region of France, area where these children will be convoyed. And this process is going to last for almost 20 years, from 1963 to 1980.

To start with, the process is mainly to scour foster homes, mostly run by nuns, which provide accommodation for young delinquents and more or less orphan and abandoned children. The eldest children leave cheerfully for “studying in France mainland”. They will be sent in remote farms in the centre of France and in most cases used as servile labour. But soon this source won't be sufficient to provide the amount of people required: children are taken by force by teams of social workers and local policemen who go up and down the whole countryside. Some families will affix a finger on the abandonment official form provided by these representatives of the French administration “in order to give it the legal right to send those children for studying in France's mainland”. For others the administration will even skip this masquerade. Why hesitate in front of forgery: the program is political, planned from the top and it is a colonial regime. Impunity is guaranteed. A few local representatives commit themselves to the battle in order to block this process of deportation; they are persecuted even imprisoned.

The targeted families are generally poor and often illiterate. The administration will coldly plan to take advantage of this fact and organize in addition their separation: it will methodically take care that any contact, any link is broken. They say the children that their relatives are dead. For each one of these children the administration will organize a total change of life. For its sake, of course. To help him to turn the page. To start a new life. To being integrated. Change of family name. Destruction of the administrative file. Separation of brothers and sisters. Scattering in the remotest villages. Impossibility to go back. Slave-children in farms, children massively sexually abused, children prevented to go to school (and for some of them still illiterate), run away children for anywhere chased by policemen with their dogs, children beaten with a belt, deprived of food, kept prisoners in cells and children who rebel. For each of these children, the French State plans in this second half of the XX century, the none return trip.

At home the families await news which will never come. Mails are under control. They not only don't know any more where are their children, but the administration takes care them no to be able to find any trace. Its 'stetae secret. Lasting for 40 years.

At the end of the 90's the scandal starts to burst, when some of these children now adults and discovering the truth, start to fight, reveal themselves to the media, denounce and finally file a complain against the French state : crime against humanity, traffic of children, forgery, illegal adoptions, scorn of human rights, modern slavery.

In 2000, **Jean-Jacques Martial**, one of those children deported, today an adult, has stated investigations. After a long battle, he found back his family (apart from his father died in the meantime), legally got his original name back and wrote a book to express his suffering and his rebellion for himself and for all the others; especially for all those who anonymously committed suicide, those who became mentally ill and are kept in psychiatric hospital, those affected by a nervous breakdown and permanently requiring therapy, those who became homeless, all those who became delinquents, free or in jail, all having marital problems originating from this omnipresent past, all those who are internally continuously crushed and do their best daily to hide it to their circle.

NB: The same way no human right association got involved to support the victims when the people of African descent had to fight a long way to obtain the admittance by the French law that slave trade was as a crime against humanity (May 2001).In credible Silence of the Activists!

To step up the mobilisation, break the silence conspiracy weighing on this state crime and force the acknowledgment of the scandal of this incredible contemporary slave deportation set up by a

European state, **Jean-Jacques Martial** complained a file asking for one billion euros of damages. And several complains will follow from different organisations of these victims. Last development, the Department of La Reunion has filed a complain by itself against the French State.

### II.3.3 Summons of the French State on Reparation for the trade and slavery 2005

The **M.I.R.-Martinique**<sup>47</sup> and the **Conseil Mondial de la Diaspora Pan Africaine**<sup>48</sup> are at the tribunal against the French state for reparation since May 2005.

#### **Legal grounds:**

The French Republic acknowledge the transatlantic slave trade and slavery European powers were involved in from the 15th century against the African peoples carried over to EUROPE, the Americas and the Indian ocean, are a crime against humanity.

Those crimes against humanity have caused harm and therefore a debt in favour of the victims and their descent that still bear the marks of these sufferings.

The Martinican people essentially composed of former slaves from African descent and origins still suffers from the consequences of these crimes which have brought about problems in terms of social and economic development and a strong phenomenon of alienation which hinders its cultural blossoming.

Considering Article 1 of the TAUBIRA law of May 21st 2001, the emancipation proclamation of April 28th 1848, and the Article 1384 alinea 1 and 4 of the French Civil Code: "the French state which organized the slave trade and the bondage of deported Africans will be held responsible before the courts for the harmful consequences of those crimes against humanity committed by it self and by those who acted under its authority or within the framework of the laws it enacted to legalise those crimes through those he gave a mandate to act".

#### **Subject of this action:**

Considering the first article of the TAUBIRA law,  
Considering the articles 1382 and 1384-1 or the Civil Code,

The French state has acknowledged committing crimes against humanity by being involved in the slave trade and the slavery of blacks, thus responsible for both the material and immaterial damage the Martinican people, descendants from deported Africans held in bondage in the new world, still suffers from,

- The French government will have to repair for all the damages it caused.

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<sup>47</sup> Mouvement International pour les Réparations/Martinique (International Movement for Reparation/Martinique)

<sup>48</sup> World Council of Pan African Diaspora

## Proposals considering the complexity of the evaluation of the damage:

The French government will have:

- To order an investigation on the harm done to the Martinican people through these crimes against humanity,
- to give a mandate for the claimants to appoint a college of experts in the following year (historians, sociologists, economists, lawyers, financial analysts, doctors, psychologists and psychiatrists) so as to assess the extent of the damages:
- This group will deliver its conclusions within five years, and account for its work to the tribunal,
- the claimants ask for a first deposit of 500.000 euros to form this college and for it to begin to work; It will have to issue (in a period of six months) projected accounts for its functioning;
- the claimants ask for the French state to be already condemned to pay a deposit of euros 200 billions for the damage which the college is in charge to evaluate;
- Region and Department authorities will jointly co-manage this fund until the creation of a "Foundation for Reparation in Martinique".

**In the complain, the claimants firstly copy the grounds on which the private member's bill of Mrs Taubira (1998) was based: (approximate translation).**

*"There is no bookkeeping to measure the horror of the slave trade and the abomination of slavery. Logbooks, tampered with, do not reveal the extent of raids, the sufferings of exhausted and aghast children, the desperate and utter confusion of women, the utter distress of men. Logbooks remain silent on the shock which left them stunned in the Slaves' House of Goree... They ignore the scare of being, crammed together down in the holds. They rub out the groans of the slaves thrown overboard ballast. They deny the rapes of terrified young girls. They cross out the bargaining on the livestock markets. They conceal murders covered by the Black Code. Invisible, anonymous, without descent and descendants, the slaves do not count. Only receipts are valuable. No statistics, no evidence, no harm, no compensation. What was left unsaid on the horror linked to the most massive and longest deportation in man's history lied dormant for one and a half century under the heaviest silence.*

The fight over figures is raging. Some historians stagger by counting the millions of children, women and men, young and healthy, of childbearing age, who were torn from the African continent. Weary and unable of certainty, they agree on a rough figure ranging from 15 to 30 millions of captives deported by the transatlantic trade. Archaeologists decipher, with as much care as school pupils, the vestiges of pre-colonial civilizations and dig up, with a pathetic satisfaction, the pieces of evidence of the greatness of Africa before the times of conquerors and the merchants (compradors). Anthropologists describe the unequal exchange in the triangular trade of slaves, raw material of the western expansionist capitalism, and the "customs", trade fees used to be paid with trifles, materials, iron bars, alcohol and guns to the sea-side States *chefaillon*. Some ethnologists rebuild the process of how traditional structures fell apart under the impact of this traffic which provided European ports with hefty profits, ship-owners with guilty incomes and States with colourless and odourless taxes. Sociologists bring to light the political plots fomented by slave traders to fuel conflicts among African States, among coastal chefferies, among suppliers of "black gold". Some economists compare the voracious mining economy to the greedy plantation economy and draw from it the motives for those massive deportations. Some theologians make a detailed analyse of Cham's curse and try to put an end to the Valladolid controversy. Some psychoanalysts investigate the survival resilience and the exorcism mechanisms which enabled slaves to escape madness. Some lawyers dissect the Black Code, acknowledge the crime against humanity and recall that this crime is imprescriptibly. The sons and daughters of slaves descendants, scattered all over the world in united diasporas, hurt and humiliated, fed up with the fuss about pre-colonial



slavery, about the dates of conquest, about the volume and value of the junk, about local complicities, about the European liberators, counterattack by Chaka's feat, the Zulu emperor, who stand in the way of the country penetration by the slave traders. *They sing the epic of Soundjata, the founder of Mali's Empire, who relentlessly opposed the slave system. They uphold the bull of Ahmed BABA, the famous scholar from Timbuktu, who refuted the Cham's curse in the whole Songhai Empire and condemned the trans-Saharan slave trade initiated by merchants from North Africa. They bring to light Queen Nzinga's boldness, who even dared to confront her brother with a clear-cut refusal. They collect the letters sent by Alfonso I, King of the Congo, who appealed to the King of Portugal and to the Pope. They mumble the maroon's round dance song, warriors full of prestige and common rebels. They hum the song of the house niggers, actively behind some escapes, fires lighters, spell artisans, artists in poisoning. They start singing the grand dirge of aborting mothers.*

They try to minimize the greed of those among them who handed over prisoners to the slave traders. They judge their venality, their lack of thought or their cowardice, terrible commonplace nature, by the standards of the treason of elites, not less numerous, who also sold their own people in other times and other places.

Disgusted by the bad faith of those who declare the fault erased by the death of the guilty ones and quibble about the people who should receive possible compensations, they whisper, embarrassed, that, although the State of Israel did not exist when the Nazis perpetrated for twelve years the holocaust against the Jews, it receives compensations for the damages caused by the former Federal Republic of Germany. Embarrassed, they whisper that Americans acknowledge owing compensation for the harm done to Americans of Japanese descent who remained imprisoned seven years on Roosevelt's order during the Second World War. Annoyed, they also evoke the Armenian genocide and praise the recognition of all those crimes.

Feeling sorry for these comparisons, they ward off the cabal, feeling oppressed, keen on convincing that nothing would be worse than feeding and leaving a loathsome competition among victims.

Then humanists teach, with a dispassionate rage, that it is impossible to speak about the unspeakable, to explain the indefinable, to measure the irreparable. These humanists of all crafts or professions or conditions, great specialists or common citizens, members of the human race, subjects of peculiar cultures, whether official or repressed, bearers of blossoming or tormented identities, think and claim that the time has come for mourning and respect. They say that all this waffle on the slave-owners motivations is putrid.

That the trick on the context and the mentalities of those times is crude.

Those digressions on African complicities are obscene.

That, the revisions of statistics are revolting.

Those calculations regarding the costs of compensation are improper.

That legal disputes and philosophical procrastination are indecent.

That semantic subtleties differentiating crime from offence are cynical. That hesitation to acknowledge the crime is an insult.

That the negation of the slave's humanity is criminal.

They say, like Elie WIESEL does, that "the executioner always kills twice, the second time by his silence".

*The death of millions of people establishes the crime. Treaties, bulls and codes record the intention. Licenses, contracts and State monopolies prove the organization. And those who faced the absolute barbarity while bringing with them, beyond the seas and beyond horror, traditions and values, principles and myths, rules and beliefs, while inventing songs, tales, languages, rites, gods, knowledge and techniques to an unknown continent, those who survived the apocalyptic*

*crossing down in the hold, all bearings destroyed, those whom life instinct was enough powerful to defeat the annihilation, all those are exempt to have to prove their humanity.*

France, which was a slave state before being abolitionist, homeland of human rights, tarnished by the darkness and “pathetic character of the Era of Enlighten,”<sup>49</sup> will restore radiance and glory to its prestige IN THE EYES of the WORLD by being the first to bow before the memory of the victims of this orphan crime”.

### III - Recommendations

- 1) to build an international Think Tank / network of the lawyers working on reparations,
- 2) to improve the networking between the communities/organisations/schools/study groups, which develop an afro centric agenda,
- 2) to overcome the barrier of languages and improve the collaboration in depth between activists and organisations involved in reparations

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<sup>49</sup> referring to the book of Pr Louis Sala Molins « Les Misères Des Lumières - Sous la raison, l'outrage », Ed. Robert Laffont.