Thursday, 10 September 2026 10/09/2026 10:44:33

FRONT MATTER

FORMAL ADVANCE NOTICE, INSTITUTIONAL QUESTIONNAIRE AND INTERNATIONAL REFERENCE DOCUMENT

RECKONING, REPAIR, REPARATIONS, REPARATIVE JUSTICE, INSTITUTIONAL RESPONSIBILITY, GOVERNANCE, REPRESENTATION, ANTI-BLACK RACISM, INSTITUTIONAL RACISM, EVIDENCE, ACCOUNTABILITY AND MEASURABLE REPAIR

Prepared in Advance of

PART 2: RECKONING AND REPAIR

Thursday, 21 January 2027
16:00–17:00 United Kingdom Time

The event notification identifies the event as **"Part 2: Reckoning and Repair"** and gives the above date and time.

ISSUED BY

REPARATION NATION LIMITED

Formal Advance Notice and International Reference Document

Date of Issue: 10 September 2026

Prepared by:
Derrick Lynch, also known as John Canoe
Reparation Nation Limited
Company No. 14761041

DOCUMENT STATUS

This document constitutes a:

FORMAL ADVANCE NOTICE

INSTITUTIONAL QUESTIONNAIRE

DOCUMENTARY INFORMATION REQUEST

EVIDENTIAL REFERENCE DOCUMENT

INTERNATIONAL REPARATIONS DISCUSSION FRAMEWORK

NOTICE OF QUESTIONS FOR ADVANCE CONSIDERATION

and

FOUNDATION DOCUMENT FOR CONTINUING WRITTEN AND PUBLIC DISCUSSION

It has been prepared in advance of the forthcoming **Part 2: Reckoning and Repair** event and is intended to remain capable of use after that event in continuing national, regional and international discussions concerning reparations and reparative justice.

The forthcoming event is therefore an important immediate context for this document, but it is **not the limit of the document's purpose, scope or future use**.

FORMAL NOTICE

This document is being circulated substantially in advance of the forthcoming event so that the organisers, participating institutions, named participants and other materially relevant bodies have an opportunity to:

consider the questions carefully;

identify existing policies, reports, research and documentary material;

identify the appropriate institutional departments or decision-makers;

correct any factual misunderstanding;

consider whether particular matters should form part of the event;

provide documentary references where answers already exist;

identify matters requiring further research;

and prepare subsequent written responses where questions cannot reasonably be addressed during the event itself.

The purpose is **advance preparation, not ambush**.

No recipient is expected to answer the entirety of this document during a one-hour public event.

IMPORTANT STATEMENT CONCERNING ALLEGATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

For the avoidance of doubt:

REPARATION NATION LIMITED MAKES NO ALLEGATIONS, NO ACCUSATIONS, NO ASSERTIONS, NO ASSUMPTIONS AND NO CONCLUSIONS THAT ANY PERSON, ORGANISATION, GOVERNMENT, INSTITUTION OR OTHER BODY REFERRED TO IN THIS DOCUMENT HAS ACTED IMPROPERLY.

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The purpose of asking questions is precisely to avoid proceeding by assumption.

Questions concerning:

anti-Black racism;

institutional racism;

historical responsibility;

institutional benefit;

financial interests;

representation;

conflicts of interest;

governance;

decision-making;

accountability;

or institutional safeguards

should therefore **not** be interpreted as findings that such matters have occurred improperly.

The questions seek facts, evidence, definitions, policies, documentary authority and explanations from the bodies best placed to provide them.

PRINCIPLE OF EVIDENTIAL FAIRNESS

The intended process is:

QUESTION

↓

ANSWER

↓

DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE

↓

VERIFICATION

↓

CORRECTION OR FURTHER QUESTION WHERE NECESSARY

↓

CONCLUSION ONLY WHERE JUSTIFIED BY THE EVIDENCE

No conclusion should precede the evidence necessary to support it.

QUESTIONS STAND INDEPENDENTLY

The questions contained in this document stand independently.

They require answers, where applicable, based upon each recipient's own:

policies;

documents;

definitions;

research;

governance arrangements;

financial records;

decision-making structures;

published positions;

evidential material;

and institutional decisions.

Recipients are not required to agree with the analysis or terminology contained within this document in order to answer the questions.

Where a recipient disagrees with a premise, definition or factual statement, correction is expressly invited.

EXISTING DOCUMENTS

Recipients are not expected unnecessarily to recreate information that already exists.

Where an answer is already contained within:

a policy;

report;

research paper;

financial statement;

governance document;

annual report;

published decision;

minutes;

archival record;

evaluation;

official webpage;

or other identifiable source,

a sufficiently precise documentary reference or direct link will ordinarily be appropriate.

Where no requested policy, safeguard, research, document or information exists, recipients are invited simply to state that fact.

The absence of a document should not be replaced by assumption.

PRINCIPAL INTERNATIONAL QUESTION

This document ultimately examines a simple but extensive chain:

WHAT HAPPENED?

WHAT HARM RESULTED?

WHAT EVIDENCE ESTABLISHES THAT HARM?

WHO WAS RESPONSIBLE?

WHO BENEFITED?

WHO CONTINUES TO BENEFIT?

WHO IS ENTITLED TO REPAIR?

WHO REPRESENTS THEM?

WHO AUTHORISED THAT REPRESENTATION?

WHAT FORM SHOULD REPAIR TAKE?

WHO PAYS?

WHO CONTROLS THE RESOURCES?

WHO RECEIVES THEM?

WHAT SAFEGUARDS EXIST AGAINST ANTI-BLACK RACISM?

WHAT SAFEGUARDS EXIST AGAINST INSTITUTIONAL RACISM?

WHO SCRUTINISES THE PROCESS?

WHAT HAPPENS WHEN THE PROCESS FAILS?

HOW IS ACTUAL REPAIR MEASURED?

WHAT REMAINS UNREPAIRED?

AND WHO HAS AUTHORITY TO DETERMINE THAT REPARATIVE RESPONSIBILITY HAS BEEN DISCHARGED?

NOTICE OF INTERNATIONAL REFERENCE FUNCTION

Although prepared in connection with the forthcoming event, this document has deliberately been structured so that its principal questions can be applied internationally.

The framework may therefore be relevant to:

governments;

former colonial powers;

CARICOM and regional institutions;

African states and institutions;

Caribbean states and institutions;

diaspora organisations;

universities;

churches;

financial institutions;

media organisations;

companies;

charities;

museums;

archives;

research institutions;

descendant organisations;

reparations commissions;

funders;

professional advisers;

and community organisations.

The objective is **comparability without assuming equivalence**.

Different histories, jurisdictions and institutions may require different answers.

FORMAL SCHEDULE OF PRINCIPAL RECIPIENTS

1. WILBERFORCE INSTITUTE — UNIVERSITY OF HULL

Wilberforce Institute
University of Hull
Cottingham Road
Hull
HU6 7RX
United Kingdom

Email: wilberforce@hull.ac.uk
Telephone: +44 (0)1482 466613

The event communication identifies the forthcoming event as being from the Wilberforce Institute.

For the attention of the Director and the organisers of Part 2: Reckoning and Repair.

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2. UNIVERSITY OF HULL

University of Hull
Cottingham Road
Hull
HU6 7RX
United Kingdom

Copy for institutional notice and appropriate onward circulation.

The Wilberforce Institute operates within the University of Hull.

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3. CENTRE FOR REPARATION RESEARCH — THE UNIVERSITY OF THE WEST INDIES

Centre for Reparation Research
The University of the West Indies
Regional Headquarters
2A Hermitage Road
Kingston 7
Jamaica

For the attention of Professor Sonjah N. Stanley Niaah, Director, and the appropriate institutional officers.

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4. THE UNIVERSITY OF THE WEST INDIES

Office of the Vice-Chancellor
The University of the West Indies
Regional Headquarters
Kingston 7
Jamaica, West Indies

Copy for institutional notice and appropriate onward circulation.

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5. CHURCH COMMISSIONERS FOR ENGLAND

Church Commissioners for England
Church House
Great Smith Street
London
SW1P 3AZ
United Kingdom

Telephone: +44 (0)20 7898 1000

For the attention of the appropriate officers responsible for Project Spire, historical research, reparative justice and the proposed Fund for Healing, Repair and Justice.

For the attention also of Charmaine Simpson in connection with her participation in the forthcoming discussion.

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6. THE SCOTT TRUST LIMITED / LEGACIES OF ENSLAVEMENT PROGRAMME

The Scott Trust Limited
Kings Place

90 York Way
London
N1 9GU
United Kingdom

Legacies of Enslavement Programme:
Email: legacies@theguardian.com

For the attention of Ebony Riddell Bamber, Programme Director, and the appropriate officers of The Scott Trust Limited.

The Scott Trust's Legacies of Enslavement programme is described as a 10-year restorative-justice initiative arising from research into the Guardian founders' historical links to transatlantic slavery.

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7. GUARDIAN NEWS & MEDIA LIMITED

Guardian News & Media Limited
Kings Place
90 York Way
London
N1 9GU
United Kingdom

Copy for institutional notice and appropriate onward circulation concerning the Guardian's participation and the Legacies of Enslavement programme.

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8. HEIRS OF SLAVERY

Heirs of Slavery

For the attention of Alex Renton and the appropriate governance officers.

Media enquiries: press@heirsofslavery.org

This copy is intended to ensure that the questions concerning descendant organisations, representation, historical inheritance, responsibility, reparative action and relationships with descendant communities are placed directly before the participating organisation.

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9. CARIBBEAN COMMUNITY REPARATIONS COMMISSION

Thursday, 10 September 2026 10/09/2026 10:44:33

Caribbean Community Reparations Commission
c/o Caribbean Community (CARICOM) Secretariat
Turkeyen
Greater Georgetown
Guyana

Email: info@caribbeanreparations.org
Telephone: +592 222-0001/75

The Commission describes itself as operating under the auspices of the Caribbean Community.

Copy for the attention of the appropriate Commission officers and Secretariat representatives.

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10. CARIBBEAN COMMUNITY (CARICOM) SECRETARIAT

Caribbean Community Secretariat
Turkeyen
Greater Georgetown
Guyana

Telephone: +592 222-0001/75

Copy for institutional notice concerning the questions within this document relating specifically to CARICOM authority, governance, representation, Member States, regional reparations structures and documentary mandate.

NAMED PARTICIPANTS — EXPRESS NOTICE

The following named participants should, where practicable, receive or be expressly directed to the document individually through their respective institutions:

Professor Sonjah N. Stanley Niaah
Director
Centre for Reparation Research
The University of the West Indies

Charmaine Simpson
Relevant Church of England / Church Commissioners reparations research and engagement function

Thursday, 10 September 2026 10/09/2026 10:44:33

Ebony Riddell Bamber
Programme Director
Scott Trust Legacies of Enslavement Programme

Alex Renton
Heirs of Slavery

Individual circulation is intended to supplement, not replace, formal institutional circulation.

NOTICE TO RECIPIENTS CONCERNING ONWARD CIRCULATION

Where the recipient of this document is not the person or department responsible for answering a particular question, Reparation Nation Limited respectfully requests that:

1. the document be forwarded to the appropriate person or department;

2. the appropriate person or department be identified where reasonably practicable;

and

3. Reparation Nation Limited be informed of the referral.

This is intended to prevent substantive questions from remaining unanswered merely because they initially reached an incorrect institutional contact point.

NOTICE CONCERNING PUBLICATION AND FUTURE REFERENCE

This document has been prepared as a durable reference document.

Responses, corrections, documentary references and subsequent developments may therefore be incorporated into future versions, schedules, research, correspondence and public discussion, subject to applicable legal obligations and appropriate treatment of confidential, privileged or personal information.

Where a recipient considers any factual statement concerning itself to be incorrect, correction is expressly invited.

SUPPORTING PUBLICATIONS

Reparation Nation Limited provides the following publications as additional context concerning the wider work from which this document has developed.

The publications do **not** replace the questions contained in this document.

The questions stand independently and should be answered from the relevant institutions' own evidence and documentary material.

BOOK 1

Amazon UK

Book 1 — Amazon UK

BOOK 2

Amazon UK

Book 2 — Amazon UK

These publications are provided because the present correspondence should not be misunderstood as an isolated objection arising only because of the forthcoming event.

DOCUMENT STRUCTURE

The substantive document comprises **20 sections** examining the principal evidential, institutional, financial, representative, governance and accountability questions arising within contemporary reparations and reparative-justice processes.

The sections should be read cumulatively.

Questions appearing later in the document do not replace earlier questions.

Cross-reference is encouraged where the same institutional evidence answers several questions.

REQUEST FOR ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Recipients are respectfully requested to acknowledge receipt.

Acknowledgement does not imply:

agreement with the document;

acceptance of any proposition;

acceptance of responsibility;

or commitment to answer every question.

It establishes only that the document has been received and can be directed to the appropriate institutional officers.

FINAL FRONT-MATTER STATEMENT

This document begins from neither guilt nor innocence, neither institutional virtue nor institutional failure.

It begins with questions.

Its governing principle is:

WHERE FACTS CAN BE ESTABLISHED, ESTABLISH THEM.

WHERE DOCUMENTS EXIST, IDENTIFY THEM.

WHERE AUTHORITY IS CLAIMED, SHOW ITS BASIS.

WHERE MONEY IS COMMITTED, TRACE IT.

WHERE REPRESENTATION IS CLAIMED, IDENTIFY THE MANDATE.

WHERE SAFEGUARDS ARE SAID TO EXIST, LOCATE THEM.

WHERE REPAIR IS CLAIMED, MEASURE IT.

WHERE INFORMATION DOES NOT EXIST, SAY SO.

WHERE THE EVIDENCE IS UNCERTAIN, PRESERVE THE UNCERTAINTY.

WHERE AN ERROR IS IDENTIFIED, CORRECT IT.

AND WHERE QUESTIONS REMAIN UNANSWERED, KEEP THEM OPEN.

REPARATION NATION LIMITED
10 September 2026

SECTION 1

FORMAL NOTICE, PURPOSE, STATUS AND INTERNATIONAL REFERENCE FUNCTION OF THIS DOCUMENT

1.1 Formal Notice

This document constitutes a **Formal Advance Notice, Institutional Questionnaire and Reference Document concerning Reckoning, Repair, Reparations, Reparative Justice and Institutional Responsibility**.

It is issued by **Reparation Nation Limited** in connection with the forthcoming event entitled **"Part 2: Reckoning and Repair"**, scheduled for **Thursday, 21 January 2027, from 16:00 to 17:00 United Kingdom time**.

The immediate reason for issuing this document is the forthcoming event. Its purpose, however, is substantially wider.

This document is intended to remain capable of being referred to **before, during and after that event**, and in future discussions concerning reparations, reckoning, repair, restorative justice, reparative justice, institutional responsibility, historical responsibility, continuing consequences, governance, representation, accountability and the practical implementation of repair.

It is therefore deliberately drafted as a **reference document capable of wider national and international application**.

1.2 The Forthcoming Event Is the Starting Point, Not the Limit of This Document

Reparation Nation Limited understands that **Part 2: Reckoning and Repair** is being presented as an interactive discussion involving organisations and persons engaged with questions concerning reparations, reparative justice and the legacies of slavery.

The event notification identifies participation associated with the **Wilberforce Institute / University of Hull, The Church of England, The Guardian and Heirs of Slavery**.

Reparation Nation Limited considers the bringing together of different institutional perspectives to be an important opportunity for serious examination of what the words **"reckoning"** and **"repair"** mean in practical, evidential, institutional and accountable terms.

The event has therefore provided an appropriate occasion upon which to assemble the questions contained in this document.

However, those questions do not cease to exist when the event concludes.

They concern matters of potentially continuing relevance wherever governments, public authorities, universities, churches, corporations, charities, foundations, media organisations, museums, archives, financial institutions, descendant organisations, reparations bodies, researchers or other institutions participate in discussions or decisions concerning reparations.

1.3 Purpose of Advance Notice

Reparation Nation Limited is intentionally providing these matters **substantially in advance of the event**.

This is intended to avoid any suggestion that participating organisations, speakers or organisers are being confronted without reasonable notice with complex questions requiring research, institutional knowledge or documentary evidence.

The advance notice is intended to provide a reasonable opportunity to:

1. consider the questions carefully;
2. identify which questions can already be answered from existing institutional material;
3. locate relevant policies, reports, research, historical records, governance documents, financial information, methodologies, minutes, decisions and other documentary sources;
4. identify questions for which no present institutional answer or policy exists;
5. identify the persons, departments, committees or governing bodies possessing responsibility for the relevant matters;
6. consider whether any of the questions should appropriately influence the agenda or subjects addressed during **Part 2: Reckoning and Repair**;
7. distinguish matters capable of meaningful discussion during a one-hour event from matters requiring subsequent written consideration;
8. permit participating organisations to correct any misunderstanding before Reparation Nation Limited relies upon incomplete information;
9. establish a documentary record capable of informing subsequent discussion; and
10. encourage a discussion of reparations based upon identifiable evidence rather than assumption.

This correspondence is therefore intended as **advance preparation, not an ambush**.

1.4 No Requirement to Answer Every Question During the Event

Reparation Nation Limited does **not** expect every question contained within this document to be answered during the event on 21 January 2027.

The event is scheduled to last approximately one hour.

Complex questions concerning history, governance, institutional responsibility, financial benefit, representation, decision-making, racial safeguards, reparative methodologies and accountability cannot necessarily be answered responsibly within such a limited period.

Attempting to force every question into the event itself could reduce rather than increase the quality of the discussion.

The purpose of advance circulation is therefore to enable the organisers and participating entities to know **what questions exist, why they exist, what evidence may be relevant and what material may already exist capable of answering them**.

Some questions may appropriately inform the event.

Some may be answered by reference to existing documents.

Some may require subsequent written answers.

Some may require further research.

Some organisations may properly state that a particular question falls outside their responsibilities.

There may also be questions for which no policy, evidence, research, procedure or institutional position presently exists.

Each of those outcomes constitutes useful information.

1.5 Independent Status of the Questions

The questions contained within this document **stand independently**.

They are not dependent upon agreement with Reparation Nation Limited.

They are not dependent upon acceptance of any publication produced or identified by Reparation Nation Limited.

They are not dependent upon attendance at the forthcoming event.

They are not dependent upon any particular political, academic, governmental, institutional or philosophical theory of reparations.

Where a question concerns a particular institution, Reparation Nation Limited seeks an answer based, wherever possible, upon that institution's **own policies, documents, definitions, records, research, governance arrangements, decision-making structures, methodologies, financial arrangements and decisions**.

Where authoritative material already exists, Reparation Nation Limited does not request unnecessary duplication.

A reference or direct link to the relevant document, together with identification of the section relied upon, may be sufficient.

Where no such material exists, it is requested that this simply be stated.

The absence of a policy, safeguard, definition, record, methodology, research document or decision may itself constitute relevant information.

It should not be replaced by speculation.

1.6 No Allegations, Accusations, Assertions, Assumptions or Conclusions

For the avoidance of doubt, **Reparation Nation Limited makes no allegation, accusation, assertion or assumption, and reaches no conclusion, merely by asking any question contained within this document.**

A question is a request for information.

A request for evidence is a request for evidence.

A request for clarification is a request for clarification.

A request to identify a decision-maker does not assert misconduct by that decision-maker.

A request concerning institutional racism or anti-Black racism does not, merely by being asked, assert that institutional racism or anti-Black racism has occurred.

A request concerning historical financial benefit does not establish that such benefit existed.

A request concerning present assets does not establish that any present asset is derived from slavery, enslavement, colonialism or any associated historical activity.

A request concerning representation does not establish that an organisation lacks a mandate.

A request concerning conflicts of interest does not establish that a conflict exists.

The purpose of asking questions is precisely to avoid proceeding upon assumptions.

Reparation Nation Limited seeks **facts, evidence, definitions, records and explanations from the persons and institutions best placed to provide them**.

1.7 A Distinction Between Historical Fact and Present Institutional Responsibility

This document will distinguish, wherever necessary, between:

historical events; historical institutional involvement; historical financial benefit; present institutional continuity; present ownership or control of assets; continuing social or economic consequences; contemporary policy choices; and present legal, moral, political or reparative responsibility.

Those matters should not automatically be treated as interchangeable.

Evidence that an historical event occurred does not, without further analysis, determine the nature or extent of a present institution's responsibility.

Equally, the passage of time does not itself answer questions concerning institutional continuity, inherited assets, continuing advantage, continuing disadvantage, documentary responsibility, acknowledgement or repair.

Those questions require evidence.

This document therefore seeks to identify the evidential bridge, where one is claimed to exist, between **past event, continuing consequence, present responsibility and proposed repair**.

1.8 From "Reckoning" to "Repair"

The title **"Reckoning and Repair"** raises two conceptually distinct questions.

First:

What constitutes the reckoning?

Second:

What constitutes the repair?

A meaningful reckoning requires some means of identifying what happened, who participated, who benefited, who suffered harm, what consequences followed, what consequences remain, what evidence supports those findings and who possesses authority to determine them.

A meaningful concept of repair raises further questions:

What is being repaired?

Who determines that repair is required?

Who determines the form of repair?

Who performs or finances it?

Who receives it?

How is entitlement determined?

How is adequacy measured?

Who evaluates the result?

What happens where the proposed repair does not repair the identified harm?

And ultimately:

Who possesses the authority to declare that repair has been achieved?

These are not peripheral questions.

They concern the architecture of reparations itself.

1.9 From Principle to Institutional Architecture

Reparation Nation Limited is concerned not merely with whether an institution states that it supports reparations.

The deeper questions concern **how reparations operate once translated from principle into institutional decision-making**.

That requires examination of matters including:

governance;

authority;

representation;

mandate;

evidence;

definitions;

research methodology;

funding;

financial control;

beneficiary identification;

eligibility;

consultation;

institutional safeguards;

conflicts of interest;

transparency;

independent scrutiny;

measurement;

accountability; and

outcomes.

Accordingly, this document is concerned not merely with the question:

“Do you support reparations?”

It asks the more demanding questions:

“What do you mean by reparations?”

“What precisely is to be repaired?”

“Upon what evidence?”

“By whom?”

“For whom?”

“Who decides?”

“Under what authority?”

“Using what resources?”

“Subject to what safeguards?”

“With what independent scrutiny?”

“Measured by what criteria?”

“With what accountability?”

and

“What evidence would demonstrate that repair has actually occurred?”

1.10 Representation and the Question of Authority

A recurring issue within national and international reparations discussions concerns representation.

Where an individual, organisation, commission, government, academic institution, descendant organisation or other body participates in a reparations process, legitimate questions may arise concerning the nature and extent of its mandate.

Accordingly, one of the fundamental questions running throughout this document will be:

Who authorised whom to speak for whom, concerning what, and with what continuing mechanism of accountability to the people on whose behalf representation is claimed?

This question is not intended to diminish any organisation's contribution.

It is intended to distinguish between expertise, advocacy, participation, consultation and actual representative authority.

Those concepts are not necessarily identical.

1.11 Anti-Black Racism and Institutional Racism

Where decisions concern people of African and African-Caribbean descent and the historical and continuing consequences associated with slavery and colonialism, Reparation Nation Limited considers it legitimate to ask what safeguards exist against **anti-Black racism and institutional racism influencing the processes by which reparations are researched, defined, governed, funded, allocated and evaluated**.

Again, asking that question does not establish that racism has occurred.

The purpose is to establish whether safeguards exist and, where they do, to identify them.

Where an organisation states that safeguards exist, this document will seek to identify their location in written policies, governance arrangements, decision-making procedures, monitoring mechanisms or other evidence.

Where no specific safeguard exists, that can simply be stated.

This permits the issue to be examined on evidence rather than assumption.

1.12 A Continuing and International Reference Document

Although prompted by a particular event in the United Kingdom, this document is deliberately constructed for continuing use.

Reparations are the subject of discussions extending beyond any single organisation, conference, country or region.

Accordingly, the questions developed within this document may subsequently be relevant to engagement with governments, regional organisations, international organisations, reparations commissions, universities, churches, corporations, financial institutions, cultural institutions, descendant organisations, civil-society bodies and other entities internationally.

Future recipients should therefore understand that the document is not intended to presume that the circumstances of one institution, jurisdiction or country are identical to another.

Rather, it establishes a **common evidential framework of questions** capable of being adapted to different institutional and geographical circumstances.

The objective is comparability without assuming equivalence.

1.13 Creation of a Documentary Record

Another purpose of this document is to create a clear documentary record.

Where answers are subsequently received, it should be possible to identify:

what was asked;

when it was asked;

to whom it was addressed;

what answer was provided;

what evidence supported that answer;

what documents were identified;

what questions remained unanswered;

whether an institution stated that relevant material did not exist;

whether further clarification became necessary; and

whether institutional policies or positions subsequently changed.

This will permit future discussions to proceed from an accumulated evidential record rather than repeatedly returning to the beginning.

It will also allow different institutional approaches to be compared fairly.

1.14 Invitation to Correct the Record

Reparation Nation Limited expressly invites every recipient to identify any factual misunderstanding, incorrect description, outdated information or other material error contained within this document insofar as it concerns that recipient.

Where a correction is made, Reparation Nation Limited respectfully requests identification of the evidence supporting the correction wherever reasonably possible.

The purpose is accuracy.

Reparation Nation Limited does not seek to preserve an incorrect proposition merely because it appeared in earlier correspondence.

1.15 Invitation to Provide Existing Material

Recipients are specifically invited to provide or identify existing material relevant to the questions contained in this document, including, where applicable:

policies; governance documents; constitutions; terms of reference; research reports; historical investigations; financial reports; methodologies; consultation documents; equality or racial safeguards; minutes; published decisions; implementation plans; evaluation reports; archives; datasets; public statements; academic publications; and other relevant documentary material.

There is no requirement to reproduce information unnecessarily where an accessible authoritative source already exists.

The purpose is to identify the evidence.

1.16 Supporting Publications and Wider Context

Reparation Nation Limited also identifies two publications as contextual material for recipients who wish to understand the wider development of the questions and concerns informing this correspondence.

BOOK 1

Amazon UK:

https://www.amazon.co.uk/dp/B0HJ4Y6QH7

BOOK 2

Amazon UK:

https://www.amazon.co.uk/dp/B0H8BCMZLV

These publications are supplied for **background and contextual purposes**.

The questions contained in this document stand independently and require answers, where answers are sought from particular organisations, based upon those organisations' own policies, documents, definitions, evidence, governance arrangements and decisions.

The publications are identified so that the present correspondence is not misunderstood as an isolated objection or intervention arising solely because of the forthcoming event.

1.17 Constructive Purpose

The ultimate purpose of this document is not to predetermine answers.

It is to improve the quality of the questions.

Reparation Nation Limited considers that meaningful discussion of reparations requires the ability to distinguish:

evidence from assumption;

history from inference;

participation from representation;

aspiration from policy;

policy from implementation;

expenditure from repair;

institutional acknowledgement from institutional accountability;

and

the language of reparations from demonstrable reparative outcomes.

The forthcoming **Part 2: Reckoning and Repair** event provides an opportunity to begin or continue that examination.

This document provides notice of the questions.

The answers, supporting evidence and subsequent discussion will determine what can properly be established from them.

SECTION 2

DEFINITIONS, TERMINOLOGY AND THE REQUIREMENT FOR CONCEPTUAL CLARITY

2.1 Purpose of This Section

Before questions of responsibility, liability, funding, representation, eligibility, governance or implementation can properly be examined, it is necessary to establish **what the principal terms being used actually mean**.

Reparation Nation Limited considers this particularly important because words such as:

reparations;

reparation;

repair;

reckoning;

reparative justice;

restorative justice;

restitution;

compensation;

redress;

remedy;

reconciliation;

acknowledgement;

atonement;

legacy;

and

responsibility

may be used by different institutions to mean materially different things.

An apparent agreement between institutions may therefore conceal substantial differences in policy.

Conversely, institutions using different terminology may sometimes be describing substantially similar objectives.

Before substantive positions can be compared, the terminology must therefore be identified and tested.

2.2 No Presumed Universal Definition

Reparation Nation Limited does not assume for the purposes of this document that there is one universally accepted definition of **"reparations."**

Nor does Reparation Nation Limited assume that every government, institution, organisation, academic, community, descendant group or reparations body uses the word in the same way.

Recipients are therefore requested, where applicable, to identify **their own operative definition**.

Where that definition derives from another authority, recipients are requested to identify that authority.

Where different definitions are used for different purposes, those distinctions should be explained.

Where no formal definition has been adopted, that fact is itself relevant and may simply be stated.

2.3 Definition of "Reparations"

Each relevant recipient is respectfully requested to answer the following questions:

2.3.1 What does your organisation mean when it uses the term **"reparations"**?

2.3.2 Is that definition formally adopted by the organisation?

2.3.3 If so, where is the definition recorded?

2.3.4 Who formulated the definition?

2.3.5 Who approved it?

2.3.6 When was it approved?

2.3.7 Under what governance or decision-making authority was it approved?

2.3.8 Was the definition subject to consultation?

2.3.9 If so, who was consulted?

2.3.10 How were the persons or organisations consulted selected?

2.3.11 Were affected Black communities or descendants directly involved in determining the definition?

2.3.12 If so, how?

2.3.13 Does the definition include financial compensation?

2.3.14 Does it include restitution?

2.3.15 Does it include rehabilitation?

2.3.16 Does it include acknowledgement or apology?

2.3.17 Does it include institutional reform?

2.3.18 Does it include guarantees or measures intended to prevent repetition?

2.3.19 Does it include land, property, cultural objects, archives or other forms of restoration?

2.3.20 Does it include educational, economic, social or community investment?

2.3.21 Does it include direct payments to individuals?

2.3.22 Does it include payments or transfers to governments, institutions, trusts, funds or community organisations?

2.3.23 Does it encompass both historical harms and their alleged or demonstrated continuing consequences?

2.3.24 Are there matters which your organisation expressly excludes from its definition of reparations?

If so, please identify them and explain the basis for their exclusion.

2.4 Reparation and Reparations

Recipients are asked to clarify whether they distinguish between the singular term **“reparation”** and the plural term **“reparations.”**

If a distinction is made:

What is it?

What is the source of that distinction?

Does the distinction have practical consequences?

Does it affect policy, funding, eligibility, institutional responsibility or implementation?

If no distinction is made, that can simply be stated.

2.5 Definition of "Reckoning"

The forthcoming event uses the term **"Reckoning."**

That term requires clarification.

Reparation Nation Limited therefore asks:

2.5.1 What does **"reckoning"** mean in the context of reparations?

2.5.2 Is reckoning primarily historical investigation?

2.5.3 Does it require identification of institutions and individuals involved in historical activity?

2.5.4 Does it require identification of financial benefit?

2.5.5 Does it require identification of victims and descendants?

2.5.6 Does it require acknowledgement?

2.5.7 Does it require acceptance of responsibility?

2.5.8 Does it require publication of evidence?

2.5.9 Does it require institutional disclosure?

2.5.10 Does it require an assessment of continuing consequences?

2.5.11 Can an institution properly claim to have completed a reckoning where relevant archives, financial records or governance records remain unexamined?

2.5.12 Who determines when the process of reckoning has been sufficient?

2.5.13 Against what criteria is that determination made?

These questions are particularly important because **reckoning is potentially the evidential foundation upon which subsequent claims of repair are constructed**.

2.6 Definition of "Repair"

The second principal word in the event title is **"Repair."**

Reparation Nation Limited considers this word particularly important because the concept of repair implies both:

something capable of being identified as damaged;

and

some intervention intended to address that damage.

Recipients are therefore asked:

2.6.1 What precisely is meant by **"repair"**?

2.6.2 What is being repaired?

2.6.3 How is the relevant harm or damage identified?

2.6.4 What evidence establishes that harm?

2.6.5 Is the object of repair an individual, family, lineage, community, racial or ethnic population, nation, state, institution, economy, culture or some combination of these?

2.6.6 Can historical harm itself be repaired, or can contemporary action address only its consequences?

2.6.7 If continuing consequences are relied upon, how are those consequences identified?

2.6.8 How is causation between historical events and present conditions assessed?

2.6.9 Who determines what constitutes adequate repair?

2.6.10 Is the recipient of repair involved in determining whether the repair is adequate?

2.6.11 Can the institution undertaking or financing the repair determine for itself that adequate repair has occurred?

2.6.12 Is independent assessment required?

2.6.13 What objective or measurable criteria are used?

2.6.14 What happens where an intervention described as reparative fails to produce the intended outcome?

These questions will recur throughout this document.

2.7 The Object of Repair

Before determining a remedy, it is necessary to identify the object of the proposed repair.

Reparation Nation Limited therefore asks participating institutions to distinguish, where relevant, between proposed repair of:

individual harm;

intergenerational harm;

family or lineage harm;

community harm;

racial harm;

economic harm;

educational harm;

cultural harm;

religious harm;

psychological or social harm;

loss of property;

loss of land;

loss of labour or economic output;

loss or removal of cultural property;

institutional exclusion;

political or civic disadvantage;

and

continuing structural consequences.

The inclusion of a category in this questionnaire does not constitute a finding by Reparation Nation Limited that the category necessarily applies in any particular case.

The purpose is to determine **which harms particular institutions say they are seeking to address and upon what evidence**.

2.8 Reparative Justice

Recipients using the expression **"reparative justice"** are requested to identify what they mean by it.

In particular:

2.8.1 How does reparative justice differ from reparations?

2.8.2 Does reparative justice require a transfer of resources?

2.8.3 Can institutional acknowledgement alone constitute reparative justice?

2.8.4 Can education constitute reparative justice?

2.8.5 Can research constitute reparative justice?

2.8.6 Can an apology constitute reparative justice?

2.8.7 Is institutional reform necessary?

2.8.8 What distinguishes an ordinary charitable or social-investment programme from a reparative-justice programme?

That final question is particularly important.

If an institution would have funded an educational, charitable or community programme irrespective of any historical responsibility, the basis upon which that expenditure is subsequently characterised as **reparative** requires clarification.

2.9 Restorative Justice

Where the expression **"restorative justice"** is used, recipients are requested to clarify:

What is being restored?

To whom is it being restored?

What prior state or position is used as the reference point?

Is literal restoration possible?

Where literal restoration is impossible, what substitute is proposed?

Who determines whether that substitute is equivalent, proportionate or adequate?

The terms **restorative justice** and **reparative justice** should not be treated as interchangeable without explanation if the institution concerned attributes different meanings to them.

2.10 Restitution

Where **restitution** forms part of a reparations programme, recipients are requested to explain whether restitution means:

returning particular property;

returning land;

returning cultural objects;

returning archives;

restoring legal rights;

restoring financial value;

restoring institutional control;

or another form of restoration.

Where the original property cannot be returned, recipients are asked to explain what principle determines an appropriate substitute.

2.11 Compensation

Where **compensation** is proposed or discussed, Reparation Nation Limited asks:

Compensation for what?

Calculated by whom?

Using what methodology?

At what valuation date?

Against what evidential standard?

Payable by whom?

Payable to whom?

Individually or collectively?

Directly or through intermediary institutions?

Subject to what governance?

Subject to what audit?

Subject to what review?

The word **"compensation"** should therefore not be allowed to operate as a substitute for explaining the actual mechanism.

2.12 Acknowledgement and Apology

Reparation Nation Limited asks recipients to distinguish between:

acknowledgement;

regret;

apology;

acceptance of responsibility;

and

acceptance of liability.

These concepts may have different legal, moral, historical and institutional consequences.

Accordingly, where an institution has issued an apology or acknowledgement, recipients are asked to identify precisely:

what was acknowledged;

what was apologised for;

who authorised the statement;

on whose behalf it was made;

to whom it was directed;

whether responsibility was accepted;

whether any practical consequences followed; and

whether the institution regards the statement itself as part of reparations.

2.13 Responsibility and Liability

The words **"responsibility"** and **"liability"** should not automatically be treated as synonymous.

Recipients are therefore requested, where relevant, to distinguish between:

historical responsibility;

institutional responsibility;

moral responsibility;

political responsibility;

social responsibility;

financial responsibility;

and

legal liability.

Where an institution accepts one category but rejects another, the distinction should be clearly identified.

2.14 “Legacy”

The expression **“legacy of slavery”** or **“legacies of enslavement”** is frequently used within contemporary discussion.

Reparation Nation Limited asks that the term **“legacy”** be particularised wherever possible.

Does it refer to:

historical memory;

institutional history;

inherited wealth;

physical assets;

social structures;

racial inequalities;

cultural consequences;

economic consequences;

institutional practices;

present-day disadvantage;

or some other identifiable phenomenon?

If a present condition is described as a legacy of a historical event, recipients are asked to identify the evidential methodology by which the relationship between the two is established.

2.15 Slavery and Enslavement

Recipients are invited to state whether they use **“slavery,” “enslavement,” “enslaved people,” “slave trade,” “transatlantic slavery,” “transatlantic trafficking in enslaved Africans”**, or other terminology, and whether those choices reflect a substantive institutional position or are primarily linguistic.

Where a particular historical period, geographical system or legal regime is intended, that should be identified.

This is important because reparations discussions may concern different historical systems occurring across different territories and periods.

Terminological precision reduces the risk of treating distinct historical circumstances as though they were necessarily identical.

2.16 Colonialism and Reparations

Recipients are requested to clarify whether their understanding of reparations extends beyond slavery and enslavement to **colonialism and its consequences**.

If so:

What forms of colonial activity are included?

What historical periods are included?

Which territories are included?

What harms are identified?

How is responsibility attributed?

How are continuing consequences distinguished from subsequent political, economic and social developments?

Does the institution distinguish reparations for slavery from reparations concerning colonialism?

If those matters are combined, what is the evidential and conceptual basis for combining them?

2.17 Descendant

The term **“descendant”** is potentially fundamental to questions of representation and eligibility.

Recipients are therefore asked:

What constitutes a descendant for the purposes of their work?

Is biological descent required?

How is descent established?

Is documentary evidence required?

How many generations are relevant?

Does nationality matter?

Does present residence matter?

Does racial or ethnic identity matter?

Does cultural affiliation matter?

Can an organisation itself be regarded as representing descendants?

If so, upon what mandate?

These questions become particularly important wherever resources, representation or decision-making authority are attached to descendant status.

2.18 Community

The word **"community"** is frequently used but can obscure important questions concerning representation.

Accordingly, where an organisation refers to:

"the Black community";

"African communities";

"Caribbean communities";

"descendant communities";

"affected communities";

or similar expressions,

Reparation Nation Limited asks:

Which people are included?

Which people are excluded?

Who determined those boundaries?

How was the relevant community consulted?

Who is authorised to speak on its behalf?

A population being described as a community does not automatically establish that any particular organisation possesses authority to represent that population.

2.19 Beneficiary

The concept of a **beneficiary** requires separate examination from the concept of a descendant.

A person may potentially be historically connected to an affected population without necessarily qualifying under a particular reparations programme.

Conversely, an institution may design a programme intended to benefit a geographical or social population without requiring proof of individual descent.

Recipients are therefore requested to distinguish clearly between:

historical connection;

descendant status;

eligibility;

representation;

and

beneficiary status.

2.20 Institution

For the purposes of this document, references to an **institution** may include, where context requires:

governments;

public authorities;

universities;

churches and religious bodies;

companies;

banks and financial institutions;

media organisations;

charities;

foundations;

museums;

archives;

professional bodies;

reparations commissions;

international and regional organisations;

descendant organisations;

and other organised entities.

The inclusion of an institution within this definition does **not** imply responsibility for slavery, colonialism or any associated harm.

Responsibility must be established separately by evidence.

2.21 Institutional Continuity

Where a contemporary institution is connected by name, legal succession, property, governance, endowment, archive, predecessor organisation or another mechanism to an historical institution, an important question arises:

What constitutes sufficient institutional continuity for present-day responsibility to arise?

Accordingly:

Does continuity require identical legal personality?

Can responsibility survive corporate restructuring?

Does institutional succession matter?

Does inheritance of assets matter?

Does inheritance of archives matter?

Does continuation of name, purpose or governance matter?

Can an institution inherit benefit without inheriting responsibility?

Can an institution inherit responsibility without possessing the original benefit?

These questions should not be answered by assumption.

They require an articulated principle.

2.22 Anti-Black Racism

Where the expression **“anti-Black racism”** is used within this document, recipients are invited to identify their own definition where they possess one.

Reparation Nation Limited particularly seeks to establish whether institutions recognise anti-Black racism as distinct from broader concepts of discrimination or racism and, if so:

how it is defined;

how it is identified;

how it is measured;

what safeguards exist against it;

who monitors those safeguards;

and what remedial process exists where safeguards fail.

2.23 Institutional Racism

Where an organisation uses, recognises or rejects the expression **"institutional racism,"** it is requested to state its position and identify any definition upon which it relies.

The questions in this document concerning institutional racism are intended to establish whether institutional systems contain safeguards capable of detecting and preventing racial distortion in decision-making.

They do not presume that institutional racism exists within any recipient organisation.

2.24 Safeguard

For the purposes of the questions that follow, a **safeguard** should ordinarily mean something more identifiable than a general assurance that an organisation is committed to equality or fairness.

Where a recipient states that a safeguard exists, Reparation Nation Limited will ordinarily seek to identify:

the written rule, policy or procedure;

the decision to which it applies;

the person responsible for applying it;

the monitoring mechanism;

the evidence demonstrating its operation;

the mechanism for identifying failure;

the review or appeal process;

and the remedial consequence where the safeguard fails.

This distinction will be important throughout the document.

2.25 Evidence

For the purposes of this exercise, **evidence** may include documentary, archival, financial, statistical, historical, academic, testimonial, governance and other relevant material.

However, where a conclusion is based upon evidence, recipients are requested wherever reasonably possible to identify:

what the evidence is;

where it can be examined;

who produced it;

the methodology used;

and

how the conclusion follows from it.

This enables assertions to be tested independently.

2.26 Working Definitions Versus Findings of Fact

Nothing within this section should be interpreted as Reparation Nation Limited adopting every possible definition described above.

The purpose of this section is to establish a framework within which different institutional definitions can be recorded and compared.

A definition is not itself proof of a historical event.

A definition is not proof of causation.

A definition is not proof of responsibility.

A definition is not proof of liability.

A definition is not proof of entitlement.

A definition is not proof that repair has occurred.

Those matters require separate evidence.

2.27 Requirement for Terminological Transparency

Where participating institutions use materially different definitions, Reparation Nation Limited respectfully requests that those differences **not be concealed beneath apparently common terminology**.

If one institution understands reparations principally as financial compensation while another understands reparations principally as institutional acknowledgement and social investment, those are materially different positions.

If one institution regards descendants as identifiable individuals while another uses the term to describe a broad contemporary population, that distinction matters.

If one institution understands repair as measurable correction of identified harm while another understands repair as an ongoing process without a defined endpoint, that distinction matters.

The objective should therefore not necessarily be to force every institution into a single vocabulary.

The objective should first be to establish **what each institution actually means**.

Only then can their respective positions be compared accurately.

2.28 Core Reference Questions Arising From This Section

The terminology examined above ultimately produces a series of foundational questions that should remain visible throughout the remainder of this document:

What happened?

What harm is said to have resulted?

What evidence establishes that harm?

What continues today?

What evidence connects the present condition to the historical event?

Who bears responsibility?

What form of responsibility?

Who is entitled to seek repair?

Who is entitled to receive repair?

Who represents those persons?

Who authorised that representation?

What precisely constitutes repair?

Who determines the form and value of that repair?

Who controls the resources?

What safeguards govern those decisions?

Who independently scrutinises them?

How is success measured?

And who has authority to determine that the identified harm has actually been repaired?

These questions provide the conceptual foundation for the sections that follow.

SECTION 3

IDENTIFICATION OF THE HARM, EVIDENTIAL FOUNDATIONS, CAUSATION AND CONTINUING CONSEQUENCES

3.1 Purpose of This Section

Before a programme, payment, transfer, apology, institutional reform, educational initiative, investment or other intervention can properly be described as **reparative**, a fundamental question arises:

What precisely is the harm that the proposed action is intended to repair?

Reparation Nation Limited considers this question foundational.

If the harm has not been identified with reasonable precision, it becomes difficult to determine:

what constitutes an appropriate remedy;

who should provide that remedy;

who should receive it;

how its scale should be determined;

whether the proposed intervention corresponds to the identified harm;

whether the intervention has succeeded;

and whether repair can ever properly be said to have occurred.

This section therefore seeks to move the discussion from general recognition of historical injustice toward the **identification, evidential substantiation and measurement of particular harms and their alleged or demonstrated continuing consequences**.

3.2 Historical Wrong and Present Harm Should Be Distinguished

Reparation Nation Limited considers it important to distinguish between at least two questions:

What happened historically?

and

What consequences of what happened historically continue in the present?

Those questions may overlap, but they are not necessarily identical.

An historical wrong may be established by documentary evidence.

A present inequality may separately be established by contemporary evidence.

A further evidential question then arises:

What establishes the relationship between the historical wrong and the present condition?

The existence of an historical wrong should not automatically be treated as proof that every contemporary disparity results from that wrong.

Equally, the existence of intervening events should not automatically be treated as proof that historical consequences have disappeared.

The relationship requires examination.

3.3 Identification of the Historical Harm

Each relevant recipient is respectfully requested to identify the historical harms upon which its reparations, reparative-justice, reckoning or repair work is based.

Where applicable:

3.3.1 What historical event, system, policy, practice or conduct is identified?

3.3.2 During what period did it occur?

3.3.3 In which territories did it occur?

3.3.4 Which persons, populations or institutions were responsible for, participated in, facilitated or benefited from it?

3.3.5 Which persons or populations suffered the identified harm?

3.3.6 What documentary evidence supports those conclusions?

3.3.7 Which archives have been examined?

3.3.8 Which archives have not been examined?

3.3.9 What financial records have been examined?

3.3.10 What governmental records have been examined?

3.3.11 What institutional records have been examined?

3.3.12 What academic or historical research is relied upon?

3.3.13 What testimonial or community evidence is relied upon?

3.3.14 What evidential limitations have been identified?

3.3.15 Are there material areas in which the historical evidence remains incomplete, disputed, unavailable or unknown?

3.4 Identification of the Person or Population Harmed

The description of an historical system does not, by itself, answer the question of who suffered the relevant harm.

Recipients are therefore asked, where applicable, to identify whether the harm under examination was suffered by:

individual enslaved persons;

their children;

their descendants;

families;

particular African peoples;

particular Caribbean populations;

particular colonies or territories;

states;

racial or ethnic populations;

communities;

cultural groups;

religious groups;

economic classes;

or some combination of these.

Where broad categories are used, recipients are requested to explain the evidential basis for the category.

This becomes particularly important where present-day eligibility, representation or allocation of reparative resources depends upon membership of that category.

3.5 Categories of Harm

Recipients are requested to identify which categories of harm they recognise within their reparations work.

These may include, without Reparation Nation Limited presuming their application in any particular case:

loss of liberty;

forced labour;

physical violence;

death;

family separation;

sexual violence and exploitation;

loss of property;

loss of land;

loss of income;

loss of accumulated wealth;

loss of inheritance;

restriction of economic opportunity;

removal or destruction of cultural property;

language loss;

cultural disruption;

religious disruption;

educational exclusion;

political exclusion;

legal discrimination;

racial classification and racial hierarchy;

institutional exclusion;

displacement;

economic extraction;

psychological or social consequences;

and

intergenerational consequences.

For each category relied upon, recipients are requested wherever reasonably possible to identify the evidence establishing the harm.

3.6 Direct and Indirect Harm

Recipients are requested to distinguish between **direct** and **indirect** harm.

For example, a person subjected directly to forced labour may present a different evidential question from a descendant alleged to experience an economic consequence generations later.

Both may potentially be relevant to a reparations framework, but the mechanism connecting event and consequence differs.

Accordingly:

3.6.1 Does the institution distinguish direct harm from inherited or intergenerational harm?

3.6.2 If so, how?

3.6.3 Does that distinction affect entitlement?

3.6.4 Does it affect the proposed form of repair?

3.6.5 Does it affect valuation?

3.6.6 Does it affect evidential requirements?

3.7 Continuing Harm

Where a recipient states that consequences of slavery, enslavement or colonialism continue today, Reparation Nation Limited respectfully requests particularisation of that proposition.

What precisely continues?

For example, is the claimed continuing consequence:

economic;

financial;

educational;

institutional;

cultural;

political;

geographical;

social;

health-related;

property-related;

or another identifiable condition?

How is that condition measured?

What is the relevant comparison?

What evidence demonstrates its continuation?

3.8 Causation

The question of causation is central to any attempt to connect an historical event with a contemporary condition.

Reparation Nation Limited therefore asks:

3.8.1 What methodology is used to establish causation?

3.8.2 Is the claimed relationship direct or indirect?

3.8.3 Is causation established at individual, family, community, national or population level?

3.8.4 What evidence is required?

3.8.5 What alternative explanations are considered?

3.8.6 How are competing causal factors assessed?

3.8.7 How are subsequent historical events accounted for?

3.8.8 How are changes in government, law, migration, economic policy, technology, international trade and other intervening developments considered?

3.8.9 Is the methodology published?

3.8.10 Has it been independently reviewed?

3.8.11 Can the underlying data be examined?

These questions are not intended to deny historical continuity.

They are intended to establish it evidentially.

3.9 Correlation and Causation

Reparation Nation Limited considers it important that **correlation and causation should not automatically be treated as equivalent**.

Where contemporary statistical disparities are relied upon as evidence of continuing historical harm, recipients are therefore asked:

What does the statistical evidence establish?

What does it not establish?

What methodology connects the disparity to the historical event?

What other variables were considered?

What limitations apply to the data?

Has the analysis been independently reproduced or reviewed?

This is particularly important where statistical conclusions subsequently influence the allocation of substantial resources.

3.10 Intergenerational Harm

The concept of **intergenerational harm** requires particular examination because it potentially connects historical events with persons who were not alive when those events occurred.

Recipients relying upon intergenerational harm are therefore requested to identify:

3.10.1 what is transmitted between generations;

3.10.2 the proposed mechanism of transmission;

3.10.3 the evidence supporting that mechanism;

3.10.4 how many generations are considered relevant;

3.10.5 whether the effect diminishes, increases or changes over time;

3.10.6 whether different forms of intergenerational harm require different evidence;

3.10.7 whether individual circumstances are considered;

and

3.10.8 how intergenerational harm affects eligibility for repair.

3.11 Economic Harm

Where economic consequences form part of a reparations case, recipients are requested to particularise the economic proposition.

For example:

Was labour extracted without compensation?

Was property taken?

Was land taken?

Were economic opportunities legally restricted?

Was wealth transferred?

Was capital accumulated by particular institutions?

Was inheritance prevented or reduced?

Did an institution obtain an identifiable financial benefit?

Does that benefit remain identifiable today?

Can contemporary assets be traced to it?

What valuation methodology is used?

What assumptions are incorporated into that methodology?

Economic repair cannot be evaluated adequately without identifying the economic harm being addressed.

3.12 Wealth and Counterfactual Analysis

Some reparations arguments may involve propositions concerning wealth that a person, family, population or territory **might have possessed but for an historical wrong**.

That necessarily involves a counterfactual question.

Recipients relying upon such analysis are therefore requested to explain:

What alternative historical position is being modelled?

Why is that counterfactual considered reasonable?

What assumptions are made?

What economic growth rates are used?

How are wars, recessions, migration, political changes, taxation and other contingencies addressed?

What period is modelled?

How sensitive is the result to different assumptions?

Where large financial valuations result from counterfactual modelling, publication of the methodology becomes particularly important.

3.13 Institutional Benefit

A separate question arises where a contemporary institution is said to have benefited historically from slavery, enslavement or colonialism.

Recipients are asked:

3.13.1 What constitutes a benefit?

3.13.2 How is the benefit identified?

3.13.3 Was the benefit direct or indirect?

3.13.4 Was money received?

3.13.5 Was property received?

3.13.6 Was an investment held?

3.13.7 Was insurance provided?

3.13.8 Was finance provided?

3.13.9 Was a donation or endowment received?

3.13.10 Was commercial activity facilitated?

3.13.11 Is the value quantifiable?

3.13.12 Can the benefit be traced into later institutional assets?

3.13.13 Does the institution still possess those assets or their successors?

3.13.14 Has the institution published the evidential chain upon which the finding of benefit is based?

3.14 Benefit Versus Responsibility

Historical benefit and present responsibility should not necessarily be collapsed into a single concept without explanation.

Accordingly, recipients are asked:

Does receiving an historical benefit automatically create a present reparative responsibility?

If so, why?

If not, what additional conditions are required?

Does the size of the benefit affect responsibility?

Does knowledge at the time matter?

Does legal status at the time matter?

Does subsequent institutional conduct matter?

Does institutional continuity matter?

Does disposal of the original asset alter the position?

Does the use to which historical wealth was subsequently put alter the position?

The governing principle should be articulated.

3.15 Harm to States Versus Harm to People

Where reparations claims are advanced by governments or states, a further distinction becomes necessary.

Was the historical harm suffered by:

the contemporary state;

a predecessor state;

the territory;

the population;

particular individuals;

particular descendants;

or some combination of those categories?

Where money is proposed to be transferred to a government, recipients are requested to explain the evidential and representative relationship between:

the historical victim;

the present beneficiary;

and

the institution receiving and controlling the reparative resource.

3.16 Individual Harm Versus Collective Harm

Recipients are requested to explain whether their framework recognises **collective harm** independently of identifiable individual harm.

If so:

What constitutes the relevant collective?

How is collective membership determined?

Who represents the collective?

How is collective harm measured?

Can collective repair occur without direct individual benefit?

Can individual compensation occur without collective repair?

Can both be required?

These distinctions may materially affect the design of reparations programmes.

3.17 Geographic Harm

Where particular countries, territories, regions, cities or communities are identified as having experienced continuing consequences, recipients are requested to identify the geographical basis for that conclusion.

Where contemporary national boundaries differ from historical boundaries, the methodology should be explained.

Where populations have migrated substantially, recipients should explain whether reparative entitlement follows:

ancestry;

nationality;

birthplace;

residence;

territory;

or another criterion.

3.18 Historical Evidence and Missing Records

Reparation Nation Limited recognises that historical records may be incomplete.

Documents may have been lost, destroyed, never created, deliberately withheld or preserved unevenly.

The absence of complete documentation should therefore be acknowledged rather than concealed.

Recipients are asked:

Which significant evidential gaps have been identified?

Why do those gaps exist, where known?

How are conclusions reached where evidence is incomplete?

What degree of uncertainty is attached to those conclusions?

Are estimates clearly identified as estimates?

Are disputed findings clearly identified as disputed?

Are assumptions clearly identified as assumptions?

This is essential to maintaining confidence in the evidential process.

3.19 Oral History and Testimonial Evidence

Where oral history or testimonial evidence is relied upon, recipients are requested to explain the methodology governing its collection, preservation, interpretation and verification.

The purpose is not to diminish oral evidence.

It is to understand how different categories of evidence are assessed and combined.

Questions include:

Who collected the testimony?

When?

Under what methodology?

Was consent obtained for its use?

How is provenance preserved?

How are contradictions addressed?

How is historical context considered?

How is testimonial evidence weighed alongside documentary evidence?

3.20 Academic Research

Where academic research forms part of the evidential foundation for reparations policy, recipients are requested to identify:

the commissioning body;

the researchers;

the funding source;

the research question;

the methodology;

the sources examined;

the limitations identified;

the peer-review process, where applicable;

the ownership or custody of underlying data;

and any institutional involvement in determining the scope or publication of the research.

The existence of academic research should not remove the need to understand how the research was produced.

3.21 Research Commissioned by an Institution Examining Itself

A particular question arises where an institution commissions research into **its own historical involvement or benefit**.

Reparation Nation Limited asks:

Who selected the researcher?

Who determined the research terms of reference?

Who paid for the research?

Who controlled access to archives?

Could researchers follow evidence beyond the original terms of reference?

Did the institution review the report before publication?

Could the institution require amendments?

Was the complete report published?

Were underlying sources identified?

Was independent external review undertaken?

Were contrary findings or uncertainties recorded?

These questions do not imply that institutionally commissioned research is unreliable.

They establish the safeguards surrounding its independence.

3.22 Present-Day Disparities

Where contemporary racial, economic, educational, social or other disparities are relied upon as evidence of continuing harm, recipients are requested to identify:

the particular disparity;

the population measured;

the comparison population;

the geographical area;

the relevant period;

the data source;

the methodology;

the statistical significance where relevant;

known limitations;

alternative explanations considered;

and the evidential basis for connecting the disparity to the historical wrong under examination.

3.23 Race and Ethnicity Data

Where race or ethnicity data are used in reparations research or decision-making, recipients are requested to explain:

how racial or ethnic categories are defined;

whether they are self-identified or externally assigned;

whether categories have changed over time;

whether different datasets use compatible categories;

how mixed heritage is treated;

how African and Caribbean populations are distinguished where necessary;

and what limitations arise from those classifications.

If reparative resources are allocated using racial or ethnic data, transparency concerning classification becomes especially important.

3.24 Baseline

The concept of **repair** requires some understanding of the position against which progress is measured.

Recipients are therefore asked:

What is the baseline?

Is the objective to restore a historical position?

To compensate for an estimated historical loss?

To eliminate a present disparity?

To create equality of opportunity?

To create equality of outcome?

To return identifiable property?

To restore institutional control?

To achieve another defined objective?

Without a baseline, it may be impossible to determine whether repair has occurred.

3.25 Measurement of Harm

Where harm is capable of measurement, recipients are requested to identify:

the unit of measurement;

the data source;

the valuation methodology;

the reference period;

the assumptions;

the margin of uncertainty;

the institution responsible for calculation;

and the mechanism for independent review.

Where harm cannot reasonably be quantified, recipients are requested to state how proportionality between harm and proposed repair is assessed.

3.26 Measurement of Repair

Identifying harm is only the beginning.

If an institution claims that an intervention contributes to repair, Reparation Nation Limited asks:

What outcome was intended?

What indicator measures that outcome?

What was the position before intervention?

What is the position afterwards?

What portion of any change can reasonably be attributed to the intervention?

Who evaluates the result?

Is the evaluation independent?

Is the evaluation published?

What happens if the intervention fails?

3.27 Expenditure Is Not Automatically Evidence of Repair

A fundamental distinction should be maintained between:

money spent

and

harm repaired.

An institution may spend substantial resources on a programme without establishing that the programme repaired the identified harm.

Accordingly, Reparation Nation Limited asks recipients not merely to identify expenditure but, wherever possible, to establish the relationship:

IDENTIFIED HARM → PROPOSED INTERVENTION → MEASURABLE OUTCOME → EVIDENCE OF REPAIR

This evidential chain is central to the approach adopted in this document.

3.28 Charitable Expenditure Versus Reparative Expenditure

Reparation Nation Limited further asks how recipients distinguish **ordinary charitable, philanthropic, social-responsibility or community expenditure** from expenditure properly characterised as reparative.

The following questions arise:

Would the expenditure have occurred irrespective of the identified historical harm?

Was it expressly authorised as reparative expenditure?

Was the beneficiary selected because of the identified harm?

Was the amount related to an assessment of harm?

Did affected persons participate in determining its use?

Is the expenditure recorded institutionally as reparations?

What outcome is intended to constitute repair?

Without such distinctions, there is a risk that ordinary expenditure may retrospectively be labelled reparative without demonstrating a substantive connection to the harm.

3.29 The Evidential Chain

For future reference, Reparation Nation Limited proposes that any significant reparative proposition should, wherever reasonably possible, be capable of being examined through the following chain:

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1. HISTORICAL EVENT

↓

2. IDENTIFIED HARM

↓

3. EVIDENCE OF THAT HARM

↓

4. IDENTIFIED PERSON OR POPULATION HARMED

↓

5. IDENTIFIED RESPONSIBLE OR BENEFITING ENTITY

↓

6. EVIDENTIAL BASIS FOR ATTRIBUTION

↓

7. CONTINUING CONSEQUENCE, WHERE RELIED UPON

↓

8. EVIDENCE CONNECTING HISTORICAL HARM TO PRESENT CONSEQUENCE

↓

9. PROPOSED REPARATIVE INTERVENTION

↓

10. IDENTIFIED BENEFICIARY

↓

11. GOVERNANCE AND SAFEGUARDS

↓

12. MEASURABLE OBJECTIVE

↓

13. INDEPENDENT EVALUATION

↓

14. EVIDENCE OF ACTUAL REPAIR

Where one or more links in that chain cannot presently be established, that does not automatically invalidate the entire reparations proposition.

It does, however, identify **where further evidence, research, definition or policy development may be required**.

3.30 Questions Where the Evidence Is Uncertain

Reparation Nation Limited does not expect historical or contemporary evidence always to produce absolute certainty.

Where uncertainty exists, recipients are requested to distinguish clearly between:

established fact;

strong evidence;

reasonable inference;

academic interpretation;

estimate;

working hypothesis;

contested proposition;

institutional position;

and

unknown information.

This distinction protects all participants.

It prevents uncertainty from being presented as certainty and prevents genuine evidence from being dismissed merely because every historical detail cannot be reconstructed.

3.31 The Importance of Contrary Evidence

Where an institution has reached a significant conclusion concerning historical responsibility, continuing harm or financial benefit, Reparation Nation Limited asks whether evidence inconsistent with that conclusion was actively considered.

If so:

What contrary evidence was identified?

How was it evaluated?

Why was it rejected or given less weight?

Were alternative interpretations recorded?

A robust evidential process should be capable of considering material that does not support the preferred conclusion.

3.32 Opportunity to Challenge or Correct Findings

Where research identifies a named institution, organisation, family or other identifiable entity as having participated in or benefited from historical wrongdoing, recipients are asked whether the affected entity was given an opportunity to:

review the relevant factual findings;

identify factual errors;

provide additional records;

challenge provenance;

and place a response on the record.

Providing such an opportunity does not require acceptance of the response.

It strengthens the evidential record.

3.33 Preservation of Evidence

Reparation Nation Limited considers preservation particularly important where institutions are undertaking historical investigations.

Recipients are therefore asked whether arrangements exist for preserving:

archival material;

digitised records;

research notes;

source lists;

datasets;

financial calculations;

interview material;

institutional correspondence;

methodological records;

and final reports.

Future generations should, where lawful and practicable, be capable of examining the evidential foundations upon which contemporary reparations decisions were made.

3.34 Public Accessibility

Where research is relied upon to justify public claims, institutional commitments or significant reparative expenditure, recipients are asked whether the supporting evidence is publicly accessible.

If not:

Why not?

Is access restricted because of copyright, privacy, data protection, archival conditions, legal privilege, commercial confidentiality or another identified reason?

Can a redacted version be provided?

Can an index of the underlying evidence be published?

Transparency need not require unlawful disclosure, but restrictions should be identifiable.

3.35 Questions for Participating Organisations

Each participating organisation is therefore respectfully invited to consider the following central questions before the forthcoming discussion:

What historical harm does your organisation recognise?

What evidence establishes it?

Whom do you understand to have suffered that harm?

What consequences do you consider to continue today?

What evidence establishes that continuation?

What methodology connects the historical event with the present condition?

What role, if any, does your own institution have within that evidential history?

What form of repair follows from the evidence?

How will you determine whether that repair has actually occurred?

3.36 International Reference Principle

For the purposes of future national and international engagement, Reparation Nation Limited proposes a simple evidential principle:

THE MORE SIGNIFICANT THE CLAIM OF HISTORICAL HARM, PRESENT RESPONSIBILITY OR REPARATIVE ENTITLEMENT, THE MORE IMPORTANT IT BECOMES THAT THE EVIDENTIAL BASIS, METHODOLOGY, DECISION-MAKING PROCESS AND LIMITATIONS ARE IDENTIFIABLE AND CAPABLE OF SCRUTINY.

This principle is not intended to create an impossible standard of historical certainty.

It is intended to encourage transparent distinction between **what is known, what is evidenced, what is inferred, what is disputed, what remains unknown, and what action is nevertheless considered justified**.

3.37 Concluding Position

Reparation Nation Limited considers that serious reparations work should be capable of moving beyond the proposition that an historical injustice occurred.

The next questions must be:

What exactly happened?

Who was harmed?

How were they harmed?

Who benefited?

What evidence establishes those propositions?

What continues today?

What caused what continues today?

Who presently bears responsibility, and on what basis?

What intervention corresponds to the identified harm?

Who should receive it?

Who decides?

How will its effect be measured?

And what evidence will ultimately demonstrate that repair, rather than merely expenditure or activity, has occurred?

Those questions establish the evidential foundation upon which the subsequent examination of **institutional responsibility, historical benefit, assets, wealth and present-day responsibility** can proceed.

SECTION 4

INSTITUTIONAL RESPONSIBILITY, HISTORICAL BENEFIT, ASSETS, WEALTH AND PRESENT-DAY RESPONSIBILITY

4.1 Purpose of This Section

Once an historical harm has been identified and an evidential basis established, a further group of questions arises:

Which institutions bear responsibility for addressing that harm, and why?

Reparation Nation Limited considers that this question should not be answered merely by association, reputation, contemporary political pressure or broad historical narrative.

Where a present-day institution is said to bear reparative responsibility, the basis for that responsibility should be identifiable.

That basis may potentially include:

historical participation;

historical benefit;

legal succession;

institutional continuity;

inheritance of assets;

inheritance of endowments;

retention of property;

continuing possession of archives;

continuing use of historically derived wealth;

continuing institutional advantage;

express acceptance of responsibility;

or another articulated principle.

The purpose of this section is to identify and examine those possible bases carefully.

4.2 Responsibility Must Be Particularised

A statement that an institution has a "connection" to slavery, enslavement or colonialism may be historically relevant, but the word **"connection"** alone is insufficient to establish the nature or extent of present responsibility.

Recipients are therefore asked to distinguish between different possible forms of historical involvement.

For example:

4.2.1 Did the institution directly participate in slavery or enslavement?

4.2.2 Did it own enslaved persons?

4.2.3 Did it finance individuals or businesses involved in slavery?

4.2.4 Did it insure vessels, property, cargo or enterprises connected to slavery?

4.2.5 Did it receive donations or endowments from persons whose wealth was connected to slavery?

4.2.6 Did it purchase property using such funds?

4.2.7 Did it inherit property or financial assets derived from such funds?

4.2.8 Did it provide professional, legal, administrative or logistical services connected to slavery or colonial exploitation?

4.2.9 Did it receive compensation following abolition?

4.2.10 Did it benefit indirectly through trade, taxation, investment, property appreciation or another mechanism?

4.2.11 Is the claimed historical connection direct, indirect or derivative?

Each category may give rise to different questions concerning responsibility and remedy.

4.3 Direct Participation

Where an institution or its predecessor is said to have participated directly in slavery, enslavement, forced labour or associated commerce, recipients are requested to identify:

the nature of the participation;

the relevant period;

the geographical area;

the individuals or institutional bodies involved;

the records establishing participation;

the financial or institutional benefit obtained;

the extent to which those records have been independently verified;

and the institutional conclusion drawn from that evidence.

The seriousness of direct participation requires correspondingly clear evidence.

4.4 Indirect Participation

Indirect participation requires careful definition.

An institution may have been connected through:

finance;

insurance;

shipping;

property ownership;

professional services;

investment;

supply chains;

government contracting;

charitable donations;

commercial relationships;

or other forms of economic participation.

Recipients relying upon indirect participation as a basis for reparative responsibility are asked:

What degree of connection is sufficient?

How remote may the connection be?

Does knowledge matter?

Does control matter?

Does the scale of financial involvement matter?

Does the duration of involvement matter?

Does a one-off transaction carry the same significance as systematic participation?

The applicable principle should be identified.

4.5 Historical Benefit

A central question is what constitutes **historical benefit**.

Recipients are therefore asked whether benefit includes:

money received directly;

profit;

interest;

fees;

insurance premiums;

rent;

land;

buildings;

shares;

securities;

endowments;

donations;

legacies;

compensation payments;

institutional expansion;

commercial advantage;

increased reputation or influence;

access to markets;

or other forms of material advantage.

Where benefit is identified, recipients are asked to state whether it is:

quantified;

estimated;

partially quantified;

or presently incapable of reliable quantification.

4.6 Evidence of Benefit

Where an institution is said to have benefited, Reparation Nation Limited respectfully requests identification of the evidential chain.

That chain should, where reasonably possible, identify:

source of the wealth;

person or institution receiving it;

date received;

form in which it was received;

amount or value;

subsequent use;

whether it was reinvested;

whether it was converted into other assets;

whether those assets remain identifiable;

and

whether any present-day institution holds successor assets.

Where the evidence becomes incomplete at a particular point, that should be stated.

4.7 Asset Tracing

If historic wealth is said to remain embedded in a present institution, an important question arises:

Can that wealth actually be traced?

Recipients are therefore asked:

4.7.1 What tracing methodology is used?

4.7.2 Is tracing based on direct accounting records?

4.7.3 Is it based on archival inference?

4.7.4 Is it based on corporate or institutional succession?

4.7.5 Is it based on asset substitution?

4.7.6 Is it based on proportional allocation?

4.7.7 Are assumptions required?

4.7.8 Are those assumptions published?

4.7.9 Has the methodology been independently reviewed?

4.7.10 Can the calculation be reproduced?

4.8 Fungibility of Money

Money is fungible.

Accordingly, where an institution received historically tainted funds and subsequently mixed them with other funds, a difficult question arises:

How should present responsibility be assessed once historical money has been commingled?

Recipients are invited to state the principle they apply.

Possible questions include:

Does responsibility attach to the original sum only?

Does investment growth attach to it?

Does the benefit persist after funds are mixed?

Does responsibility diminish over time?

Does responsibility survive if the original asset is sold?

Does responsibility attach to successor property purchased from the proceeds?

Does it matter if the institution later suffered losses exceeding the historical benefit?

These questions require transparent policy rather than rhetorical treatment.

4.9 Historical Benefit and Contemporary Wealth

Where a present institution possesses substantial wealth, that fact alone does not establish that the wealth derives from slavery or colonialism.

Equally, the fact that historic funds have passed through multiple forms does not necessarily extinguish their relevance.

Recipients are therefore asked to identify:

what portion, if any, of contemporary wealth is said to be historically connected;

the methodology used to calculate that portion;

the degree of certainty attached to the calculation;

whether present valuations include investment growth;

and whether an alternative methodology would produce materially different results.

4.10 Present-Day Assets

Where reparations proposals concern present-day assets, recipients are asked to identify whether relevant assets include:

cash;

investments;

land;

buildings;

shares;

endowments;

pension assets;

art collections;

archives;

intellectual property;

commercial rights;

trust property;

or other institutional resources.

Recipients are further asked:

Which assets are legally controlled by the institution?

Which are restricted?

Which are held in trust?

Which cannot lawfully be transferred?

Which could be deployed for reparative purposes?

These distinctions are necessary for practical proposals.

4.11 Endowments and Restricted Funds

Where an institution holds an endowment, recipients are requested to explain:

the legal status of the endowment;

the restrictions governing its use;

whether historical sources of endowment capital have been investigated;

whether any portion has been identified as connected to slavery or colonialism;

whether trustees or governing bodies have authority to redirect funds;

whether legal advice has been obtained;

and whether restrictions can lawfully be altered.

A declaration of reparative intent does not itself determine whether particular funds can lawfully be used.

4.12 Property and Land

Where land or property is said to have been acquired using historically derived wealth, recipients are asked to identify:

the property;

the acquisition date;

the acquisition cost;

the source of funds;

the chain of title;

whether the property remains owned;

its present value;

and whether reparative measures have been considered in relation to that property.

Where land was itself taken, transferred or acquired through colonial or coercive processes, a separate question of restitution may arise.

4.13 Institutional Growth

Historical benefit may extend beyond identifiable cash or property.

Recipients are therefore asked whether they consider **institutional growth itself** capable of constituting benefit.

For example:

Did historical wealth fund new buildings?

Did it create academic departments?

Did it fund scholarships?

Did it finance commercial expansion?

Did it strengthen reserves?

Did it enable acquisitions?

Did it increase institutional prestige?

Did it create networks or influence that persist?

If such non-liquid benefits are relied upon, recipients are asked to explain how they are evidenced and valued.

4.14 Successor Institutions

Where a present institution is not legally identical to the historical entity, recipients are asked to explain the basis upon which responsibility is said to transfer.

Relevant factors may include:

legal succession;

merger;

acquisition;

transfer of assets;

transfer of liabilities;

continuity of governance;

continuity of name;

continuity of purpose;

continuity of property;

continuity of records;

or public representation of institutional continuity.

No single factor should be assumed automatically sufficient in every case.

4.15 Legal Succession Versus Moral Continuity

Reparation Nation Limited considers it important to distinguish between:

legal succession

and

moral or institutional continuity.

An institution may not be legally identical to an historical predecessor but may nevertheless publicly claim its history, inherit its assets or continue its institutional identity.

Conversely, an institution may be a legal successor without accepting broader moral responsibility.

Recipients are requested to identify which concept they rely upon and why.

4.16 Can Benefit Be Inherited?

A central question arises:

Can an institution inherit historical benefit without inheriting corresponding responsibility?

Recipients are requested to state their position.

If the answer is yes, what principle allows the separation?

If the answer is no, what principle connects inherited benefit to inherited responsibility?

Does the same principle apply to private corporations, universities, churches, governments and charities?

If not, why not?

4.17 Can Responsibility Be Inherited Without Benefit?

The reverse question is equally important:

Can a present institution inherit responsibility where no identifiable historical benefit remains?

If so:

what is inherited;

why responsibility persists;

whether the scale of responsibility changes over time;

and what determines the form of repair.

This distinction may be especially relevant where institutional continuity exists but historical wealth has been dissipated.

4.18 Time and Responsibility

Recipients are asked whether the passage of time affects reparative responsibility.

If so:

How?

Does responsibility diminish over generations?

Does it depend upon institutional continuity?

Does it depend upon retention of benefit?

Does it depend upon continuing harm?

Does it depend upon acknowledgement?

Is there any conceptual or policy limitation period?

If no limitation is recognised, what principle supports indefinite responsibility?

4.19 Knowledge and Responsibility

Where historical actors participated in conduct lawful or socially accepted at the time, recipients are asked what role historical knowledge and contemporary norms play in assessing present responsibility.

Questions include:

Does legality at the time affect reparative responsibility?

Does prevailing social practice affect it?

Does evidence that individuals contemporaneously opposed the conduct affect the assessment?

Does institutional knowledge matter?

Does deliberate concealment matter?

How are historical standards and present standards distinguished?

These questions should not be used to excuse historical conduct automatically, but they should be addressed transparently.

4.20 Institutional Responsibility Without Legal Liability

An institution may accept historical or moral responsibility while denying present legal liability.

Recipients are therefore requested to distinguish clearly between:

legal liability;

historical responsibility;

moral responsibility;

financial responsibility;

reparative commitment;

and

voluntary institutional action.

Where reparative payments are made without acceptance of legal liability, that distinction should be expressly recorded.

4.21 Responsibility of Governments

Governments raise distinct questions because contemporary states may succeed historical governments whose territorial boundaries, constitutional arrangements or populations have changed.

Recipients are therefore asked:

When does a contemporary government inherit responsibility for acts of a predecessor state?

Does constitutional continuity matter?

Does territorial continuity matter?

Does possession of inherited state assets matter?

Does control over historical archives matter?

Does continuing benefit matter?

Does responsibility survive decolonisation or constitutional restructuring?

Where responsibility is accepted, what is its basis?

4.22 Responsibility of Former Colonial Powers

Where claims concern former colonial powers, recipients are asked to particularise:

which policies or acts are relied upon;

which governmental institutions were responsible;

which territories were affected;

which benefits accrued to the state;

which benefits accrued to private entities;

whether responsibility is attributed to the state, institutions within the state, individuals, or all three;

and how responsibility is divided where multiple actors participated.

4.23 Responsibility of Former Colonies and Successor States

Reparation Nation Limited considers that serious examination may also require questions concerning the role of post-independence governments and institutions.

Where continuing harm is attributed to colonialism, recipients are asked:

What responsibility, if any, is attributed to subsequent domestic governments?

How are post-independence policy decisions distinguished from inherited structural conditions?

How are failures of later governance accounted for?

How is responsibility allocated where contemporary harm has multiple historical and modern causes?

This is necessary to avoid reducing complex present conditions to a single causal explanation.

4.24 Responsibility of Churches and Religious Institutions

Where churches or religious institutions are engaged in reparations work, recipients are asked to identify:

the precise historical connection relied upon;

whether the connection arose through ownership, investment, donation, land, institutional participation, theological justification or another mechanism;

which legal entity held relevant assets;

whether successor entities still exist;

whether current assets can be traced;

what governance body has authority to approve reparative action;

and whether congregations or affected communities participate in those decisions.

4.25 Responsibility of Universities and Academic Institutions

Universities may hold:

endowments;

donations;

buildings;

archives;

collections;

and institutional histories linked to slavery or colonialism.

Recipients are asked:

What investigations have been undertaken?

Who commissioned them?

What historical benefit was identified?

What present assets were traced?

What governance body considered the findings?

What reparative action followed?

How was the affected community involved?

What remains unresolved?

4.26 Responsibility of Financial Institutions

Where banks, insurers, investment firms or other financial institutions are identified, recipients are asked to distinguish between:

direct ownership;

lending;

underwriting;

insurance;

investment;

payments processing;

trade finance;

property finance;

and other commercial services.

Recipients are further asked whether there is a principled threshold separating ordinary historical commercial activity from activity sufficient to create present reparative responsibility.

4.27 Responsibility of Media Organisations

Where media organisations investigate their own historical connections, recipients are asked:

What historical activity is being examined?

Was the organisation itself directly connected or were individual owners, founders or investors connected?

How is personal historical wealth distinguished from corporate wealth?

Can that wealth be traced into the modern organisation?

What present institutional responsibility is accepted?

What reparative measures have been adopted?

How are editorial independence and institutional self-examination protected?

4.28 Responsibility of Charities and Foundations

Where charitable institutions hold endowments derived from historical wealth, recipients are asked:

what is known about the source of capital;

whether donor wealth has been investigated;

whether restricted funds can be redirected;

whether trustees consider reparative responsibility when allocating grants;

and whether beneficiaries participate in determining reparative priorities.

4.29 Responsibility of Descendant Organisations

Where organisations representing descendants participate in reparations discussions, a different form of responsibility arises.

Such organisations may not bear historical responsibility for harm, but may exercise present-day responsibility through:

representation;

advocacy;

negotiation;

allocation of resources;

policy influence;

research;

or governance.

Recipients are therefore asked:

What mandate is claimed?

How was it obtained?

Who are the members?

How are leaders selected?

What accountability mechanisms exist?

What financial transparency exists?

How are conflicts of interest managed?

Who can challenge decisions?

4.30 Institutional Self-Identification

Recipients are invited to identify how they categorise their own role.

For example:

historically responsible institution;

historically benefiting institution;

research institution;

reparative funder;

intermediary;

representative body;

advocacy organisation;

beneficiary organisation;

policy institution;

educational institution;

or another category.

Clarity about role helps clarify responsibility.

4.31 Responsibility and Power

Responsibility may not be purely historical.

Institutions that possess present-day power over reparative processes may also bear contemporary procedural responsibilities.

For example, an institution controlling:

funding;

research;

eligibility;

appointments;

consultation;

data;

property;

archives;

or programme evaluation

may exercise considerable influence over what constitutes repair.

Reparation Nation Limited therefore asks:

What responsibilities arise from present-day control of the reparations process itself?

This question is distinct from historical responsibility.

4.32 Institutions Should Not Unilaterally Define the Extent of Their Own Responsibility Without Scrutiny

Where an institution investigates its own past, defines its own responsibility, determines the value of its own reparative commitment and subsequently evaluates its own performance, a structural question arises.

Recipients are therefore asked:

What independent scrutiny exists?

Who verifies historical findings?

Who reviews financial calculations?

Who assesses the adequacy of the response?

Who represents affected populations in that process?

Can decisions be challenged?

Can additional evidence be submitted?

These safeguards are relevant even where institutional intentions are entirely constructive.

4.33 Public Statements of Responsibility

Where an institution has publicly acknowledged historical connections or responsibility, recipients are requested to provide the relevant statement and clarify:

who authorised it;

whether it represents formal institutional policy;

whether it has legal consequences;

whether it has financial consequences;

whether it is binding upon successor leadership;

and whether any implementation plan accompanies it.

4.34 Quantifying Institutional Responsibility

Recipients are asked whether institutional responsibility can or should be quantified.

If so:

Is responsibility proportional to historical profit?

Proportional to contemporary wealth?

Proportional to the scale of participation?

Proportional to present-day harm?

Proportional to capacity to pay?

Or determined by another principle?

Where a reparative figure has been announced, recipients are asked to explain how that figure was calculated.

4.35 Capacity to Pay

A significant issue concerns whether **capacity to pay** should affect reparative responsibility.

Should a wealthy institution contribute more because it is wealthy?

If so, is that reparations or redistribution?

Should a historically responsible institution with limited current resources contribute less?

Can current financial capacity override historical proportionality?

Recipients are invited to identify the governing principle.

4.36 Historical Benefit Versus Present Ability to Pay

Reparation Nation Limited considers that two distinct calculations may arise:

historical benefit

and

present ability to pay.

Those measures may produce very different figures.

Recipients are therefore asked not to treat them as interchangeable without explanation.

4.37 Responsibility Where Records Are Incomplete

Where documentary evidence indicates some historical connection but does not permit precise quantification, recipients are asked:

Can responsibility nevertheless be recognised?

If so, what evidential threshold is applied?

Can reparative action proceed on estimated evidence?

Who determines the estimate?

How is uncertainty reflected?

What prevents speculative inflation or understatement?

4.38 Responsibility Where Institutions No Longer Exist

Where the historical institution no longer exists, recipients are asked:

Does responsibility terminate?

Does it transfer to a legal successor?

Does it transfer with assets?

Does responsibility transfer to the state?

Does it remain only as historical acknowledgement?

Can a reparations framework impose responsibility where no successor can be identified?

These questions are important for coherent international application.

4.39 Responsibility Where Assets Have Been Transferred

Where an institution historically connected to harm transferred assets to another body, recipients are asked:

Did responsibility follow the assets?

Did the acquiring institution know their provenance?

Does good-faith acquisition matter?

Does the passage of time matter?

Would responsibility attach differently to gifted property than commercially purchased property?

Again, a principled framework is required.

4.40 Divided Responsibility

Historical systems frequently involved many actors.

A single chain of activity may involve:

state authorities;

financiers;

insurers;

shipowners;

merchants;

landowners;

professionals;

religious institutions;

investors;

and consumers.

Recipients are therefore asked:

How should responsibility be divided?

Can an institution be responsible for only a percentage of a harm?

Can multiple institutions owe overlapping reparative duties?

How is double recovery avoided?

How are relative contributions calculated?

Who coordinates multi-institutional responsibility?

4.41 Responsibility and Double Counting

Where the same historical wealth passes through multiple institutions, there is a risk of counting the same benefit repeatedly.

For example, one sum might involve:

the original owner;

a bank;

an insurer;

an investor;

a recipient of a donation;

and a successor institution.

Recipients are asked what methodologies prevent **double counting** when calculating responsibility.

4.42 Responsibility for Continuing Institutional Practices

Reparation Nation Limited further asks whether present reparative responsibility should concern only historical conduct or also **contemporary institutional practices**.

Where an institution acknowledges historical responsibility but continues present practices that allegedly reproduce disadvantage, a serious question arises:

Can historical reparations be meaningful without examination of contemporary institutional conduct?

Recipients are invited to explain how these issues are connected within their own frameworks.

4.43 Anti-Black Racism and Present Institutional Responsibility

Where an institution participates in reparations work concerning Black populations, Reparation Nation Limited considers it relevant to ask whether its present-day systems contain safeguards against anti-Black racism.

This is not merely a question about historical responsibility.

It concerns the legitimacy of contemporary reparative decision-making.

Recipients are asked:

What written safeguards exist?

Who monitors them?

Do they apply to funding?

Do they apply to appointments?

Do they apply to research?

Do they apply to consultation?

Do they apply to beneficiary selection?

Do they apply to procurement?

Do they apply to evaluation?

How can failure be challenged?

4.44 Institutional Racism and Reparative Decision-Making

Similarly, where reparative decisions are made through institutional structures, recipients are asked whether they have considered the possibility that discriminatory outcomes can arise without express discriminatory intent.

If so:

What diagnostic mechanisms exist?

What data are collected?

Are outcomes reviewed by race or ethnicity where lawful and appropriate?

Who conducts that review?

What happens where disproportionate outcomes are identified?

4.45 Transparency of Decision-Making

Where an institution accepts reparative responsibility, recipients are requested to identify:

who makes decisions;

what authority they possess;

what criteria they apply;

whether minutes exist;

whether decisions are published;

whether affected communities can make representations;

whether conflicts must be declared;

and whether decisions can be reviewed.

A public commitment to reparations should be matched by transparent governance.

4.46 Institutional Responsibility Register

For future national and international reference, Reparation Nation Limited considers that a useful model may be an **Institutional Responsibility Register**.

For each institution, such a register could record:

Institution name

Historical entity or predecessor

Nature of historical connection

Historical period

Evidence relied upon

Nature of benefit

Estimated value

Present asset connection

Institutional continuity

Responsibility accepted

Responsibility disputed

Reparative commitment

Amount committed

Amount expended

Beneficiaries

Governance body

Independent scrutiny

Outstanding questions

Such a register could improve comparability and reduce confusion between institutions making materially different claims.

4.47 Core Institutional Responsibility Test

For the purposes of future discussion, Reparation Nation Limited proposes the following questions as a useful analytical framework:

WHAT DID THE INSTITUTION OR ITS PREDECESSOR DO?

↓

WHAT DID IT RECEIVE OR GAIN?

↓

WHAT EVIDENCE ESTABLISHES THAT?

↓

WHAT HAPPENED TO THE BENEFIT?

↓

CAN IT BE TRACED INTO THE PRESENT?

↓

WHAT INSTITUTIONAL CONTINUITY EXISTS?

↓

WHAT PRESENT RESPONSIBILITY IS SAID TO FOLLOW?

↓

WHAT PRINCIPLE CREATES THAT RESPONSIBILITY?

↓

WHAT REPAIR IS PROPOSED?

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WHO DETERMINES ITS ADEQUACY?

↓

WHO INDEPENDENTLY SCRUTINISES THAT DETERMINATION?

This test does not predetermine responsibility.

It provides a means of examining how responsibility is established.

4.48 Questions Specifically Directed to Participating Institutions

Each institution participating in or associated with **Part 2: Reckoning and Repair** is respectfully invited to identify:

4.48.1 whether it considers itself historically connected to slavery, enslavement or colonialism;

4.48.2 the nature of that connection;

4.48.3 the evidence establishing it;

4.48.4 whether historical benefit has been identified;

4.48.5 whether that benefit has been valued;

4.48.6 whether any present asset has been traced to it;

4.48.7 whether the institution formally accepts any present responsibility;

4.48.8 the nature of that responsibility;

4.48.9 who authorised that position;

4.48.10 what reparative measures have been adopted;

4.48.11 how their scale was determined;

4.48.12 who participates in governance;

4.48.13 what safeguards exist against conflicts of interest, anti-Black racism and institutional racism;

4.48.14 how results are measured;

and

4.48.15 what questions remain unresolved.

4.49 No Presumption of Liability

For avoidance of doubt, the inclusion of any organisation within this analysis does not constitute a finding that the organisation bears legal, historical, moral or financial liability.

Nor does participation in a reparations discussion itself imply responsibility for the historical wrong under discussion.

The purpose of this section is to determine:

what responsibility is claimed, accepted, disputed or evidenced, and upon what basis.

4.50 International Reference Principle

For wider use, Reparation Nation Limited proposes the following principle:

PRESENT-DAY REPARATIVE RESPONSIBILITY SHOULD BE CAPABLE OF BEING EXPLAINED THROUGH AN IDENTIFIABLE CONNECTION BETWEEN HISTORICAL CONDUCT OR BENEFIT, THE PRESENT INSTITUTION, THE PRINCIPLE OF RESPONSIBILITY BEING APPLIED, AND THE REPAIR BEING PROPOSED.

Where any part of that connection is uncertain, the uncertainty should be stated.

Where the connection is disputed, the dispute should be recorded.

Where the evidence is strong, it should be identified.

Where no connection can be established, that should equally be recorded.

4.51 Concluding Position

Reparation Nation Limited considers that institutional responsibility cannot be addressed adequately by listing organisations said to have historical “links” to slavery or colonialism.

The serious questions are:

What was the connection?

What evidence proves it?

Was there a benefit?

What was its value?

Where did that benefit go?

Does it survive in present assets or institutional advantage?

What institutional continuity exists?

What principle turns historical connection into present responsibility?

What kind of responsibility follows?

Who has authority to determine the repair?

Who scrutinises that decision?

And how will anyone know whether the institution has discharged the responsibility it says it accepts?

Those questions provide the basis for the next examination: **financial reparations, valuation, funding, allocation and control of reparative resources**.

SECTION 5

FINANCIAL REPARATIONS, VALUATION, FUNDING, ALLOCATION, CONTROL AND ACCOUNTABILITY

5.1 Purpose of This Section

Where reparations involve money, assets, funds, grants, endowments, investments, transfers, compensation or other financial resources, a substantial body of further questions arises.

The existence of a financial commitment does not, by itself, establish:

what the money represents;

how the amount was calculated;

who should provide it;

who should receive it;

who should control it;

how it should be allocated;

what safeguards apply;

what outcomes are expected;

or whether expenditure constitutes actual repair.

Reparation Nation Limited therefore considers that financial reparations must be examined through the full chain of:

VALUATION → FUNDING → CONTROL → ALLOCATION → BENEFICIARY → IMPLEMENTATION → AUDIT → OUTCOME → EVIDENCE OF REPAIR

This section is intended to establish a reference framework for examining that chain.

5.2 Financial Reparations Must Be Defined

Recipients are requested to state what they mean by **financial reparations**.

Does the term include:

direct compensation;

collective compensation;

grants;

community investment;

endowment funds;

development finance;

debt relief;

scholarships;

housing programmes;

land acquisition;

business finance;

institutional transfers;

heritage investment;

cultural programmes;

health or education expenditure;

trust funds;

or another form of financial intervention?

Where several categories are included, each should be identified separately.

5.3 Compensation Versus Investment

Reparation Nation Limited considers it important to distinguish between:

compensation

and

investment.

Compensation may be intended to address an identified loss.

Investment may be intended to improve future conditions.

Those concepts may overlap, but they are not necessarily equivalent.

Recipients are therefore asked:

5.3.1 Is the financial intervention compensatory?

5.3.2 Is it developmental?

5.3.3 Is it restorative?

5.3.4 Is it charitable?

5.3.5 Is it philanthropic?

5.3.6 Is it ordinary public expenditure reclassified as reparative?

5.3.7 Is it additional expenditure created specifically because of an identified reparative responsibility?

The distinction should be made clear.

5.4 Valuation of Historical Harm

Where a financial figure is said to correspond to historical harm, recipients are requested to explain how that figure is calculated.

Relevant questions include:

5.4.1 What harm is being valued?

5.4.2 What evidence establishes that harm?

5.4.3 Is the valuation based upon unpaid labour?

5.4.4 Lost income?

5.4.5 Lost property?

5.4.6 Lost inheritance?

5.4.7 Lost economic opportunity?

5.4.8 Historical institutional benefit?

5.4.9 Present-day disparity?

5.4.10 Another basis?

5.4.11 What historical price data are used?

5.4.12 What inflation methodology is used?

5.4.13 Is compound growth applied?

5.4.14 Is interest applied?

5.4.15 What discount rate is applied?

5.4.16 What valuation date is used?

5.4.17 What assumptions materially affect the result?

5.5 Valuation Methodology

Recipients are requested to identify whether the valuation methodology is:

historical-accounting based;

economic-model based;

counterfactual;

actuarial;

statistical;

negotiated;

political;

symbolic;

capacity-based;

or another methodology.

Where more than one methodology is used, the relationship between them should be explained.

5.6 Publication of Calculations

Where substantial financial figures are advanced publicly, Reparation Nation Limited asks whether the calculation is capable of independent examination.

Recipients are therefore requested to provide, where reasonably possible:

the formula;

the source data;

the assumptions;

the methodology;

the range of possible outcomes;

the margin of uncertainty;

the identity of the persons or institutions responsible for calculation;

and any independent review.

If the calculation cannot be reproduced externally, recipients are asked to explain why.

5.7 Alternative Valuations

Financial estimates concerning historical harm may vary substantially.

Where competing valuations exist, recipients are requested to identify:

the principal competing methodologies;

why they produce different results;

which methodology the organisation accepts;

why that methodology was selected;

and whether the uncertainty is communicated publicly.

A single figure should not be presented as mathematically inevitable where substantial methodological choice exists.

5.8 Nominal Value, Present Value and Opportunity Cost

Recipients are asked to distinguish between:

historical nominal value;

inflation-adjusted present value;

investment-growth value;

opportunity-cost value;

and

counterfactual wealth value.

These can produce radically different figures.

Where a reparations valuation relies upon one of these measures, the choice should be explicit.

5.9 Interest

Where interest is added to an historical value, recipients are asked:

Why is interest appropriate?

What interest rate is used?

Is it simple or compound?

Why was that rate selected?

Over what period is it applied?

Does the rate change historically?

Is the rate based on government borrowing, commercial returns, market returns, inflation or another benchmark?

Small differences in rate applied over long historical periods can create enormous differences in final valuation.

5.10 Counterfactual Wealth

Where reparations calculations estimate wealth that would theoretically have accumulated absent slavery or colonialism, recipients are requested to identify:

the counterfactual scenario;

the economic assumptions;

the expected rate of growth;

population assumptions;

inheritance assumptions;

migration assumptions;

taxation assumptions;

political assumptions;

and how uncertainty is quantified.

Counterfactual valuation should be distinguishable from documented historical financial loss.

5.11 Valuing Non-Financial Harm

Some harms cannot readily be translated into money.

Examples may include:

loss of liberty;

family separation;

cultural destruction;

religious disruption;

loss of language;

humiliation;

racial subordination;

or loss of political autonomy.

Where money is nevertheless used as part of the remedy, recipients are asked:

How is a financial figure derived?

Is it compensatory or symbolic?

What precedents are used?

Who determines adequacy?

What role does the affected population have?

The impossibility of exact valuation should not be concealed by apparent numerical precision.

5.12 Who Is Required to Pay?

Recipients are requested to identify the proposed source of reparative finance.

Potential sources may include:

governments;

churches;

universities;

banks;

insurers;

companies;

charitable foundations;

private estates;

international institutions;

taxation;

institutional endowments;

investment returns;

or other sources.

For each payer, recipients are asked:

Why that payer?

What is the evidential basis for responsibility?

How is its share determined?

5.13 Individual Versus Institutional Payment

Where historical responsibility is associated with individuals whose descendants remain living, recipients are asked whether any present financial responsibility attaches to private descendants.

If so:

under what principle;

whether inheritance matters;

whether inherited wealth must be traced;

whether personal innocence matters;

whether liability is limited to inherited benefit;

and whether responsibility survives where no benefit was inherited.

This distinction requires particular care.

5.14 Government Funding and the Taxpayer

Where a government funds reparations from general taxation, a fundamental question arises:

Who is actually paying?

Recipients are therefore asked:

Is the financial responsibility attributed to the state as a continuing legal or constitutional entity?

Does payment from general taxation mean that persons with no historical connection contribute?

Do descendants of historically harmed populations also contribute through taxation?

How is that justified?

Would payment from identified historical assets be conceptually different?

These are legitimate questions concerning the structure of public reparations.

5.15 Existing Public Expenditure

Where governments already spend substantial sums on:

education;

health;

housing;

social welfare;

economic development;

culture;

or community programmes,

recipients are asked whether any of that expenditure is regarded as reparative.

If so:

Was it originally authorised as reparations?

Is the expenditure additional?

How is ordinary public expenditure separated from reparative expenditure?

Can the same expenditure be counted both as normal governmental responsibility and as reparations?

This question is necessary to prevent double counting.

5.16 Additionality

Reparation Nation Limited proposes that **additionality** should be explicitly examined.

A reparative commitment may reasonably be expected to identify whether resources are:

new;

additional;

redirected;

reclassified;

or already committed through another programme.

Recipients are therefore asked:

Would this money have been spent anyway?

If yes, why is it being classified as reparative?

If no, what decision created the additional commitment?

5.17 Reparations Funds

Where a dedicated reparations fund is established, recipients are requested to identify:

the legal entity holding the fund;

the source of capital;

the initial value;

the current value;

investment policy;

investment manager;

governance structure;

trustees or directors;

beneficiary rules;

distribution policy;

administrative costs;

audit arrangements;

conflict-of-interest provisions;

and reporting requirements.

5.18 Ownership of Reparative Funds

A central question arises:

Who owns the money once it has been committed to reparations?

Is it:

the original institution;

a trust;

a foundation;

a government;

a community body;

a descendant organisation;

an independent fiduciary;

or another entity?

Ownership affects control.

Control affects allocation.

Allocation affects the eventual beneficiary.

5.19 Control

Recipients are requested to identify who possesses practical authority over reparative resources.

Who can:

approve expenditure;

reject applications;

change priorities;

appoint fund managers;

select beneficiaries;

alter eligibility criteria;

commission research;

terminate programmes;

move investments;

or dissolve the fund?

Formal ownership and practical control may not always be identical.

Both should be identified.

5.20 Representation in Financial Governance

Where funds are intended to benefit historically affected Black populations, recipients are asked:

How many persons from those populations participate in financial governance?

How are they selected?

What authority do they possess?

Are they voting members?

Can they veto decisions?

Can they propose programmes?

Are they paid?

Are appointments temporary?

Who can remove them?

To whom are they accountable?

Participation should not be confused automatically with decision-making power.

5.21 Who Determines Priorities?

Reparative resources are finite.

Choices must therefore be made.

Recipients are asked who determines whether money is spent on:

individual compensation;

housing;

education;

business finance;

health;

cultural restoration;

land;

heritage;

legal support;

research;

institutional reform;

or other priorities.

The method by which priorities are selected is itself a central component of reparations governance.

5.22 Beneficiary Selection

Recipients are requested to explain how beneficiaries are selected.

Criteria might include:

descent;

race;

ethnicity;

nationality;

territory;

residence;

economic need;

institutional affiliation;

community membership;

historical connection;

or another criterion.

Recipients should state clearly which criteria apply.

5.23 Direct Payments

Where direct individual payments are proposed, recipients are asked:

Who qualifies?

How is identity verified?

How is descent verified?

How is duplication prevented?

What happens where records do not exist?

Is the payment uniform?

Does the scale of harm affect payment?

Is the payment taxable?

Can creditors seize it?

Can it affect welfare entitlements?

Can it be inherited?

These practical questions may materially affect the actual value of direct compensation.

5.24 Collective Payments

Where payment is collective rather than individual, recipients are asked:

What constitutes the collective?

Who legally receives the money?

Who controls it?

How were representatives selected?

How are minority views within the collective protected?

What happens where members disagree about priorities?

Can an individual opt out?

How is accountability maintained?

5.25 Payments to Governments

Where reparative money is transferred to governments, Reparation Nation Limited asks:

What guarantees exist that the money reaches the intended beneficiaries?

Is the funding ring-fenced?

Can it be used for general expenditure?

Can it be used to repay debt?

Can it be used for existing governmental obligations?

Who audits the expenditure?

What happens if funds are misused?

Can the payer suspend or recover funds?

5.26 Payments Through Intermediaries

Where funds are channelled through:

charities;

NGOs;

universities;

community organisations;

foundations;

consultancies;

or other intermediaries,

recipients are requested to disclose:

selection criteria;

procurement processes;

management fees;

overheads;

administrative charges;

conflicts of interest;

subcontracting;

and actual amounts reaching final beneficiaries.

The gross size of a reparations fund may differ substantially from the amount ultimately reaching intended recipients.

5.27 Administrative Costs

Every reparations programme carries administrative cost.

Recipients are therefore asked:

What percentage of funds is spent on administration?

What percentage reaches beneficiaries?

What salaries are paid?

What consultancy fees are paid?

What legal costs are incurred?

What investment-management costs are incurred?

Are administrative caps imposed?

Are these figures publicly available?

5.28 Consultants and Professional Advisers

Where lawyers, accountants, economists, historians, consultants or other professionals are paid from reparative funds, recipients are requested to identify:

who appointed them;

how they were selected;

what they were paid;

whether competitive procurement occurred;

whether conflicts were declared;

and whether their work is publicly available.

Professional expenditure can be necessary, but should remain transparent.

5.29 Financial Conflicts of Interest

Recipients are asked what safeguards exist where persons making allocation decisions may have connections to:

applicant organisations;

recipient bodies;

researchers;

consultants;

fund managers;

political organisations;

family members;

or commercial interests.

Relevant safeguards may include:

declarations of interest;

recusal;

independent approval;

published registers;

external audit;

or other mechanisms.

5.30 Anti-Black Racism in Funding Decisions

Where reparative funding is explicitly intended to address harm suffered by Black populations, Reparation Nation Limited asks:

What safeguards exist to prevent anti-Black racism from affecting funding decisions?

Are decision-makers trained specifically in anti-Black racism?

Are outcomes monitored?

Are rejection rates analysed?

Are different Black populations compared?

Is there a review procedure?

Can applicants challenge a decision?

Are reasons provided?

A generic equality policy may not necessarily answer these specific questions.

5.31 Institutional Racism in Funding Structures

Recipients are also asked whether they examine not only individual bias but **systemic outcomes**.

For example:

Are established organisations repeatedly funded while smaller grassroots organisations are excluded?

Do application requirements favour professionally staffed institutions?

Do audit requirements create barriers for community organisations?

Does previous funding history become a self-reinforcing criterion?

Do institutions controlling reparations resources reproduce the same structures they seek to remedy?

These questions concern institutional design rather than personal motive.

5.32 Geographic Allocation

Where reparations funds are distributed internationally or regionally, recipients are asked how geographic allocation is determined.

Possible factors may include:

population;

historical intensity of harm;

economic loss;

present disadvantage;

national claims;

descendant population;

or political agreement.

The weighting of those factors should be explained.

5.33 Allocation Between Africa, the Caribbean and the Diaspora

Where reparations concern transatlantic slavery, significant questions arise concerning allocation among:

African states and communities;

Caribbean states and populations;

Black populations in the United Kingdom;

Black populations in the Americas;

and wider diasporic communities.

Recipients are asked:

Who is included?

Who is excluded?

Why?

How is relative entitlement determined?

Does location of present residence matter?

Does location of historical harm matter?

Does ancestry matter?

These questions should not be postponed indefinitely if substantial financial commitments are being contemplated.

5.34 Allocation Between Individuals and Institutions

Recipients are asked whether reparative funding should flow primarily to:

individual descendants;

community institutions;

governments;

educational institutions;

businesses;

cultural organisations;

or mixed structures.

Who decides the balance?

What evidence supports the allocation model?

5.35 Reparative Investment

Where funds are invested rather than immediately distributed, recipients are asked:

What is the investment objective?

Who manages the portfolio?

What risk level is accepted?

What ethical restrictions apply?

Can the fund invest in companies with histories connected to slavery or colonialism?

Can it invest in industries associated with contemporary racial harm?

How are investment returns used?

5.36 Preservation of Capital

Where an institution establishes a long-term fund, recipients are asked whether the objective is:

to preserve capital indefinitely;

to spend down capital;

to distribute investment income;

or to achieve a defined reparative objective and then terminate.

This affects both intergenerational fairness and practical impact.

5.37 Inflation

A long-term reparations fund must account for inflation.

Recipients are therefore asked whether announced commitments are:

nominal;

inflation-linked;

fixed;

or expressed in present-value terms.

A £100 million commitment payable over decades may have a materially different real value from an immediate £100 million transfer.

5.38 Timing of Payment

Recipients are asked:

When is the money actually paid?

Is the announced figure immediate?

Is it spread over years?

Is it conditional upon investment returns?

Is future funding subject to annual approval?

Can future governing bodies reverse the commitment?

A headline commitment should therefore be distinguished from money actually transferred.

5.39 Pledged, Committed, Allocated and Spent

For financial transparency, Reparation Nation Limited considers it important to distinguish:

PLEDGED

from

FORMALLY COMMITTED

from

ALLOCATED

from

CONTRACTED

from

TRANSFERRED

from

SPENT

from

RECEIVED BY FINAL BENEFICIARIES.

Recipients are requested to use these terms precisely when reporting financial reparations.

5.40 Double Counting of Financial Commitments

Recipients are asked what mechanisms prevent the same sum from being counted multiple times.

For example:

a government may announce a broad fund;

part of that fund may finance a university programme;

the university may then publicly describe the same sum as its own reparative expenditure.

Without transparent accounting, the same money may appear repeatedly in headline figures.

5.41 Private and Public Co-Funding

Where reparative programmes combine public and private money, recipients are asked to identify each source separately.

This should include:

amount;

legal status;

conditions;

decision-making authority;

and reporting obligations.

Mixed funding should not obscure who actually contributed what.

5.42 Debt Relief as Reparations

Where debt cancellation or restructuring is proposed as reparative action, recipients are asked:

Which debts?

Owed to whom?

Originally incurred for what purpose?

Who owns the debt today?

What is its face value?

What is its market value?

What amount has already been repaid?

Would cancellation benefit the affected population directly?

Would it principally improve a government's balance sheet?

Could the same outcome have occurred through ordinary debt restructuring?

Why should it be characterised as reparations?

5.43 Development Finance as Reparations

Where loans or development finance are described as reparative, recipients are asked:

Is the finance repayable?

What interest applies?

Who bears default risk?

What security is required?

Can collateral be seized?

How does a repayable loan constitute repair?

Would equivalent finance have been available commercially?

If the recipient ultimately pays more than it receives, the reparative character requires particular explanation.

5.44 Grants Versus Loans

Recipients are requested to distinguish clearly between:

grants;

concessionary loans;

commercial loans;

guarantees;

equity investment;

and direct compensation.

All may involve capital, but their economic effects differ materially.

5.45 Reparations and Sovereign Debt

Where reparations are proposed for states carrying substantial sovereign debt, recipients are asked:

Could reparative transfers be captured indirectly by existing creditors?

Could funds be used to service debt?

Could improved public finances increase creditor recovery?

Are protections required to ensure reparative value reaches the intended population?

Could creditor institutions themselves possess relevant historical connections?

These questions may become significant in international reparations architecture.

5.46 Land and Property Transfers

Financial reparations need not involve cash.

Where land or property is transferred, recipients are asked:

How is it valued?

Who receives title?

Are restrictions imposed?

Who pays maintenance costs?

Can the property be sold?

Can it be mortgaged?

Can creditors seize it?

Is the transfer permanent?

What happens if the recipient organisation later dissolves?

5.47 Cultural Property

Where cultural objects are returned, recipients are asked whether the return itself is treated as financial reparations, restitution or another category.

Questions include:

Who legally owns the object?

Who should receive it?

Who pays transport and conservation costs?

Who determines provenance?

What happens where multiple communities claim the same object?

What monetary value, if any, is attributed to return?

5.48 Reparations and Taxation

Recipients are asked whether reparative payments are subject to taxation.

Where individuals receive compensation:

Will income tax apply?

Capital gains tax?

Inheritance tax?

Benefit means-testing?

Other charges?

Where institutional recipients receive funds:

Are grants taxable?

Can tax relief be claimed?

Taxation can materially alter the real reparative value of a payment.

5.49 Protection From Creditors

Where reparative funds are intended for specific beneficiaries, recipients are asked whether protections exist against:

bankruptcy claims;

commercial creditors;

government recovery;

tax debts;

benefit recovery;

or other forms of attachment.

If compensation can immediately be seized by third parties, its reparative effect may be substantially reduced.

5.50 Fraud Prevention

Large reparations programmes may create opportunities for fraud.

Recipients are asked what safeguards exist concerning:

identity fraud;

false descent claims;

duplicate claims;

false community organisations;

false invoices;

conflicted procurement;

misappropriation;

and cybercrime.

Fraud prevention should, however, be proportionate and should not create unnecessary barriers to legitimate beneficiaries.

5.51 Verification Costs

Eligibility systems may themselves become expensive.

Recipients are therefore asked:

How much will verification cost?

Who pays?

Must applicants pay for documents, DNA tests, legal certification or genealogical research?

Could poor applicants be excluded because they cannot afford to prove eligibility?

Who bears the risk where historical records are missing?

5.52 Financial Data and Privacy

Where beneficiary financial or identity information is collected, recipients are asked:

What data are collected?

Who holds them?

For how long?

Who can access them?

Are they shared internationally?

Can they be used for unrelated governmental or commercial purposes?

What data protection safeguards apply?

A reparations programme should not unnecessarily create a new system of surveillance over the population it intends to benefit.

5.53 Public Reporting

Recipients responsible for reparative funds are requested to consider publishing at regular intervals:

opening balance;

new contributions;

investment income;

administrative expenditure;

programme expenditure;

amount transferred to beneficiaries;

closing balance;

outstanding commitments;

and measurable outcomes.

Financial transparency should allow an external observer to follow the money.

5.54 Independent Audit

Reparation Nation Limited asks whether reparative funds are subject to independent external audit.

If so:

Who appoints the auditor?

Who pays the auditor?

Is the complete audit report published?

Can beneficiaries raise concerns directly with the auditor?

Are performance outcomes audited as well as financial statements?

Financial accuracy alone does not establish reparative effectiveness.

5.55 Value-for-Money Assessment

Even where the objective is reparative rather than commercial, recipients are asked whether **value for money** is assessed.

Could the same reparative outcome have been achieved more effectively?

How are alternative programmes compared?

What happens where a programme is demonstrably ineffective?

Can funds be redirected?

5.56 Failure of a Reparations Programme

Recipients are asked explicitly:

What happens when a reparations programme fails?

If £10 million is spent and the identified harm shows no measurable improvement:

Is the programme continued?

Modified?

Terminated?

Investigated?

Are decision-makers accountable?

Can beneficiaries challenge continuation?

An intention to repair should not immunise a programme from scrutiny.

5.57 Clawback and Recovery

Where funds are misused, recipients are asked:

Can money be recovered?

Who initiates recovery?

What happens if the recipient institution becomes insolvent?

Can directors, trustees or officers be held responsible?

Are criminal referrals possible?

Are recovered funds returned to the reparations fund?

5.58 Transparency of Recipients

Where organisations receive substantial reparative funding, recipients are asked whether they must disclose:

directors;

trustees;

beneficial interests;

accounts;

salaries;

related-party transactions;

subcontractors;

political affiliations where legally relevant to conflicts;

and other funding sources.

This is particularly important where organisations claim to represent communities.

5.59 Community Organisations and Equal Access to Funding

Sophisticated grant procedures may advantage institutions with professional fundraising departments.

Recipients are therefore asked:

Can grassroots organisations realistically apply?

Is technical assistance available?

Are application forms proportionate?

Are small grants available?

Can organisations without substantial reserves participate?

Does funding require prior institutional relationships?

Are decisions concentrated among a small network of organisations?

These questions affect whether reparative finance reaches beyond established institutions.

5.60 Concentration of Reparations Funding

Reparation Nation Limited considers that concentration itself should be measurable.

Recipients are therefore asked whether they record:

the percentage of total funding received by the ten largest organisations;

repeat recipients;

geographical concentration;

institutional concentration;

and demographic distribution.

A reparations ecosystem could theoretically reproduce inequality within the population it is intended to benefit.

5.61 Financial Gatekeepers

Where certain organisations determine access to reparative funding, those organisations become **financial gatekeepers**.

Recipients are asked:

Who appointed them?

What mandate do they possess?

How long do they hold that role?

What appeal exists against their decisions?

What safeguards exist against institutional capture?

Can the community replace them?

5.62 Reparations as an Economic Sector

As reparations programmes grow, there is a possibility that a professional ecosystem develops around them involving:

consultants;

researchers;

lawyers;

fund managers;

NGOs;

universities;

conference organisers;

grant administrators;

and other intermediaries.

This is not necessarily improper.

However, Reparation Nation Limited asks:

How much reparations expenditure is ultimately consumed by the reparations administration sector itself?

That figure should, where possible, be measurable.

5.63 Incentives

Financial systems create incentives.

Recipients are therefore asked whether the structure of reparations funding could create incentives:

to exaggerate harm;

to preserve dependency;

to maintain organisational gatekeeping;

to avoid declaring repair successful;

to favour established institutions;

or conversely, to understate harm in order to limit financial responsibility.

These are structural questions, not allegations concerning any identified person or institution.

5.64 Who Decides That Enough Has Been Paid?

A fundamental endpoint question arises:

What determines when the financial component of reparations has been discharged?

Is it:

a negotiated settlement;

a calculated amount;

achievement of measurable outcomes;

a fixed institutional commitment;

a political agreement;

a judicial determination;

or an indefinite continuing obligation?

Without an endpoint or review mechanism, neither payer nor beneficiary can know the status of the obligation.

5.65 Settlement and Waiver

Where a financial settlement is made, recipients are asked:

Does acceptance waive future claims?

Who possesses authority to grant that waiver?

Can a government waive claims belonging to individual descendants?

Can a representative organisation do so?

Can future generations be bound?

Does settlement concern only financial claims or all forms of reparative responsibility?

These are potentially fundamental questions.

5.66 Payment Without Final Settlement

Conversely, recipients are asked whether institutions may make reparative payments without requiring any final release or waiver.

If so, is the payment:

partial;

interim;

symbolic;

or one component of an ongoing process?

The status should be clear.

5.67 Reparations Accounting Standard

For future international discussion, Reparation Nation Limited considers that there may be value in developing a common **Reparations Accounting Standard** capable of distinguishing:

historical value;

assessed obligation;

pledged amount;

legally committed amount;

cash transferred;

asset transferred;

administrative expenditure;

final-beneficiary expenditure;

investment income;

outstanding commitment;

and

measured reparative outcome.

Without consistent terminology, different institutions may announce figures that are not comparable.

5.68 Reparative Financial Register

A standard public register could record:

Funding institution

Historical basis for contribution

Method of valuation

Total amount announced

Amount legally committed

Amount transferred

Amount spent

Administrative cost

Final beneficiaries

Decision-making body

Audit body

Programme duration

Measured outcomes

Outstanding balance

Outstanding questions

Such a register could become a useful international reference mechanism.

5.69 Core Financial Test

For the purposes of continuing discussion, Reparation Nation Limited proposes the following sequence:

WHAT HARM IS BEING VALUED?

↓

HOW WAS ITS FINANCIAL VALUE CALCULATED?

↓

WHO IS RESPONSIBLE FOR FUNDING IT?

↓

WHY THAT ENTITY?

↓

HOW MUCH HAS ACTUALLY BEEN COMMITTED?

↓

WHO OWNS AND CONTROLS THE FUNDS?

↓

WHO DECIDES WHO RECEIVES THEM?

↓

WHAT SAFEGUARDS GOVERN THOSE DECISIONS?

↓

HOW MUCH REACHES THE FINAL BENEFICIARY?

↓

WHAT OUTCOME IS EXPECTED?

↓

WHO INDEPENDENTLY AUDITS THE MONEY AND THE OUTCOME?

↓

WHAT EVIDENCE DEMONSTRATES THAT FINANCIAL EXPENDITURE PRODUCED REPAIR?

5.70 Questions for Institutions Participating in the Forthcoming Discussion

Each institution participating in or associated with **Part 2: Reckoning and Repair** is respectfully invited to identify, where relevant:

5.70.1 whether it has made or proposes to make a financial reparative commitment;

5.70.2 the amount;

5.70.3 how that amount was calculated;

5.70.4 whether the amount is pledged, committed, allocated, transferred or spent;

5.70.5 the source of the funds;

5.70.6 the legal entity controlling them;

5.70.7 the persons responsible for allocation;

5.70.8 the beneficiary criteria;

5.70.9 the administrative costs;

5.70.10 the safeguards against conflicts of interest;

5.70.11 the safeguards against anti-Black racism and institutional racism;

5.70.12 the audit mechanism;

5.70.13 the measurable intended outcomes;

5.70.14 the amount that has reached final beneficiaries;

and

5.70.15 the evidence, if available, that the expenditure has produced reparative outcomes.

5.71 No Assumption That More Money Necessarily Means More Repair

Reparation Nation Limited does not assume that a larger financial commitment necessarily produces greater repair.

A poorly governed large fund may achieve less than a well-designed smaller intervention.

Similarly, financial repair may be incapable of addressing some categories of harm without accompanying institutional, political, cultural or structural measures.

The relevant question is therefore not solely:

“How much money?”

It is:

“How much money, calculated how, controlled by whom, allocated to whom, under what safeguards, for what purpose, producing what measurable result?”

5.72 International Reference Principle

For future worldwide consideration, Reparation Nation Limited proposes the following principle:

A FINANCIAL SUM SHOULD NOT BE DESCRIBED AS REPARATIONS MERELY BECAUSE MONEY HAS BEEN ANNOUNCED OR SPENT. THE REPARATIVE CHARACTER OF THE EXPENDITURE SHOULD BE CAPABLE OF BEING TRACED FROM THE IDENTIFIED HARM, THROUGH THE BASIS OF VALUATION AND RESPONSIBILITY, TO THE BENEFICIARY AND ULTIMATELY TO EVIDENCE OF REPAIR.

5.73 Concluding Position

Financial reparations raise questions extending far beyond the size of a headline figure.

The central questions are:

What is being valued?

Who calculated it?

What evidence supports the calculation?

Who is required to pay?

Why are they required to pay?

Who actually controls the money?

Who determines eligibility?

Who receives the money?

How much is lost to administration and intermediaries?

What safeguards govern allocation?

How are anti-Black racism, institutional racism and conflicts of interest guarded against?

Who audits the system?

What happens if money is misused?

What happens if the programme fails?

How is success measured?

And what evidence ultimately distinguishes reparative finance from ordinary expenditure, philanthropy or institutional activity?

Those questions lead directly to the next necessary examination: **beneficiaries, descendants, eligibility, representation, mandate and the question of who is authorised to speak for whom**.

SECTION 6

BENEFICIARIES, DESCENDANTS, ELIGIBILITY, REPRESENTATION, MANDATE AND THE QUESTION OF WHO IS AUTHORISED TO SPEAK FOR WHOM

6.1 Purpose of This Section

Any reparations framework must eventually confront a practical and potentially difficult question:

Who is the intended beneficiary of repair?

That question cannot be answered adequately by broad references to:

“the Black community”;

“descendants”;

“African people”;

“Caribbean people”;

“the diaspora”;

“affected communities”;

or

“historically harmed populations”

without further definition.

Reparation Nation Limited therefore considers that beneficiary status, descendant status, eligibility, representation and mandate must be examined separately.

A person may be a descendant without being an authorised representative.

An organisation may participate in reparations discussions without possessing a mandate to speak for all affected people.

A government may represent a state without necessarily possessing authority to waive every individual claim.

A community organisation may have practical knowledge without possessing formal representative authority.

These distinctions are fundamental.

6.2 Beneficiary Status Must Be Particularised

Recipients are requested to identify who, in their framework, may qualify as a beneficiary.

Possible categories may include:

individual descendants;

families;

lineages;

communities;

Black populations generally;

African populations;

Caribbean populations;

states;

territories;

community organisations;

charities;

educational institutions;

cultural organisations;

religious institutions;

businesses;

or other entities.

For each category relied upon, recipients are asked:

6.2.1 Why is that category included?

6.2.2 What evidence supports inclusion?

6.2.3 What, if anything, excludes a person or organisation from that category?

6.2.4 Does beneficiary status depend upon direct descent?

6.2.5 Does it depend upon race or ethnicity?

6.2.6 Does it depend upon nationality?

6.2.7 Does it depend upon residence?

6.2.8 Does it depend upon present disadvantage?

6.2.9 Does it depend upon historical connection to a particular territory?

6.2.10 Does it depend upon another criterion?

6.3 Descendant Status

The term **"descendant"** should not be used without identifying what level of proof is required.

Recipients are therefore asked:

6.3.1 What constitutes a descendant?

6.3.2 Is biological descent required?

6.3.3 Is genealogical evidence required?

6.3.4 Is documentary evidence required?

6.3.5 Is DNA evidence accepted?

6.3.6 Is self-identification sufficient?

6.3.7 Is community recognition sufficient?

6.3.8 How are gaps in historical records treated?

6.3.9 How are adopted persons treated?

6.3.10 How are mixed-heritage persons treated?

6.3.11 How many generations may be relevant?

6.3.12 Does descent from a historically affected population suffice, or must a particular ancestor be identified?

6.4 The Problem of Incomplete Genealogical Records

Reparation Nation Limited recognises that slavery, displacement, forced migration, renaming, incomplete registration and destruction or absence of records may make genealogical proof difficult or impossible.

Recipients are therefore asked:

What alternative evidential routes are accepted?

Can oral history be relied upon?

Can family records be relied upon?

Can geographic ancestry be relied upon?

Can historical community continuity be relied upon?

Who bears the evidential burden where the absence of records is itself connected to the historical wrong?

This question is particularly important because an eligibility system should not create a structure in which the very destruction or absence of historical records becomes a reason to deny participation.

6.5 Race, Ethnicity and Eligibility

Where race or ethnicity forms part of eligibility, recipients are asked to identify:

the classification system used;

who determines racial or ethnic classification;

whether self-identification is sufficient;

whether documentary evidence is required;

how mixed heritage is treated;

whether categories differ between countries;

whether categories change over time;

and whether eligibility follows racial identity, ancestry, descent, or some combination of these.

Where reparative programmes operate internationally, compatibility between different racial and ethnic classification systems should also be considered.

6.6 Nationality and Residence

Recipients are asked whether present nationality or residence affects eligibility.

For example:

Does a descendant living in the United Kingdom have a different claim from a descendant living in Jamaica?

Does citizenship matter?

Does birthplace matter?

Does current residence matter?

Can migration terminate or reduce eligibility?

Can a person retain eligibility after naturalisation in another country?

Does dual nationality affect entitlement?

These questions should be resolved by principle rather than convenience.

6.7 Territory

Where reparations are tied to historical territories, recipients are asked:

How is territorial connection established?

Does entitlement follow the place where harm occurred?

The place from which an ancestor was taken?

The place where descendants now live?

The place where institutional benefit accrued?

The place where responsible institutions are located?

These may point to different jurisdictions.

6.8 Individual and Collective Beneficiaries

Recipients are requested to distinguish between:

individual beneficiaries

and

collective beneficiaries.

Where collective repair is proposed:

What constitutes the collective?

Who has authority to act for it?

How is membership determined?

How are dissenting views handled?

Can a collective settlement bind individuals who did not consent?

Can individual and collective remedies operate simultaneously?

6.9 Governments as Beneficiaries

Where reparative resources are transferred to governments, recipients are asked to explain the relationship between the government and the historical beneficiary population.

Questions include:

Does the government receive funds in its own right?

Does it hold them in trust?

Is it acting as representative?

Is the money ring-fenced?

Can the government redirect funds?

Can a change of government alter reparative priorities?

How are citizens consulted?

How are minority populations protected?

6.10 Community Organisations as Beneficiaries

Where community organisations receive reparative funding, recipients are asked:

How was the organisation selected?

What population does it claim to serve?

What evidence establishes that relationship?

Who are its members?

How are leaders selected?

How are accounts maintained?

Can members inspect decisions?

How are conflicts handled?

Can beneficiaries remove or replace leadership?

Funding an organisation should not automatically be treated as equivalent to compensating the people it claims to serve.

6.11 Representative Authority

The question of representation is central.

Reparation Nation Limited therefore proposes the following foundational question:

WHO AUTHORISED WHOM TO SPEAK FOR WHOM, CONCERNING WHAT, FOR HOW LONG, AND SUBJECT TO WHAT MECHANISM OF CONTINUING ACCOUNTABILITY?

Recipients are requested to answer this question wherever a person or organisation claims to represent:

descendants;

Black communities;

African populations;

Caribbean populations;

diaspora populations;

affected communities;

victims;

or other collective interests.

6.12 Participation Is Not the Same as Representation

Reparation Nation Limited considers it important to distinguish between:

being invited to participate;

being consulted;

having expertise;

being an advocate;

being a stakeholder;

and

possessing representative authority.

These are different statuses.

An academic may possess expertise without representative authority.

A government official may possess constitutional authority but not personal descendant status.

An activist may possess experience and advocacy legitimacy without formal mandate.

A descendant organisation may possess a mandate from its members but not from all descendants.

These distinctions should be recorded rather than blurred.

6.13 Mandate

Where an organisation claims a mandate, recipients are asked:

6.13.1 What is the source of the mandate?

6.13.2 Is it constitutional?

6.13.3 Electoral?

6.13.4 Membership-based?

6.13.5 Contractual?

6.13.6 Statutory?

6.13.7 Governmental?

6.13.8 Self-appointed?

6.13.9 Consultative?

6.13.10 Informal?

6.13.11 How long does the mandate last?

6.13.12 Can it be revoked?

6.13.13 Who may revoke it?

6.13.14 What reporting duties exist?

6.14 Representation of Non-Members

A particular difficulty arises where an organisation speaks in terms suggesting that it represents a wider population than its formal membership.

Recipients are therefore asked:

Does the organisation claim to represent only members?

A wider category?

All descendants?

All Black people?

All people within a territory?

If representation extends beyond formal membership, what is the basis for that extension?

6.15 Representation of Future Generations

Reparations discussions often refer to intergenerational consequences.

That raises a difficult question:

Who can represent people who are not yet born?

Recipients are asked whether present representatives may make decisions that bind future generations.

If so:

under what authority;

with what limitations;

and whether future generations retain the right to reopen or challenge the arrangement.

6.16 Negotiation Authority

Where organisations negotiate reparations, recipients are asked:

What authority do they possess to negotiate?

Can they agree financial figures?

Can they agree non-financial terms?

Can they accept apologies?

Can they enter settlements?

Can they waive claims?

Can they bind non-members?

Can they bind descendants who were not consulted?

Can they bind future generations?

The distinction between advocacy and settlement authority is fundamental.

6.17 Settlement Authority

Where a settlement is intended to be final, recipients are requested to identify:

who has power to conclude it;

the legal basis;

whether affected individuals consent;

whether opt-out mechanisms exist;

whether settlement extinguishes future claims;

and whether independent legal scrutiny is available.

A declaration that a matter is “settled” should not substitute for identifying who had authority to settle it.

6.18 Governments and Authority to Waive Claims

Where governments negotiate state-to-state reparations, Reparation Nation Limited asks:

Can a government waive individual claims?

Can it waive claims belonging to descendants?

Can it waive claims belonging to non-citizens?

Can it waive claims of persons living abroad?

Can it waive claims of future generations?

If the answer depends upon constitutional or international law, the basis should be identified.

6.19 Diaspora Representation

Diaspora populations create additional representational complexity.

Recipients are asked:

Who represents diaspora populations?

Is representation organised by country of residence?

Country of ancestry?

Country of birth?

Community organisation?

Self-identification?

Does a Caribbean government represent descendants living permanently in Britain?

Does an African government represent descendants whose ancestors left centuries ago?

These questions require careful treatment.

6.20 Africa and Diaspora Relationships

Where African states, Caribbean states and diaspora organisations participate in the same reparations process, recipients are asked how their respective interests are distinguished.

Questions include:

Who represents the African side of the historical harm?

Who represents descendants in the Caribbean?

Who represents descendants in Europe?

Who represents descendants in North America?

Can claims overlap?

How is conflict between claimant groups resolved?

Who decides priority?

6.21 Internal Diversity Within Black Populations

References to “Black people” should not obscure substantial diversity.

Black populations may differ by:

nationality;

ethnicity;

language;

culture;

religion;

class;

migration history;

legal status;

heritage;

and historical connection.

Recipients are therefore asked how their systems avoid treating Black populations as homogeneous where differences materially affect reparative claims or needs.

6.22 Mixed-Black Persons

Recipients are specifically asked how mixed-Black persons are treated within eligibility and representation systems.

Questions include:

Is partial Black ancestry sufficient?

Does the proportion of ancestry matter?

Does self-identification matter?

Does community recognition matter?

Can a mixed-Black person be represented by more than one claimant group?

How are overlapping identities handled?

These matters should be defined in advance where eligibility depends upon racial or ancestral classification.

6.23 Identity Verification

Where identity verification is required, recipients are asked:

What data are collected?

What documents are required?

Who verifies them?

Are commercial identity providers used?

Is biometric data used?

Is DNA data used?

Are records retained?

Can records be shared?

Can data be used for purposes unrelated to reparations?

What appeal exists against misclassification?

Verification should not become disproportionate surveillance.

6.24 DNA

Where DNA is considered, recipients are asked:

Is DNA mandatory or voluntary?

What precisely can DNA establish?

What can it not establish?

Who owns the sample?

Who owns the data?

Where is the data stored?

Can it be shared with police, government, insurers, researchers or commercial entities?

Can it be deleted?

How are family members affected by one person's genetic disclosure?

Genetic information requires particularly strict governance.

6.25 Self-Identification

Recipients are asked what role self-identification plays.

Can a person self-identify into beneficiary status?

If not, what corroboration is required?

If yes, what prevents fraudulent claims?

Can self-identification be challenged?

Who determines the challenge?

This requires balancing accessibility with evidential integrity.

6.26 Community Verification

Where community verification is accepted, recipients are asked:

Who constitutes the verifying community?

Who may certify another person's status?

What standards apply?

Can personal conflicts affect certification?

Can a refusal be appealed?

Is there independent review?

Informal community knowledge may be valuable, but requires procedural safeguards where financial consequences follow.

6.27 Eligibility and Economic Need

Recipients are asked whether economic need affects eligibility.

If reparations are based on historical entitlement, should a wealthy descendant receive the same as a poor descendant?

If need matters, is the programme partly redistributive rather than purely compensatory?

If need does not matter, how are scarce resources allocated?

The governing principle should be explicit.

6.28 Eligibility and Present Harm

A separate question is whether a beneficiary must demonstrate present continuing harm.

If direct descent is established but no present disadvantage exists, is reparative entitlement unaffected?

Conversely, can a person suffering present racial disadvantage qualify without proving descent from the historical population?

These are distinct theories of entitlement.

6.29 Institutional Beneficiaries

Where universities, charities, museums, cultural institutions or other bodies receive reparative funds, recipients are asked:

Why is the institution a proper beneficiary?

Does the institution act as an intermediary?

Does the money remain an institutional asset?

Who ultimately benefits?

What happens if the institution closes?

Can the asset be sold?

Can funds be redirected?

Institutional benefit should be connected clearly to intended human or community repair.

6.30 Beneficiary Capture

Reparation Nation Limited considers that any major reparations system should examine the risk of **beneficiary capture**.

This may arise where a small number of organisations, families, political actors or institutional networks repeatedly receive resources intended for a much wider population.

Recipients are therefore asked whether they monitor:

repeat beneficiaries;

concentration of funding;

related-party relationships;

geographic concentration;

organisational concentration;

and access by previously unfunded groups.

6.31 Elite Capture

A related risk is **elite capture**.

This refers to the possibility that persons possessing superior education, institutional access, wealth, political influence or professional networks may gain disproportionate control over reparative resources.

This is a structural concern and does not constitute an allegation against any present participant.

Recipients are asked:

What safeguards exist?

Are grassroots voices represented?

Are decision-making roles rotated?

Are financial interests disclosed?

Are communities able to challenge leadership?

6.32 Gatekeeping

Where certain individuals or organisations control access to governments, institutions, funders, researchers or public platforms, questions of gatekeeping arise.

Recipients are asked:

Who determines who is invited?

Who determines who is funded?

Who determines who is recognised as a legitimate representative?

Are criteria published?

Can excluded organisations appeal?

Can new organisations enter the process?

A reparations framework should not become permanently closed around an established institutional network without scrutiny.

6.33 Appointment to Reparations Bodies

Where commissions, boards, panels, committees or working groups are created, recipients are asked:

Who appoints members?

What qualifications are required?

How are vacancies advertised?

Are appointments public?

Are terms fixed?

Can members be removed?

Are conflicts declared?

Are members paid?

Are demographic and community representation considered?

Who evaluates performance?

6.34 Democratic Legitimacy

Recipients are invited to consider whether reparations bodies require some form of democratic legitimacy.

If so:

What form?

Election?

Membership vote?

Government appointment?

Open consultation?

Random selection?

Regional representation?

Mixed governance?

There may be no single model, but the source of legitimacy should be visible.

6.35 Accountability to the Represented Population

Representation without accountability risks becoming symbolic.

Recipients are therefore asked:

How often must representatives report back?

Are reports public?

Can the represented population question them?

Can decisions be challenged?

Can representatives be removed?

Are voting records available?

Are negotiations confidential?

If so, why?

At what point does confidentiality end?

6.36 Dissent

Affected communities will not necessarily agree on what reparations should look like.

Recipients are asked how dissent is handled.

Can minority views be recorded?

Can competing organisations participate?

Must a single consensus position be manufactured?

Can different reparative remedies coexist?

Who decides when sufficient consensus exists?

The absence of unanimity should not automatically invalidate participation.

6.37 Conflict Between Representative Bodies

Where multiple organisations claim to represent the same population, recipients are asked:

How is legitimacy compared?

Does membership size matter?

Does longevity matter?

Does democratic structure matter?

Does specialist knowledge matter?

Does government recognition matter?

Can several bodies be recognised simultaneously?

Who resolves disputes?

6.38 Transparency of Membership

Where a body claims membership-based legitimacy, recipients are asked whether it publishes:

membership numbers;

eligibility criteria;

voting rules;

leadership-selection procedures;

constitutional documents;

financial accounts;

and geographic distribution.

Personal member identities need not necessarily be disclosed, but the basis of representative claims should be capable of scrutiny.

6.39 Financial Accountability of Representative Organisations

Where representative organisations receive reparative resources, recipients are asked:

Are accounts independently audited?

Are salaries disclosed?

Are related-party transactions disclosed?

Are grants to directors or members prohibited or controlled?

Can members inspect accounts?

Are funding sources disclosed?

Can donors influence policy?

Representative legitimacy and financial transparency are closely connected.

6.40 Conflicts of Interest

Recipients are asked what happens where a representative:

participates in deciding funding;

applies for funding;

works for a funded institution;

has family members involved;

receives consultancy fees;

or holds another financial interest.

A conflict does not necessarily imply misconduct.

It does require disclosure and management.

6.41 Representation and Anti-Black Racism

Where institutions select Black representatives, recipients are asked whether they have examined the possibility that anti-Black racism may influence **which Black voices are considered acceptable, professional, moderate, credible or worthy of institutional access**.

This is not an accusation.

It is a structural question concerning selection processes.

Recipients are asked:

Are selection criteria written?

Who applies them?

Are grassroots organisations disadvantaged?

Are outspoken or critical voices excluded?

Are outcomes monitored?

Can selection decisions be challenged?

6.42 Institutional Racism and Representative Selection

Similarly, recipients are asked whether procedures may systematically favour persons already embedded within established institutions.

If the same universities, NGOs, professional organisations and networks repeatedly supply representatives, the process may become institutionally self-reproducing.

Recipients are therefore asked whether mechanisms exist to widen access.

6.43 Who Is Missing?

Every reparations process should arguably ask not only:

Who is present?

but also:

Who is absent?

Recipients are invited to identify populations that may be underrepresented, including:

young people;

older people;

working-class communities;

people outside major cities;

recent migrants;

mixed-Black persons;

small community organisations;

people without academic or professional credentials;

and persons outside established advocacy networks.

6.44 Public Participation

Recipients are asked what mechanisms exist for ordinary members of affected populations to participate.

Possible mechanisms include:

public hearings;

written submissions;

petitions;

surveys;

citizens' panels;

local meetings;

online consultations;

community votes;

or other systems.

Participation should be capable of extending beyond invited institutional representatives.

6.45 Accessibility

Participation may be affected by:

cost;

travel;

language;

disability;

technology;

time;

literacy;

and institutional complexity.

Recipients are asked what measures exist to prevent consultation from being accessible only to relatively privileged participants.

6.46 Consultation Fatigue

Communities may be consulted repeatedly without seeing concrete outcomes.

Recipients are asked:

How are previous consultations recorded?

Are participants told what happened to their input?

Can institutions demonstrate where consultation changed a decision?

How is repetitive consultation avoided?

At what point does consultation become decision-making participation?

6.47 Consultation Versus Consent

A further distinction should be made between:

consultation

and

consent.

Recipients are asked:

Which decisions merely require consultation?

Which require consent?

Whose consent?

Can an institution proceed despite community opposition?

If so, under what authority?

These distinctions should be clear.

6.48 Evidence of Mandate

Where mandate is claimed, recipients are requested to provide or identify the relevant evidence, which may include:

constitution;

membership records;

election results;

statutory instrument;

government appointment;

terms of reference;

signed authorisations;

resolutions;

community votes;

or other documentation.

Where no documentary mandate exists, that can simply be stated.

6.49 Duration of Mandate

Representation should not necessarily continue indefinitely without review.

Recipients are therefore asked:

How long does a mandate last?

Is it renewable?

Is re-election required?

Can representatives remain permanently?

Does a change in organisational leadership automatically transfer the mandate?

Can the represented population withdraw authority?

6.50 Mandate Creep

Reparation Nation Limited identifies a potential issue of **mandate creep**.

This may arise where an organisation initially authorised for one limited purpose gradually begins speaking on a wider range of matters without renewed authorisation.

Recipients are therefore asked:

What exactly does the mandate cover?

Does it include negotiation?

Funding?

Research?

Settlement?

Public representation?

International advocacy?

Does expansion require renewed consent?

6.51 Data as a Form of Representative Power

Organisations controlling information about affected populations may acquire substantial influence.

Recipients are therefore asked:

Who controls beneficiary data?

Who controls genealogical records?

Who controls consultation responses?

Who controls community surveys?

Can other organisations access anonymised data?

Can data controllers influence policy through selective publication?

Data governance is therefore relevant to representation.

6.52 Media Representation

Where media organisations participate in reparations discourse, a further question arises:

Who determines which voices receive public visibility?

Recipients are asked whether editorial selection can influence which individuals or organisations come to be perceived as representative.

Where relevant:

Are selection criteria transparent?

Is diversity of opinion sought?

Are dissenting Black voices included?

This concerns agenda formation as much as formal representation.

6.53 Academic Representation

Academics may become influential intermediaries between affected communities and institutions.

Recipients are asked:

Does academic expertise confer representative authority?

If not, how is the distinction maintained?

Do researchers speak for participants or merely report findings?

Do participants retain control over how their testimony is used?

Can communities challenge academic interpretations?

6.54 Religious Representation

Where churches or religious bodies participate, recipients are asked whether they claim to speak:

for their members;

for particular descendant populations;

for moral principles;

or in another capacity.

Religious authority should be distinguished from community mandate where the two are not identical.

6.55 Descendant Organisations

Where organisations specifically use **descendant**, **heirs**, **legacy**, or similar terminology, recipients are requested to explain:

membership criteria;

evidence of descent;

governance;

leadership selection;

territorial scope;

membership numbers;

representational claims;

and accountability mechanisms.

The use of descendant terminology carries particular implications where an organisation participates in negotiations or allocation of reparative resources.

6.56 Institutional Recognition Does Not Itself Establish Mandate

An organisation may be recognised by:

government;

universities;

churches;

media;

funders;

or international bodies.

That recognition may be significant.

However, Reparation Nation Limited asks that **institutional recognition should not automatically be treated as proof of mandate from the population allegedly represented**.

The source of mandate should be separately identified.

6.57 Funding Does Not Establish Representative Legitimacy

Similarly, receiving substantial funding does not itself establish that an organisation is representative.

Indeed, financial dependence may create its own questions concerning independence.

Recipients are therefore asked whether major funders have any role in:

appointments;

policy;

public statements;

programme priorities;

or negotiations.

6.58 Independence of Representative Bodies

Recipients are asked how representative bodies protect their independence.

Questions include:

What proportion of income comes from institutions from whom reparations are sought?

Can funders terminate support?

Can funding conditions affect advocacy?

Are funding agreements public?

Can representatives criticise funders freely?

Where financial dependency exists, conflict-management mechanisms may be necessary.

6.59 Direct Voice Versus Proxy Voice

Reparation Nation Limited considers that reparations systems should distinguish between:

people speaking directly for themselves

and

institutions speaking about them or on their behalf.

Where practicable, direct participation should be visible.

This does not eliminate the need for expertise, advocacy or representative organisations.

It prevents the affected population from becoming merely the subject of institutional conversation.

6.60 Right to Ask Questions Without Representative Status

A person or organisation should not necessarily need to claim representative authority merely to ask legitimate questions concerning reparations governance.

Reparation Nation Limited therefore makes clear that the questions contained within this document do **not depend upon a claim to represent all Black people, all descendants, or any entire international population**.

They are questions directed toward the evidence, governance and reasoning of institutions involved in reparations work.

Their validity can be considered independently of the identity or representative status of the questioner.

6.61 Reparation Nation Limited's Position

Reparation Nation Limited does not, merely by issuing this document, claim exclusive authority to speak for:

all Black people;

all people of African descent;

all Caribbean people;

all descendants of enslaved persons;

all affected communities;

or all reparations organisations.

The purpose of this document is to place questions on record, promote evidential examination and invite answers.

Where Reparation Nation Limited makes any particular claim of representation in another context, that claim should be examined on its own stated basis.

This distinction is necessary for consistency with the standards requested of other organisations.

6.62 A Global Representation Register

For future international discussion, Reparation Nation Limited considers that there may be value in a **Reparations Representation and Mandate Register**.

For each participating organisation, such a register could identify:

Organisation

Population claimed to be represented

Geographical scope

Membership criteria

Membership size

Source of mandate

Date mandate commenced

Duration

Leadership selection

Voting rights

Power to negotiate

Power to settle

Power to receive funds

Accountability mechanism

Major funding sources

Conflict-of-interest policy

Independent audit

Outstanding challenges to mandate

Such a register would not determine legitimacy automatically.

It would make representational claims more transparent and comparable.

6.63 Core Representation Test

For future reference, Reparation Nation Limited proposes the following sequence:

WHO IS SAID TO HAVE BEEN HARMED?

↓

WHO IS SAID TO BE ENTITLED TO REPAIR TODAY?

↓

HOW IS THAT PERSON OR POPULATION IDENTIFIED?

↓

WHO CLAIMS TO REPRESENT THEM?

↓

WHO AUTHORISED THAT REPRESENTATIVE?

↓

WHAT EXACTLY DOES THE MANDATE AUTHORISE?

↓

HOW LONG DOES THE MANDATE LAST?

↓

HOW IS THE REPRESENTATIVE HELD ACCOUNTABLE?

↓

CAN THE MANDATE BE CHALLENGED OR WITHDRAWN?

↓

CAN THE REPRESENTATIVE NEGOTIATE OR SETTLE CLAIMS?

↓

WHO CONTROLS ANY RESOURCES RECEIVED?

↓

HOW DOES THE FINAL BENEFICIARY PARTICIPATE IN THOSE DECISIONS?

6.64 Questions for Organisations Participating in the Forthcoming Discussion

Each organisation participating in or associated with **Part 2: Reckoning and Repair** is respectfully invited to identify, where applicable:

6.64.1 the population or constituency it understands itself to represent;

6.64.2 whether that role is representative, advisory, academic, advocacy-based, institutional or another role;

6.64.3 the source of any representative mandate;

6.64.4 membership criteria;

6.64.5 leadership-selection procedures;

6.64.6 accountability mechanisms;

6.64.7 geographical scope;

6.64.8 whether it claims authority to negotiate reparative terms;

6.64.9 whether it claims authority to receive or distribute reparative resources;

6.64.10 whether it claims authority to settle or waive claims;

6.64.11 whether non-members are regarded as represented;

6.64.12 what mechanisms exist for dissent;

6.64.13 what major funding relationships exist;

6.64.14 what conflicts-of-interest safeguards exist;

6.64.15 what safeguards exist against anti-Black racism and institutional racism affecting selection or representation;

and

6.64.16 how ordinary members of the affected population can communicate directly with or challenge the organisation.

6.65 No Allegation Concerning Existing Representatives

For avoidance of doubt, the questions in this section do not assert that any current organisation lacks legitimacy, that any representative is improperly appointed, or that any participant acts without authority.

The questions arise because **representation is itself part of reparations governance**.

Where authority exists, it should be possible to identify it.

Where authority is limited, those limits should be clear.

Where the position is informal, that can be stated.

6.66 International Reference Principle

For future worldwide consideration, Reparation Nation Limited proposes the following principle:

NO PERSON OR ORGANISATION SHOULD BE ASSUMED TO REPRESENT AN ENTIRE HISTORICALLY AFFECTED POPULATION MERELY BECAUSE THAT PERSON OR ORGANISATION IS VISIBLE, FUNDED, INVITED, CONSULTED, EXPERT, INSTITUTIONALLY RECOGNISED OR ACTIVE WITHIN REPARATIONS DISCUSSIONS. REPRESENTATIVE AUTHORITY SHOULD, WHERE CLAIMED, BE CAPABLE OF BEING IDENTIFIED, DEFINED AND SUBJECTED TO CONTINUING ACCOUNTABILITY.

6.67 Concluding Position

The fundamental questions are therefore not merely:

Who is at the table?

They are:

Who are the intended beneficiaries?

How are they identified?

Who represents them?

What is the source of that authority?

What exactly does the mandate permit?

Who is excluded?

Who is absent?

How is dissent recorded?

Who controls negotiations?

Who controls money?

Who can settle claims?

Who can challenge representatives?

And how can affected people speak directly rather than permanently through institutional intermediaries?

These questions lead directly to the next necessary examination: **governance, decision-making power, institutional architecture, conflicts of interest, transparency and independent scrutiny**.

SECTION 7

GOVERNANCE, DECISION-MAKING POWER, INSTITUTIONAL ARCHITECTURE, CONFLICTS OF INTEREST, TRANSPARENCY AND INDEPENDENT SCRUTINY

7.1 Purpose of This Section

Reparations are not implemented by abstract principles.

They are implemented through institutions, committees, boards, governments, trusts, charities, universities, churches, companies, commissions, panels, funders and other decision-making structures.

Accordingly, a central question arises:

WHO ACTUALLY HAS THE POWER TO DECIDE?

Reparation Nation Limited considers that any serious reparations framework should identify not merely the public principles being expressed, but the institutional architecture through which those principles are converted into:

policy;

funding;

appointments;

eligibility;

research;

consultation;

asset allocation;

programme design;

evaluation;

and final decisions.

This section therefore examines **where power sits, how it is exercised, how conflicts are controlled, how decisions are recorded and how those exercising power are scrutinised**.

7.2 Governance Must Be Identifiable

Where an organisation participates in reparations work, recipients are requested to identify its governance structure.

This should include, where applicable:

board;

trustees;

directors;

executive leadership;

advisory committees;

working groups;

funding panels;

academic committees;

investment committees;

community panels;

and any other body exercising material decision-making authority.

For each body, recipients are asked:

7.2.1 What is its formal name?

7.2.2 What authority does it possess?

7.2.3 What instrument creates that authority?

7.2.4 Who appoints its members?

7.2.5 How long do appointments last?

7.2.6 Who may remove members?

7.2.7 Is remuneration paid?

7.2.8 Are decisions recorded?

7.2.9 Are minutes published?

7.2.10 Can decisions be reviewed or appealed?

7.3 Formal Power and Practical Power

Formal governance documents do not always identify where practical influence lies.

Reparation Nation Limited therefore asks recipients to distinguish between:

formal authority

and

practical influence.

For example:

A board may formally approve decisions while staff determine what options reach the board.

A funding panel may formally select beneficiaries while consultants design the criteria.

A government may formally approve policy while an advisory body frames the available choices.

A community representative may hold a seat without possessing meaningful voting power.

Accordingly, recipients are asked:

Who frames the question before the formal decision-maker ever votes?

This can be as important as identifying who signs the final decision.

7.4 Decision-Making Chain

Recipients are requested, where possible, to identify the complete decision-making chain for material reparations decisions.

For example:

RESEARCH

↓

RECOMMENDATION

↓

POLICY DEVELOPMENT

↓

CONSULTATION

↓

FUNDING DECISION

↓

IMPLEMENTATION

↓

MONITORING

↓

EVALUATION

↓

REVIEW

For each stage:

Who acts?

Under what authority?

What evidence is considered?

What safeguards apply?

What record is created?

7.5 Terms of Reference

Where boards, commissions, panels or working groups operate, recipients are requested to identify their **terms of reference**.

Questions include:

What is the body authorised to consider?

What is outside its remit?

Can it investigate institutions?

Can it make financial recommendations?

Can it determine eligibility?

Can it negotiate?

Can it allocate money?

Can it publish findings?

Can it compel evidence?

Can it amend its own remit?

Who approves changes?

Terms of reference define the boundary of institutional power.

7.6 Who Writes the Terms of Reference?

A further question arises:

Who determined what the decision-making body is allowed to examine?

Recipients are therefore asked:

Who drafted the terms of reference?

Who approved them?

Were affected populations consulted?

Were proposed terms publicly available before approval?

Could participants propose amendments?

Were important subjects excluded?

If so, why?

A body's independence may be materially affected by the scope imposed upon it before its work begins.

7.7 Appointment Power

Appointment power can substantially influence reparations outcomes.

Recipients are therefore asked:

Who appoints:

board members;

commissioners;

trustees;

researchers;

consultants;

community representatives;

funding-panel members;

auditors;

evaluators;

and chairs?

The person or institution controlling appointments may exercise significant indirect power over the reparations process.

7.8 Selection Criteria

Recipients are requested to identify the criteria used in making appointments.

Do criteria include:

professional expertise;

community experience;

academic qualifications;

historical knowledge;

legal expertise;

financial expertise;

lived experience;

race or ethnicity;

geographic representation;

institutional affiliation;

or another factor?

Are the criteria published?

Are appointments openly advertised?

Can unsuccessful applicants obtain reasons?

7.9 Chairs and Agenda Control

The chair of a body may exercise substantial procedural influence.

Recipients are therefore asked:

Who appoints the chair?

Can the chair determine the agenda?

Can the chair exclude items?

Can the chair determine speaking order?

Can the chair rule questions out of scope?

Can the chair exercise a casting vote?

Can the chair determine what is recorded in minutes?

What mechanism exists to challenge procedural decisions?

7.10 Agenda-Setting Power

A fundamental issue is **agenda-setting**.

The power to determine which questions are discussed may substantially determine which answers can emerge.

Recipients are therefore asked:

Who sets agendas?

Can participants propose agenda items?

Can community members submit questions?

Who decides whether submitted questions are included?

Are rejected questions recorded?

Are reasons for exclusion given?

This is particularly relevant to public events and institutional discussions concerning reparations.

7.11 Information Control

Decision-makers depend upon the information placed before them.

Recipients are asked:

Who prepares briefing papers?

Who selects the evidence?

Are contrary views included?

Can decision-makers request additional evidence?

Are source documents available?

Are summaries clearly distinguished from primary evidence?

Can interested parties submit corrections?

Control over information can become control over outcomes.

7.12 Research and Governance

Where research informs decisions, recipients are asked:

Who commissioned it?

Who funded it?

Who selected the researcher?

Who determined the research question?

Who controlled access to information?

Who reviewed the report?

Who decided whether it would be published?

Can research findings be altered or withheld?

The relationship between research and governance should be transparent.

7.13 Internal Versus External Research

Recipients are requested to identify whether research is:

conducted internally;

commissioned externally;

academically independent;

peer reviewed;

or subject to another form of scrutiny.

Where internal research forms the basis for institutional findings about the institution itself, recipients are asked what independent safeguards exist.

7.14 Decision-Making Evidence

For material decisions, recipients are requested to identify:

what evidence was considered;

which alternatives were considered;

what evidence was rejected;

what uncertainties were recorded;

and what reasons supported the final decision.

A decision may be lawful or reasonable even where disagreement exists.

The purpose is to make the decision-making path visible.

7.15 Written Reasons

Reparation Nation Limited considers written reasons particularly important where decisions affect:

eligibility;

funding;

representation;

appointments;

allocation;

or institutional responsibility.

Recipients are therefore asked whether written reasons are routinely provided.

If not, why not?

Can affected persons request them?

Can a decision be meaningfully challenged without reasons?

7.16 Minutes

Recipients are asked whether formal meetings are minuted.

Where minutes exist:

Are they full or summary minutes?

Who approves them?

Can attendees correct them?

Are dissenting views recorded?

Are votes recorded?

Are conflicts recorded?

Are minutes published?

How long are they retained?

Where minutes are withheld, what is the basis?

7.17 Voting

Where decisions are made by vote, recipients are asked:

Who has voting rights?

Are votes weighted?

Are community representatives full voting members?

Is unanimity required?

Is a simple majority sufficient?

Is a qualified majority required?

Does the chair possess a casting vote?

Are individual votes published?

These details may materially affect power.

7.18 Consensus

Where bodies operate by consensus rather than formal vote, recipients are asked:

How is consensus defined?

Who determines that consensus exists?

Can dissent be recorded?

Can a minority prevent a decision?

Can pressure to produce consensus suppress genuine disagreement?

Consensus should not become a mechanism through which disagreement disappears from the official record.

7.19 Advisory Bodies

Recipients are asked to distinguish between bodies that:

decide

and bodies that merely:

advise.

Where an advisory panel recommends one course and the final decision-maker chooses another, recipients are asked whether that divergence is recorded and explained.

Participation on an advisory panel should not be publicly presented as control over a decision where actual authority lies elsewhere.

7.20 Community Representation in Governance

Where governance structures include community representatives, recipients are asked:

How many seats do they hold?

What proportion of total voting power?

Who selected them?

Can they place items on the agenda?

Can they access the same information as institutional members?

Can they commission independent advice?

Can they challenge decisions?

Can they publish dissent?

Representation should be examined in terms of actual power, not merely presence.

7.21 Token Participation

Reparation Nation Limited asks recipients to consider whether community participation can become merely symbolic.

For example, one or two representatives may appear within a large institutional structure without possessing practical power to alter decisions.

Recipients are therefore asked:

How is substantive influence measured?

Have community representatives changed decisions?

Can examples be provided?

If their recommendations are rejected, are reasons given?

This is a structural question and does not imply that tokenism exists within any particular organisation.

7.22 Conflicts of Interest

A conflict of interest may arise where a person involved in decision-making also possesses another interest that could reasonably be relevant to the decision.

Recipients are requested to identify their conflict-of-interest framework.

Does it cover:

financial interests;

employment;

consultancy;

family relationships;

organisational membership;

funding relationships;

political roles;

academic interests;

commercial relationships;

and prospective employment?

7.23 Declaration of Interests

Recipients are asked:

Must interests be declared?

When?

In writing?

Are declarations updated?

Is a public register maintained?

Who determines whether a declared interest requires recusal?

Can undeclared conflicts result in sanctions?

7.24 Recusal

Where a conflict exists, recipients are asked:

Must the person leave the discussion?

Can they receive papers?

Can they vote?

Can they influence staff beforehand?

Who records the recusal?

Can the conflict be waived?

If so, by whom?

A conflict-management system should extend beyond merely declaring an interest.

7.25 Organisational Conflicts

Conflicts may exist at institutional as well as personal level.

For example, an organisation may:

receive funding from a body it is asked to scrutinise;

conduct research for an institution whose conduct it assesses;

advise both payer and beneficiary;

or control funding while also applying for it.

Recipients are asked how organisational conflicts are identified and managed.

7.26 Funding Conflicts

Where organisations involved in reparations advocacy or representation receive funding from institutions potentially subject to reparative claims, recipients are asked:

Is the funding disclosed?

Are conditions attached?

Can funding be withdrawn?

Can the recipient criticise the funder?

Does the funder participate in governance?

Could financial dependency influence institutional independence?

These questions concern structural safeguards and do not presume improper influence.

7.27 Revolving-Door Relationships

Recipients are asked whether safeguards exist concerning persons moving between:

government;

funders;

consultancies;

universities;

community organisations;

recipient bodies;

and reparations institutions.

Such movement may be entirely legitimate.

However, repeated movement between decision-making and beneficiary roles can create perceived or actual conflicts requiring disclosure.

7.28 Related-Party Transactions

Where organisations control reparative expenditure, recipients are asked whether rules exist for transactions involving:

directors;

trustees;

employees;

family members;

associated companies;

partner organisations;

or entities controlled by decision-makers.

Are such transactions prohibited?

Tendered competitively?

Independently approved?

Publicly disclosed?

7.29 Procurement

Where reparations money is spent on goods or services, recipients are asked:

What procurement rules apply?

Are contracts advertised?

Are bids competitive?

Can small or community-based suppliers participate?

Are Black-owned businesses considered within lawful procurement frameworks?

Are reasons for award recorded?

Are contract values published?

7.30 Consultants

Recipients are asked whether consultants involved in designing reparations policy can later apply for contracts to implement that same policy.

If so:

What safeguards exist?

Is the conflict disclosed?

Is competitive procurement required?

Can consultants influence specifications in ways that advantage themselves?

Again, these are structural questions.

7.31 Independent Scrutiny

A reparations institution should not necessarily be the sole judge of the adequacy of its own work.

Recipients are therefore asked:

What independent scrutiny exists?

Who provides it?

Is the scrutinising body financially independent?

Can it access records?

Can it interview decision-makers?

Can it publish without approval?

Can it criticise the institution publicly?

Can it require corrective action?

7.32 Independence

The word **“independent”** should itself be particularised.

Recipients are asked:

Independent of whom?

Financially independent?

Governance independent?

Operationally independent?

Legally independent?

Politically independent?

Independent in appointment?

Independent in publication?

An organisation should not be described as independent without identifying the relevant dimension of independence.

7.33 Audit

Financial audit and governance scrutiny are not identical.

Recipients are therefore asked whether there are separate mechanisms for:

financial audit;

compliance audit;

governance audit;

equality or racial-impact review;

programme evaluation;

and outcome assessment.

A clean financial audit does not establish that a reparations programme is fair, representative or effective.

7.34 Internal Audit

Where internal audit exists, recipients are asked:

To whom does internal audit report?

Can management restrict its work?

Can trustees or board members request reviews?

Are reports shared with external auditors?

Are serious findings published?

7.35 External Audit

Recipients are asked:

Who appoints external auditors?

How often are they rotated?

What is the scope?

Are full reports public?

Are management letters disclosed?

Can auditors examine related-party transactions?

Can they examine grant recipients?

7.36 Independent Evaluation

Where programmes claim reparative outcomes, recipients are asked:

Who evaluates effectiveness?

Was the evaluator involved in designing the programme?

Who funds the evaluator?

Can negative findings be published?

Can the institution delay or edit publication?

Are methodologies published?

A genuinely independent evaluation must be able to produce an unfavourable conclusion.

7.37 Appeals and Reviews

Recipients are asked whether persons affected by decisions can seek:

internal reconsideration;

independent review;

formal appeal;

complaint;

ombudsman review;

judicial review where applicable;

or another remedy.

Where no challenge mechanism exists, recipients are asked why.

7.38 Complaints

Recipients are requested to identify their complaints procedure.

Questions include:

Who receives complaints?

Are complaints acknowledged?

What deadlines apply?

Can complaints concern discrimination?

Can complaints concern conflicts?

Can complaints concern representative misconduct?

Can complainants provide evidence?

Is there an escalation route?

Are complaint outcomes published anonymously?

7.39 Whistleblowing

Large financial and institutional systems may require whistleblowing safeguards.

Recipients are asked:

Does a whistleblowing policy exist?

Who may use it?

Are volunteers and contractors covered?

Can concerns be raised confidentially?

Is retaliation prohibited?

Who investigates?

Can matters be referred externally?

7.40 Protection of Critics

Reparation Nation Limited considers it important that reparations institutions remain open to scrutiny from people who disagree with them.

Recipients are asked whether critics can:

question policy;

challenge representation;

query spending;

dispute historical interpretation;

or allege procedural failure

without being automatically excluded from future participation.

Critical scrutiny should not be confused with hostility to reparations.

7.41 Institutional Reputation

Recipients are asked how they manage the potential conflict between:

protecting institutional reputation

and

publishing uncomfortable historical or contemporary findings.

Where communications departments review reports before publication:

What authority do they possess?

Can reputational concerns delay publication?

Are changes recorded?

7.42 Confidentiality

Some confidentiality may be legitimate.

However, recipients are asked to distinguish between information withheld because of:

personal privacy;

legal privilege;

commercial confidentiality;

security;

ongoing negotiations;

data protection;

or reputational sensitivity.

The reason for non-disclosure should be identifiable rather than assumed.

7.43 Transparency by Default

For material governance decisions, Reparation Nation Limited asks whether institutions operate a principle of:

DISCLOSE UNLESS THERE IS A CLEAR AND IDENTIFIABLE REASON NOT TO DISCLOSE

rather than:

WITHHOLD UNLESS SOMEONE CAN FORCE DISCLOSURE.

This distinction may significantly affect public confidence.

7.44 Publication of Governance Documents

Recipients are invited to provide or identify:

constitutions;

articles;

terms of reference;

board membership;

committee structures;

delegation schemes;

conflict policies;

funding rules;

procurement policies;

audit reports;

complaints procedures;

whistleblowing policies;

equality policies;

racial-impact processes;

and decision-making protocols.

Where these already exist online, links may be sufficient.

7.45 Record Retention

Recipients are asked:

How long are records retained?

Are records subject to scheduled destruction?

Are reparations-related records designated for permanent preservation?

Who decides?

Are emails retained?

Are meeting papers archived?

Are versions of policy documents preserved?

A long-term reparations process requires institutional memory.

7.46 Archives of Decision-Making

Historical reparations work may itself become the subject of future historical examination.

Accordingly, recipients are asked whether current reparations records will be preserved so future researchers can determine:

what was known;

who decided;

what alternatives existed;

what communities said;

what money was spent;

and what outcomes occurred.

7.47 Public Access to Archives

Recipients are asked whether governance records will eventually enter:

public archives;

institutional archives;

university archives;

national archives;

or another accessible repository.

Where access is restricted, the duration and basis of restriction should be recorded.

7.48 Data Transparency

Where statistical data influence decisions, recipients are asked:

Are datasets published?

Are methodologies published?

Are data anonymised?

Can independent researchers reproduce findings?

Are changes to definitions documented?

Are missing data identified?

Opaque data can produce opaque policy.

7.49 Algorithms and Automated Decision-Making

Where technology, scoring systems or automated tools are used for:

eligibility;

risk assessment;

grant ranking;

identity verification;

fraud detection;

or resource allocation,

recipients are asked:

Who designed the system?

What variables are used?

Has racial bias been assessed?

Can an individual challenge an automated decision?

Is human review available?

Is the system externally audited?

7.50 Outsourcing

Where parts of a reparations process are outsourced to private contractors, recipients are asked:

What functions are outsourced?

Why?

Who selected the contractor?

What data can the contractor access?

What confidentiality obligations apply?

Can the contractor subcontract?

Who remains accountable for errors?

Public or reparative responsibility should not disappear through outsourcing.

7.51 Safeguards Against Anti-Black Racism

Reparation Nation Limited specifically requests identification of safeguards against **anti-Black racism** within governance and decision-making.

Recipients are asked:

Does a specific written safeguard exist?

Does it go beyond general equality language?

At what stage does it operate?

Who applies it?

How is compliance measured?

What happens where racial disparity appears?

Who can challenge the decision?

Is there independent racial-impact scrutiny?

7.52 Institutional Racism

Recipients are further asked what systems exist to identify possible institutional racism.

Relevant questions include:

Are outcomes examined, not merely intentions?

Are racial disparities monitored?

Are policies reviewed for disparate impact?

Are recurring patterns examined across multiple decisions?

Can external experts scrutinise systems?

Are affected communities able to trigger a review?

The existence of such safeguards should not be assumed merely because an institution possesses an equality policy.

7.53 Racial Impact Assessment

Where material reparations policy is developed, recipients are asked whether a formal racial-impact assessment is conducted.

If so:

Who performs it?

What methodology is used?

Is it published?

Can communities submit evidence?

Does the assessment examine different Black populations separately where relevant?

What happens if a negative impact is identified?

7.54 Equality Policies

Where recipients rely upon general equality, diversity and inclusion policies as safeguards, Reparation Nation Limited asks:

What provision specifically addresses the decision under examination?

How does the policy operate in practice?

Who monitors compliance?

What evidence demonstrates effectiveness?

A broad institutional commitment should be distinguished from an operational safeguard.

7.55 Safeguard Register

For future international use, Reparation Nation Limited considers that institutions could maintain a **Reparations Safeguard Register** identifying:

Risk

Safeguard

Written authority

Responsible officer

Monitoring mechanism

Review frequency

Evidence of operation

Failure mechanism

Appeal or complaint route

Corrective action

This could make governance safeguards directly comparable.

7.56 Decision Register

A public **Reparations Decision Register** could record significant decisions, including:

date;

decision-maker;

authority;

question decided;

evidence considered;

conflicts declared;

consultation undertaken;

decision;

reasons;

financial consequence;

beneficiary impact;

review route;

and current status.

Not every minor administrative act requires publication.

Material decisions should nevertheless be capable of reconstruction.

7.57 Conflict-of-Interest Register

Reparation Nation Limited further asks whether institutions maintain a public register recording:

decision-maker;

declared interest;

nature of interest;

date declared;

decision affected;

whether recusal occurred;

and how the conflict was managed.

Transparency may protect both institutions and individuals from unsupported suspicion.

7.58 Governance Map

For complex reparations systems involving multiple institutions, a governance map may be particularly useful.

It should show:

WHO FUNDS

↓

WHO APPOINTS

↓

WHO RESEARCHES

↓

WHO ADVISES

↓

WHO DECIDES

↓

WHO RECEIVES

↓

WHO IMPLEMENTS

↓

WHO AUDITS

↓

WHO EVALUATES

↓

WHO CAN CHALLENGE

This may reveal concentrations of authority that are otherwise difficult to see.

7.59 Separation of Functions

Recipients are asked whether important functions are separated.

For example:

Should the institution determining eligibility also hear appeals?

Should the organisation receiving funds also determine allocations?

Should the researcher establishing harm evaluate the success of the remedy?

Should the funder appoint the supposedly independent auditor?

Should a representative body control both consultation and interpretation of consultation results?

Separation of functions can reduce conflicts and improve confidence.

7.60 Concentration of Power

Reparation Nation Limited considers it legitimate to ask whether excessive power is concentrated within one institution or a small network.

Recipients are therefore asked whether any entity controls multiple stages of:

research;

policy;

appointments;

funding;

beneficiary selection;

implementation;

and evaluation.

Where concentration exists, what counterbalances operate?

7.61 Network Governance

Reparations work may involve recurring networks of:

universities;

charities;

government departments;

churches;

media organisations;

funders;

consultants;

and community bodies.

Recipients are asked whether repeated institutional relationships are disclosed.

A network can create useful expertise and continuity.

It can also create barriers to outside scrutiny if access becomes dependent upon membership of the network.

7.62 Institutional Capture

For purposes of this document, **institutional capture** should be treated as a question to be tested, not a conclusion.

Recipients are invited to consider whether any funder, government, profession, donor, academic institution, political body or beneficiary network possesses disproportionate influence over the reparations process.

Where safeguards exist against capture, recipients are requested to identify them.

7.63 Regulatory Oversight

Recipients are asked what external regulatory bodies oversee relevant organisations.

Depending upon institutional form, these may include:

company regulators;

charity regulators;

financial regulators;

public auditors;

ombudsmen;

information commissioners;

courts;

or other bodies.

Recipients are asked to identify which aspects of reparations governance fall within external regulatory jurisdiction.

7.64 Freedom of Information and Public Access Rights

Where public bodies are involved, recipients are asked whether their reparations records are subject to statutory information-access regimes.

Where exemptions are relied upon, recipients are asked to identify them precisely.

Where private institutions voluntarily undertake public-facing reparations functions, recipients are invited to consider whether equivalent transparency standards should apply even where not legally compelled.

7.65 Public Funding and Transparency

Where organisations receive public money for reparations-related work, Reparation Nation Limited asks whether enhanced disclosure should follow.

Relevant information may include:

grant amount;

purpose;

decision-maker;

conditions;

deliverables;

performance reports;

and final outcomes.

The public should be capable of determining what was purchased with public funds.

7.66 Private Funding and Transparency

Private funding may also create material influence.

Recipients are therefore asked whether major private donors are disclosed.

If anonymity is permitted:

Why?

Can anonymous funding affect policy?

What controls prevent hidden influence?

Can donors appoint decision-makers?

7.67 Political Independence

Where reparations bodies interact with political parties or governments, recipients are asked:

Are board members politically appointed?

Can governments remove them?

Does a change of government alter appointments?

Are political donations disclosed where relevant?

Can the body criticise government policy?

Can funding be withdrawn following criticism?

7.68 Academic Independence

Where universities undertake reparations research, recipients are asked whether researchers possess freedom to reach conclusions contrary to the commissioning institution's preferred position.

Can negative findings be published?

Can the funder suppress findings?

Can researchers retain their data?

Are contractual publication restrictions disclosed?

7.69 Media Independence

Where media organisations participate in reparations projects, recipients are asked how editorial judgment is separated from institutional reparations commitments.

Can journalists critically investigate their own employer's programme?

Can dissenting views be published?

Does the institution's reparative position influence coverage?

Again, these are questions, not conclusions.

7.70 Religious Governance

Where religious institutions participate, recipients are asked:

Which ecclesiastical or corporate body possesses legal authority?

Who controls relevant assets?

Who approves reparative commitments?

What role do congregants possess?

What role do trustees or commissioners possess?

How are theological positions distinguished from legal or financial decisions?

7.71 International Governance

Where reparations structures operate across countries, recipients are asked:

Which jurisdiction governs?

What law applies?

Where are funds held?

Where are disputes resolved?

Which audit standard applies?

What happens where national rules conflict?

Who possesses final authority?

International architecture requires particular precision.

7.72 Cross-Border Transfers

Where reparative funds cross borders, recipients are asked:

Who authorises transfer?

What banking controls apply?

What anti-money-laundering requirements apply?

What currency is used?

Who bears exchange-rate risk?

Are intermediary charges disclosed?

Who audits receipt at destination?

7.73 Governance Failure

Recipients are asked:

What happens when governance fails?

For example:

a conflict is undisclosed;

money is misallocated;

eligibility decisions are discriminatory;

a representative abuses authority;

a consultant acts improperly;

an auditor identifies serious weaknesses;

or a programme fails to achieve its objectives.

Who investigates?

Who can suspend decisions?

Who can remove decision-makers?

Who can recover funds?

Who informs beneficiaries?

7.74 Corrective Action

A governance system should contain not merely rules, but consequences.

Recipients are therefore asked to identify possible corrective measures, including:

reconsideration;

reversal;

reimbursement;

disciplinary action;

removal;

independent investigation;

policy amendment;

re-audit;

reallocation;

or referral to external authorities.

A safeguard without a consequence for failure may be incomplete.

7.75 Learning From Failure

Recipients are asked whether governance failures produce institutional learning.

Are lessons published?

Are policies changed?

Are previous decisions reviewed?

Are similar cases re-examined?

Are affected persons informed?

A reparative institution should itself be capable of correction.

7.76 Periodic Governance Review

Recipients are asked how often governance arrangements are reviewed.

Is there:

annual review;

independent periodic review;

community review;

regulatory review;

or no fixed review?

Structures suitable at the beginning of a programme may not remain suitable indefinitely.

7.77 Sunset Clauses

Where boards, commissions or special programmes are created, recipients are asked whether they have a defined endpoint.

If not, can they continue indefinitely?

Who determines whether they remain necessary?

Could institutional survival itself become an incentive?

A reparations body should be capable of explaining the conditions under which its work is complete.

7.78 Institutional Self-Interest

Any institution may develop an interest in:

preserving funding;

preserving status;

preserving employment;

preserving access;

or expanding remit.

This does not establish impropriety.

It does justify asking:

What mechanisms ensure that decisions remain directed toward repair rather than institutional preservation?

7.79 Who Audits the Auditor?

A final governance question necessarily arises:

WHO SCRUTINISES THE SCRUTINISER?

Recipients are asked:

Who appoints auditors?

Who assesses evaluators?

Who investigates complaints bodies?

Who reviews independent panels?

Can scrutiny itself be challenged?

No governance structure is strengthened by assuming that the final reviewing institution is incapable of error.

7.80 Questions Specifically Directed to the Forthcoming Event

Given that **Part 2: Reckoning and Repair** is intended as an interactive discussion, Reparation Nation Limited respectfully asks the organisers and participating institutions to clarify, where practicable:

7.80.1 Who determined the event's subject matter?

7.80.2 Who selected participating institutions?

7.80.3 Who selected individual speakers?

7.80.4 What selection criteria were used?

7.80.5 Were community or descendant organisations consulted regarding the panel composition?

7.80.6 Who determines which audience questions are considered?

7.80.7 Can questions be submitted substantially in advance?

7.80.8 Will unanswered questions be preserved for later written response?

7.80.9 Will questions excluded because of time be distinguished from questions declined on substantive grounds?

7.80.10 Will a record of the discussion be retained?

7.80.11 Will any recording, transcript or written summary be publicly accessible?

7.80.12 Will participating organisations have an opportunity to provide documentary answers following the event?

These questions are asked to assist constructive preparation rather than to dictate the organisation of the event.

7.81 Questions for Each Participating Institution

Each participating or associated institution is respectfully invited to identify:

7.81.1 its governance structure for reparations-related work;

7.81.2 the ultimate decision-making body;

7.81.3 the person or body controlling appointments;

7.81.4 the source of authority;

7.81.5 terms of reference;

7.81.6 decision-making procedures;

7.81.7 conflict-of-interest safeguards;

7.81.8 funding relationships;

7.81.9 external scrutiny;

7.81.10 complaints and appeal procedures;

7.81.11 anti-Black-racism safeguards;

7.81.12 institutional-racism safeguards;

7.81.13 audit arrangements;

7.81.14 publication arrangements;

7.81.15 record-retention arrangements;

and

7.81.16 the mechanism through which affected people may directly challenge decisions.

7.82 Core Governance Test

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For international reference, Reparation Nation Limited proposes the following governance sequence:

WHO CREATED THE BODY?

↓

WHO FUNDS IT?

↓

WHO APPOINTS IT?

↓

WHAT IS ITS MANDATE?

↓

WHO CONTROLS ITS AGENDA?

↓

WHAT INFORMATION DOES IT RECEIVE?

↓

WHO MAKES THE DECISION?

↓

WHO BENEFITS FROM THE DECISION?

↓

WHAT CONFLICTS EXIST?

↓

WHAT SAFEGUARDS APPLY?

↓

ARE REASONS RECORDED?

↓

CAN THE DECISION BE CHALLENGED?

↓

WHO AUDITS IT?

↓

WHO AUDITS THE AUDITOR?

↓

WHAT HAPPENS WHEN THE SYSTEM FAILS?

7.83 International Reference Principle

For future worldwide discussion, Reparation Nation Limited proposes the following principle:

REPARATIONS GOVERNANCE SHOULD BE JUDGED NOT MERELY BY THE STATED INTENTIONS OF THOSE INVOLVED, BUT BY THE IDENTIFIABLE DISTRIBUTION OF POWER, AUTHORITY, MONEY, INFORMATION, REPRESENTATION, SAFEGUARDS, SCRUTINY AND ACCOUNTABILITY WITHIN THE SYSTEM.

Good intentions do not remove the need for institutional safeguards.

Equally, the existence of safeguards should be evidenced rather than assumed.

7.84 Concluding Position

The governance questions may therefore be reduced to a simple but fundamental examination:

Who decides?

Who appointed them?

Who pays them?

What authority do they possess?

Who sets the agenda?

Who controls the information?

Who benefits from the decisions?

What conflicts exist?

What safeguards exist?

Where are those safeguards written?

Who checks whether they actually work?

Can decisions be challenged?

Are reasons recorded?

Are records preserved?

What happens when something goes wrong?

And who ultimately has the power to hold the decision-makers themselves accountable?

These questions lead directly to the next necessary examination: **anti-Black racism, institutional racism, racial safeguards, equality frameworks and the evidential testing of whether reparations institutions themselves are protected against reproducing the harms they seek to address**.

SECTION 8

ANTI-BLACK RACISM, INSTITUTIONAL RACISM, RACIAL SAFEGUARDS, EQUALITY FRAMEWORKS AND THE RISK OF REPRODUCING HARM WITHIN REPARATIONS SYSTEMS

8.1 Purpose of This Section

A reparations system concerned with harms experienced by Black people must be capable of answering a basic institutional question:

WHAT SAFEGUARDS EXIST TO PREVENT ANTI-BLACK RACISM OR INSTITUTIONAL RACISM FROM AFFECTING THE VERY PROCESS INTENDED TO ADDRESS HISTORICAL AND CONTINUING RACIAL HARM?

Reparation Nation Limited considers this question unavoidable.

A reparations system may contain:

research structures;

funding structures;

appointments;

eligibility rules;

representation mechanisms;

consultation processes;

procurement;

data systems;

evaluation procedures;

and institutional partnerships.

Each of those systems may influence outcomes.

Accordingly, it is not sufficient merely to state that an organisation is committed to equality, diversity, inclusion, fairness or non-discrimination.

The relevant question is:

What operational safeguard applies to the particular decision, where is it written, who applies it, how is it monitored, and what happens if it fails?

This section therefore examines the distinction between general equality commitments and specific racial safeguards.

8.2 No Presumption of Racism

For avoidance of doubt, Reparation Nation Limited does not, merely by asking the questions in this section, allege, accuse, assert, assume or conclude that any organisation or individual participating in reparations work is racist or institutionally racist.

The purpose is the opposite.

It is to avoid assumption.

Where safeguards exist, recipients are invited to identify them.

Where they do not exist, that can simply be stated.

Where safeguards exist only in general form, recipients are asked to explain how they operate in relation to reparations-specific decisions.

8.3 Anti-Black Racism Must Be Defined

Recipients are invited to state whether their organisation recognises the concept of **anti-Black racism**.

If so:

8.3.1 How is it defined?

8.3.2 Is the definition formally adopted?

8.3.3 Where is it recorded?

8.3.4 Who approved it?

8.3.5 Does it differ from general racism?

8.3.6 Does it differ from racial discrimination?

8.3.7 Does it include structural or systemic effects?

8.3.8 Does it include unconscious or indirect decision-making effects?

8.3.9 Does it include racial stereotyping?

8.3.10 Does it include differential credibility judgments?

8.3.11 Does it include institutional gatekeeping?

8.3.12 Does it include exclusion from funding, appointments, consultation or representation?

Where no specific definition exists, that fact should be stated.

8.4 Institutional Racism Must Also Be Defined

Recipients are requested to identify whether they recognise the concept of **institutional racism**.

If so:

What definition is used?

What source is relied upon?

Does the definition require conscious racist intent?

Can institutional racism arise through procedures, cultures or systems?

Can an institution be institutionally racist while individual decision-makers deny racist intent?

Can institutional racism be identified through outcomes?

What evidential threshold is applied?

These questions matter because a safeguard designed only to detect explicit personal prejudice may be incapable of detecting systemic disadvantage.

8.5 Personal Racism and Institutional Racism Are Not Identical

Reparation Nation Limited considers it important to distinguish between:

individual discriminatory conduct

and

institutional processes producing discriminatory outcomes.

An institution may possess policies prohibiting racist conduct while still operating systems whose effects require examination.

Recipients are therefore asked whether their safeguards examine:

individual conduct;

decision-making criteria;

organisational culture;

statistical outcomes;

patterns over time;

and structural barriers.

8.6 General Equality Policies

Many organisations possess equality, diversity and inclusion policies.

Recipients are respectfully requested to identify those policies where they are relied upon as safeguards.

However, the existence of a general policy does not by itself establish that a particular reparations decision is protected from racial distortion.

Recipients are therefore asked:

Which provision applies?

At what point in the decision-making process?

Who is responsible for applying it?

What evidence records that it was applied?

How is compliance reviewed?

What happens where non-compliance is identified?

8.7 Equality Commitment Versus Operational Safeguard

For future reference, Reparation Nation Limited proposes an important distinction:

“WE ARE COMMITTED TO EQUALITY”

is a statement of institutional principle.

By contrast:

“THIS WRITTEN PROCEDURE REQUIRES THIS PERSON TO PERFORM THIS CHECK BEFORE THIS DECISION IS MADE, WITH THIS REVIEW PROCESS IF THE CHECK FAILS”

is an operational safeguard.

Both may be valuable.

They should not be treated as equivalent.

8.8 Reparations-Specific Racial Safeguards

Recipients are asked whether safeguards have been designed specifically for reparations work.

For example:

Are racial-impact checks required before programme approval?

Are appointment processes reviewed?

Are funding outcomes monitored?

Are consultation samples examined?

Are beneficiary criteria tested?

Are rejection rates analysed?

Are procurement outcomes examined?

Are complaints concerning anti-Black racism separately recorded?

If no reparations-specific safeguards exist, recipients are asked whether general institutional safeguards are considered sufficient and why.

8.9 Safeguards in Research

Research can determine:

what harm is recognised;

which history is prioritised;

which populations are studied;

what evidence is accepted;

and what conclusions ultimately shape reparations policy.

Recipients are therefore asked what safeguards exist against anti-Black racism affecting:

research questions;

researcher selection;

methodology;

source selection;

interpretation;

peer review;

publication;

and dissemination.

8.10 Who Defines the Research Question?

A research project can be shaped before any evidence is examined.

Recipients are therefore asked:

Who determines what questions are asked?

Can affected Black communities propose research questions?

Are questions concerning institutional racism permitted?

Are uncomfortable areas excluded from the terms of reference?

If so, why?

Who has authority to expand the scope where new evidence emerges?

8.11 Researcher Selection

Recipients are asked:

Who selects researchers?

What expertise is required?

Is knowledge of Black history or anti-Black racism considered?

Are Black researchers included?

Are Black researchers in decision-making roles rather than only junior or advisory positions?

Is selection open?

Are conflicts disclosed?

The racial identity of a researcher does not determine research quality, but the selection process itself should be capable of scrutiny.

8.12 Epistemic Authority

A further issue concerns **who is treated as credible**.

Recipients are asked whether institutional processes may give greater weight to:

formal academic credentials;

professional status;

institutional affiliation;

official records;

or established organisations

than to:

community knowledge;

oral history;

lived experience;

grassroots evidence;

or independent researchers.

Where different forms of evidence receive different weight, the methodology should be explained.

8.13 Credibility and Racial Bias

Recipients are asked whether decision-makers receive guidance on the risk that racial stereotypes may influence assessments of:

credibility;

professionalism;

reasonableness;

tone;

competence;

reliability;

or legitimacy.

This may be particularly important where institutions decide which Black voices are invited, funded, published or regarded as representative.

8.14 Tone Policing and Institutional Access

Reparation Nation Limited asks whether institutional systems distinguish between:

disagreement with the substance of a submission

and

discomfort with the manner in which criticism is expressed.

Recipients are asked whether robust criticism of institutions can reduce access to:

funding;

events;

consultations;

panels;

research opportunities;

or representative status.

If so, what safeguards prevent substantive issues from being avoided through judgments about tone?

8.15 Selection of "Acceptable" Black Voices

A specific structural question arises where institutions select persons to speak about Black interests.

Recipients are asked whether safeguards exist against a process in which Black participants are preferred because they are considered:

institutionally familiar;

less critical;

professionally acceptable;

politically convenient;

or already connected to existing networks.

This is not an allegation that such selection occurs.

It is a legitimate question concerning representational independence.

8.16 Funding Decisions

Where reparative funding is allocated, recipients are asked what safeguards exist against anti-Black racism affecting:

application criteria;

scoring;

due diligence;

risk assessment;

interviews;

grant size;

monitoring;

renewal;

and termination.

Are decision-makers required to record reasons?

Can applicants inspect scoring?

Is independent review available?

8.17 Statistical Monitoring of Funding Outcomes

Recipients are asked whether funding outcomes are monitored by relevant demographic categories where lawful and appropriate.

Possible questions include:

What proportion of applicants are Black-led organisations?

What proportion are funded?

What is the average award?

Are rejection rates different?

Are grassroots organisations disproportionately rejected?

Are repeated recipients concentrated within established networks?

Without outcome data, systemic disparities may be difficult to identify.

8.18 Risk Assessment

Institutional funding systems often assess risk.

Recipients are asked:

What constitutes “risk”?

Does limited organisational history increase risk?

Does lack of professional staff increase risk?

Does absence of reserves increase risk?

Does informal community structure increase risk?

Could these criteria systematically disadvantage newer Black-led grassroots organisations?

If so, what mitigations exist?

8.19 Due Diligence

Due diligence is necessary.

However, recipients are asked whether due-diligence requirements are proportionate.

Can small organisations satisfy them?

Are applicants supported in doing so?

Are informal historical barriers considered?

Do requirements effectively restrict participation to organisations already experienced in institutional funding?

8.20 Appointments

Recipients are asked what safeguards apply to appointments to:

boards;

panels;

commissions;

research teams;

advisory groups;

and funding bodies.

Questions include:

Are roles advertised?

Are selection criteria published?

Who shortlists?

Who interviews?

Are reasons retained?

Can patterns of appointment be reviewed?

Can rejected applicants challenge discriminatory treatment?

8.21 Representation Outcomes

An institution may invite Black people while still excluding significant sections of the Black population.

Recipients are therefore asked whether representation is analysed by:

gender;

age;

class;

national origin;

ethnicity;

mixed heritage;

geographic location;

professional background;

and organisational affiliation

where lawful, relevant and proportionate.

The purpose is not to create rigid quotas automatically, but to identify whether participation is repeatedly concentrated within a narrow group.

8.22 Consultation

Recipients are asked what safeguards ensure consultation reaches beyond already established organisations.

Does consultation include:

people not affiliated to formal organisations;

working-class communities;

young people;

older people;

people outside major cities;

people without digital access;

and people critical of existing reparations structures?

Who decides whose responses are treated as authoritative?

8.23 Consultation Design

The wording of consultation questions can determine the range of possible answers.

Recipients are therefore asked:

Who writes the questions?

Are assumptions embedded within them?

Can respondents reject the premise?

Are open-ended responses permitted?

Are dissenting answers published?

Can external parties review consultation design?

8.24 Consultation Analysis

Recipients are asked:

Who interprets consultation responses?

Are raw responses preserved?

Are methodologies published?

Can participants see how their submissions were categorised?

Are minority views recorded?

Can the institution distinguish between majority preference and institutional policy choice?

8.25 Procurement and Black-Owned Businesses

Where reparative programmes purchase substantial goods or services, recipients are asked whether procurement systems consider access by Black-owned or Black-led businesses where lawful.

Questions include:

Are procurement opportunities public?

Are contract sizes accessible to small businesses?

Are previous-framework requirements exclusionary?

Is supplier diversity measured?

Are subcontractors monitored?

A programme intended to create repair may otherwise direct much of its expenditure outside the population concerned.

8.26 Professional Gatekeeping

Reparations work may become dependent upon recognised professional groups, including:

lawyers;

academics;

consultants;

accountants;

fund managers;

and established NGOs.

Recipients are asked whether professional criteria unintentionally exclude community expertise.

When is professional qualification genuinely necessary?

When can community knowledge be equally or more relevant?

8.27 Anti-Black Racism Within Professional Systems

Where professional standards are relied upon, recipients are asked whether those systems themselves have been examined for racial disparities.

If a reparations process delegates authority to an external profession, does the reparations institution examine whether that profession's own structures contain relevant racial risks?

Outsourcing a function should not outsource responsibility for fairness.

8.28 Institutional Partnerships

Recipients are asked how partners are selected.

Do the same institutions repeatedly partner with one another?

Are grassroots organisations able to become equal partners?

Who controls the partnership agreement?

Who controls funding?

Who owns intellectual property?

Who receives public recognition?

Who holds the data?

Unequal partnerships may reproduce institutional hierarchy even where the project has reparative aims.

8.29 Equality of Partnership

Where institutions describe a relationship as a partnership, recipients are asked whether the relationship is genuinely equal.

Relevant indicators include:

voting power;

financial control;

contractual rights;

data control;

public attribution;

staffing;

ownership of outputs;

and termination rights.

The word **“partnership”** should not obscure material differences in power.

8.30 Data and Racial Classification

Recipients are asked how race and ethnicity data are classified.

Can categories obscure differences between:

Black African;

Black Caribbean;

Black British;

mixed Black heritage;

and other populations?

Are people allowed to self-identify?

Can classification errors be corrected?

Are historical and contemporary categories comparable?

Poor classification can produce misleading conclusions.

8.31 Data Gaps

Where race data are absent, recipients are asked whether this prevents effective monitoring.

If no racial data are collected:

How can systemic racial disparities be identified?

If racial data are collected:

What privacy protections apply?

The appropriate balance should be explained.

8.32 Algorithmic Bias

Where automated or algorithmic systems influence eligibility, funding, identity verification or risk scoring, recipients are asked:

Has the system been tested for racial disparity?

What training data were used?

Can outputs be independently audited?

Can applicants obtain explanations?

Can human decision-makers override the system?

Is there an appeal?

8.33 Artificial Intelligence

Where artificial intelligence is used in reparations-related work, recipients are asked whether safeguards address:

bias in training data;

historical stereotypes;

misclassification;

hallucinated information;

lack of source transparency;

automated decision-making;

and confidentiality.

No consequential reparations decision should be treated as reliable merely because an automated system produced it.

8.34 Historical Archives and Racial Bias

Archives themselves are products of historical institutions.

Recipients are therefore asked whether archival research considers:

whose records were preserved;

whose voices were absent;

who created the records;

what institutional interests shaped them;

and what historical terminology may itself reflect racist assumptions.

Official documentation can be highly valuable without necessarily being neutral.

8.35 Absence From the Archive

Where Black voices are absent from institutional archives, recipients are asked how this absence is treated.

Is absence interpreted as absence of harm?

Are alternative sources sought?

Are oral histories considered?

Are limitations explicitly acknowledged?

The archive should not automatically privilege the perspective of the institution that historically had greater capacity to create and preserve records.

8.36 Language

Recipients are asked whether institutional terminology is periodically reviewed for racial implications.

Who determines acceptable terminology?

Can Black communities contest terminology?

Are historical terms preserved where necessary for accuracy but contextualised appropriately?

Language should not substitute for substantive repair, but it can shape institutional framing.

8.37 Symbolic Measures Versus Structural Measures

Recipients are asked to distinguish between symbolic measures, such as:

renaming;

memorials;

plaques;

apologies;

events;

and commemorations

and structural measures concerning:

governance;

funding;

appointments;

economic resources;

policy;

and institutional power.

Symbolic measures may have value.

They should not automatically be represented as structural repair.

8.38 Diversity Without Power

A reparations structure may appear racially diverse while decision-making power remains concentrated elsewhere.

Recipients are therefore asked:

Who controls budgets?

Who signs contracts?

Who appoints senior staff?

Who owns assets?

Who can veto?

Who can terminate programmes?

Who controls publication?

Racial diversity in appearance should be distinguished from distribution of institutional power.

8.39 Black Leadership

Where an organisation points to Black leadership as evidence against institutional racism, Reparation Nation Limited asks whether that fact alone is considered sufficient.

A Black office-holder may operate within institutional systems they did not create and cannot unilaterally alter.

Recipients are therefore asked to identify systems and safeguards rather than relying solely upon the identity of individuals occupying particular posts.

8.40 Representation Does Not Eliminate the Need for Safeguards

Similarly, the presence of Black representatives does not eliminate the need for anti-racist safeguards.

Recipients are asked:

Do Black representatives possess equal voting power?

Can they access all information?

Can they challenge institutional assumptions?

Can they publish dissent?

Can they be removed?

Who appointed them?

Safeguards should operate independently of assumptions about the racial identity of participants.

8.41 Internal Complaints Concerning Racism

Recipients are requested to identify whether complaints concerning race can be made within reparations structures.

Questions include:

Who receives the complaint?

Is there an independent route?

Can complaints concern senior leadership?

Can complaints concern funders?

Can complaints concern board members?

What time limits apply?

Are findings published?

What remedies exist?

8.42 External Complaint Routes

Recipients are asked whether complainants can refer matters to:

regulators;

ombudsmen;

courts;

funders;

independent investigators;

or another external body.

Where no external route exists, what protects complainants against institutional self-investigation?

8.43 Retaliation

Recipients are asked whether safeguards exist against retaliation against persons who raise concerns about:

racial discrimination;

institutional racism;

funding disparities;

representation;

governance;

or conflicts of interest.

Can a complainant lose:

funding;

contracts;

appointments;

access;

or invitations

after raising criticism?

If so, how is retaliatory conduct distinguished from legitimate institutional decisions?

8.44 Blacklisting and Informal Exclusion

Formal exclusion may be visible.

Informal exclusion may be harder to detect.

Recipients are therefore asked whether safeguards exist against unofficial practices whereby critical persons or organisations cease to receive:

invitations;

responses;

funding;

partnership opportunities;

or institutional access.

This is a question concerning systems, not an assertion that such practices occur.

8.45 Documentation of Exclusion Decisions

Where an individual or organisation is excluded from participation, recipients are asked:

Is the reason recorded?

Can the decision be reviewed?

Can factual errors be corrected?

Is exclusion time-limited?

Can it become permanent without formal decision?

Documented procedure protects both institution and excluded party.

8.46 Racial Disparity Does Not Automatically Prove Racism

For evidential clarity, Reparation Nation Limited recognises that a statistical racial disparity does not automatically establish racism or unlawful discrimination.

A disparity may nevertheless justify investigation.

Recipients are therefore asked:

What threshold triggers investigation?

What alternative explanations are considered?

What evidence is gathered?

Who decides whether remedial action is required?

8.47 Absence of Proven Racism Does Not Automatically Prove Adequate Safeguards

Conversely, the absence of a proven case of racism does not necessarily establish that robust safeguards exist.

An institution may have:

few complaints;

no complaints;

or no upheld complaints

for many possible reasons.

Recipients are therefore asked to identify safeguards positively rather than relying solely on absence of adverse findings.

8.48 Outcome Testing

Recipients are asked whether racial safeguards are tested through outcomes.

For example:

Have funding disparities reduced?

Has representation widened?

Have complaint outcomes changed?

Have procurement patterns changed?

Have previously excluded groups gained access?

A safeguard should ideally be capable of demonstrating whether it affects practice.

8.49 Independent Racial Scrutiny

Recipients are asked whether independent persons or bodies review racial aspects of reparations programmes.

If so:

Who appoints them?

Who funds them?

What expertise do they possess?

Can they access records?

Can they publish freely?

Can they require responses?

Can affected communities submit evidence directly?

8.50 Racial Safeguards and Conflicts of Interest

Recipients are asked whether persons responsible for racial-equity scrutiny are institutionally independent from those whose decisions they review.

For example:

Can the same department design a policy, approve it and certify that it has no racial impact?

If so, what independent check exists?

8.51 Safeguards Against Groupthink

A racially diverse group can still experience institutional groupthink.

Recipients are therefore asked whether decision-making structures encourage:

dissent;

contrary evidence;

independent review;

minority reports;

external submissions;

and challenge to prevailing assumptions.

The objective should be evidential reliability rather than institutional unanimity.

8.52 Ideological Diversity

Reparations supporters may disagree substantially about:

compensation;

development;

representation;

race;

identity;

state responsibility;

and institutional strategy.

Recipients are asked whether participation is restricted to persons sharing a particular ideological approach.

Can people support reparations while challenging existing reparations institutions?

Can dissenting models be considered?

8.53 Anti-Black Racism and Economic Control

Reparation Nation Limited considers that racial safeguards should extend to the economic architecture of reparations.

Recipients are asked:

Who controls the capital?

Who owns funded assets?

Who holds bank accounts?

Who manages investments?

Who receives contracts?

Who accumulates expertise and institutional capacity from the process?

Repair should be examined not only through stated beneficiaries but through the actual distribution of economic power created by the reparations system.

8.54 Anti-Black Racism and Ownership

Where reparative programmes create:

businesses;

property;

intellectual property;

databases;

archives;

digital platforms;

or investment vehicles,

recipients are asked who ultimately owns those assets.

If a programme funded in the name of Black repair produces assets owned by unrelated institutions, the reparative logic requires explanation.

8.55 Institutional Knowledge and Capacity

Large institutions may receive reparations-related grants that enable them to develop:

research expertise;

professional networks;

data holdings;

staff positions;

and institutional reputation.

Recipients are asked whether this institutional capacity itself constitutes a benefit and whether affected Black communities receive equivalent durable capacity.

8.56 Intellectual Property

Where research, educational materials, archives or digital resources are developed from reparative funding or community knowledge, recipients are asked:

Who owns copyright?

Who owns databases?

Who controls licensing?

Can communities access outputs freely?

Can institutions commercialise them?

Are contributors acknowledged?

Ownership of knowledge may itself become a reparative issue.

8.57 Community Knowledge

Where community participants provide knowledge, testimony or historical material, recipients are asked:

Is consent obtained?

Are contributors credited?

Can they withdraw material?

Are they compensated?

Can the institution commercialise their contributions?

Can contributors inspect the final interpretation?

Extraction of community knowledge should not become another one-directional transfer of value.

8.58 Racial Safeguard Register

For future international use, Reparation Nation Limited proposes that participating institutions consider a **Racial Safeguard Register**.

It could identify:

Decision area

Potential racial risk

Specific safeguard

Written policy or authority

Responsible person

Monitoring mechanism

Relevant data

Independent reviewer

Complaint route

Corrective action

Evidence of effectiveness

This would allow safeguards to be compared on the basis of actual operation rather than broad assurance.

8.59 Anti-Black Racism Risk Assessment

For major reparations decisions, an explicit risk assessment could ask:

COULD THIS DECISION DISADVANTAGE BLACK PEOPLE OR PARTICULAR BLACK GROUPS?

↓

HOW?

↓

WHAT EVIDENCE HAS BEEN EXAMINED?

↓

WHO WAS CONSULTED?

↓

WHAT SAFEGARD EXISTS?

↓

WHO CHECKS THE SAFEGUARD?

↓

WHAT DATA WILL SHOW WHETHER IT WORKED?

↓

WHAT HAPPENS IF THE OUTCOME IS ADVERSE?

Such a process need not predetermine that discrimination exists.

It creates a mechanism for testing the risk.

8.60 Questions Specifically Directed to Organisations Participating in the Forthcoming Discussion

Each organisation participating in or associated with **Part 2: Reckoning and Repair** is respectfully invited to identify, where applicable:

8.60.1 its definition of anti-Black racism;

8.60.2 its definition of institutional racism;

8.60.3 whether either definition has been formally adopted;

8.60.4 the written policies relied upon;

8.60.5 the specific safeguards applying to reparations-related decisions;

8.60.6 how those safeguards operate in research;

8.60.7 how they operate in appointments;

8.60.8 how they operate in funding;

8.60.9 how they operate in representation;

8.60.10 how they operate in consultation;

8.60.11 how they operate in procurement;

8.60.12 how racial outcomes are monitored;

8.60.13 who independently scrutinises those outcomes;

8.60.14 what complaint and appeal routes exist;

8.60.15 what evidence exists concerning effectiveness;

and

8.60.16 what improvements, if any, are currently being considered.

8.61 Questions Directed to Event Organisation Itself

Because the forthcoming event concerns reckoning and repair, Reparation Nation Limited respectfully asks whether anti-Black-racism safeguards were considered in relation to the event itself.

Relevant questions include:

Who selected the panel?

What criteria were used?

What Black communities or organisations were consulted?

How was diversity of viewpoint considered?

Can audience members submit questions in advance?

Who decides which questions are asked?

Are questions concerning institutional racism considered within scope?

Will unanswered questions be preserved?

Will responses be available after the event?

Again, these are questions concerning process and do not imply any improper selection.

8.62 Safeguards Must Be Capable of Being Located

For future reference, Reparation Nation Limited proposes a simple practical test.

Where an institution states:

“We have safeguards.”

the next questions should be:

What is the safeguard called?

Where is it written?

Who applies it?

At what stage?

What evidence records its application?

Who monitors compliance?

Who can challenge failure?

What happens when it fails?

If those questions cannot be answered, the distinction between a safeguard and an assurance requires examination.

8.63 Safeguards Must Be Capable of Failing

A meaningful safeguard must contemplate the possibility that it may not work.

Recipients are therefore asked:

What constitutes failure?

How is failure detected?

Who can declare failure?

What remedial action follows?

Can affected decisions be reopened?

Can compensation be provided?

Can policies be changed?

Can responsible decision-makers be removed?

A system that assumes its safeguards never fail may be difficult to scrutinise.

8.64 Safeguards Should Protect Against Both Intentional and Unintentional Harm

Recipients are asked whether safeguards address only deliberate discrimination or also unintended systemic effects.

A policy can potentially produce racial disadvantage without any individual intending that result.

Accordingly, outcome monitoring may be necessary in addition to conduct rules.

8.65 The Reparations Paradox

Reparation Nation Limited identifies a potential institutional paradox:

A PROCESS MAY SEEK TO REPAIR RACIAL HARM WHILE OPERATING THROUGH STRUCTURES THAT HAVE NEVER THEMSELVES BEEN TESTED FOR RACIAL DISTORTION.

The answer is not to assume those structures are racist.

The answer is to test them.

That requires:

definitions;

evidence;

monitoring;

safeguards;

independent scrutiny;

and corrective mechanisms.

8.66 Institutional Self-Examination

Recipients are therefore invited to consider whether reparations work should include examination of the institution's **present conduct**, not solely its historical past.

Questions include:

How does the institution currently treat Black employees?

Black applicants?

Black suppliers?

Black researchers?

Black community organisations?

Black critics?

Black beneficiaries?

If historical reckoning is undertaken without examination of present systems, the relationship between past and present may remain incomplete.

8.67 Reparative Credibility

Reparation Nation Limited proposes that institutional credibility in reparations work may depend upon more than historical acknowledgement.

It may also depend upon whether the institution can demonstrate:

transparent governance;

fair present-day decision-making;

specific racial safeguards;

effective complaints mechanisms;

independent scrutiny;

and willingness to correct present failures.

Reparations should not create a lower standard of scrutiny simply because the stated objective is morally serious.

8.68 Core Racial Safeguard Test

For international reference, Reparation Nation Limited proposes the following sequence:

WHAT DECISION IS BEING MADE?

↓

COULD RACE AFFECT THE PROCESS OR OUTCOME?

↓

WHAT SPECIFIC ANTI-BLACK-RACISM OR INSTITUTIONAL-RACISM RISK HAS BEEN IDENTIFIED?

↓

WHAT WRITTEN SAFEGUARD EXISTS?

↓

WHO APPLIES IT?

↓

WHAT EVIDENCE SHOWS THAT IT WAS APPLIED?

↓

WHAT OUTCOME DATA ARE COLLECTED?

↓

WHO INDEPENDENTLY EXAMINES THE OUTCOME?

↓

CAN AN AFFECTED PERSON CHALLENGE THE DECISION?

↓

WHAT HAPPENS IF THE SAFEGUARD FAILS?

8.69 International Reference Principle

For future worldwide discussion, Reparation Nation Limited proposes the following principle:

A REPARATIONS SYSTEM CONCERNED WITH RACIAL HARM SHOULD NOT RELY SOLELY UPON GOOD INTENTIONS, GENERAL EQUALITY STATEMENTS, THE RACIAL IDENTITY OF INDIVIDUAL PARTICIPANTS OR THE REPUTATION OF PARTICIPATING INSTITUTIONS AS PROOF THAT ITS OWN DECISION-MAKING IS PROTECTED AGAINST ANTI-BLACK RACISM OR INSTITUTIONAL RACISM. THE SAFEGUARDS SHOULD BE IDENTIFIABLE, OPERATIONAL, MONITORED, REVIEWABLE AND CAPABLE OF PRODUCING CORRECTIVE ACTION.

8.70 Concluding Position

The central questions are therefore:

How does the institution define anti-Black racism?

How does it define institutional racism?

What risks have actually been identified?

What safeguards exist?

Where are those safeguards written?

Who applies them?

Who checks them?

What data are collected?

Are outcomes examined, not merely intentions?

Can Black people directly challenge decisions?

Can critical Black voices participate without institutional penalty?

Can the institution identify racial disparities within its own reparations work?

What happens when a safeguard fails?

And how can an institution demonstrate that the process of repair is not reproducing, through its own architecture, forms of exclusion or inequality that it claims to address?

These questions lead directly to the next necessary examination: **the roles, responsibilities, historical positions and present reparative programmes of the specific institutions participating in the forthcoming discussion, including the organiser, academic institutions, the Church of England, The Guardian, Heirs of Slavery and other associated bodies**.

SECTION 9

INSTITUTION-SPECIFIC QUESTIONS: THE ORGANISERS, ACADEMIC INSTITUTIONS, THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND, THE GUARDIAN, HEIRS OF SLAVERY AND OTHER ASSOCIATED BODIES

9.1 Purpose of This Section

The earlier sections establish a general framework applicable to governments, institutions, reparations bodies, companies, universities, churches, media organisations, descendant organisations and other participants in reparative processes.

This section applies that framework more directly to the organisations participating in, associated with, hosting, organising, researching or otherwise connected with the forthcoming discussion **Part 2: Reckoning and Repair**.

The purpose is not to predetermine any organisation's position.

It is to ensure that participating organisations have advance notice of the principal questions that may arise concerning:

their own historical position;

their present institutional role;

their governance;

their research;

their definitions;

their reparative programmes;

their financial commitments;

their representation;

their safeguards;

and their future intentions.

PART A — QUESTIONS FOR THE EVENT ORGANISER AND HOSTING INSTITUTION

9.2 Identity of the Organiser

The organiser is respectfully requested to clarify:

9.2.1 What organisation is formally responsible for organising **Part 2: Reckoning and Repair**?

9.2.2 Which legal or institutional entity is responsible?

9.2.3 Is another institution acting as host?

9.2.4 Is the event part of a wider programme?

9.2.5 If so, what is the name and purpose of that programme?

9.2.6 Who funds the event?

9.2.7 Are any participating organisations contributing financially?

9.2.8 Are speakers remunerated?

9.2.9 Are expenses paid?

9.2.10 Who bears responsibility for the event record?

9.3 Purpose of the Event

The organiser is asked to state the intended purpose of the forthcoming event.

Is its principal purpose:

historical education;

public discussion;

policy development;

reparations advocacy;

institutional accountability;

research dissemination;

community engagement;

network development;

or another purpose?

If several purposes apply, recipients are invited to identify them.

9.4 Meaning of "Reckoning and Repair"

The organiser is asked:

Why was the title **"Reckoning and Repair"** selected?

What does the organiser understand by:

reckoning

and

repair?

Is there an institutional definition?

Is the event intended to examine whether participating organisations themselves have undertaken reckoning or repair?

Or are the organisations appearing principally as commentators upon wider reparations questions?

That distinction should be clear.

9.5 Relationship Between Part 1 and Part 2

As the forthcoming event is described as **Part 2**, the organiser is respectfully requested to identify:

9.5.1 What occurred in Part 1?

9.5.2 What issues were raised?

9.5.3 What remained unresolved?

9.5.4 Were written questions retained?

9.5.5 Were commitments made?

9.5.6 Were actions agreed?

9.5.7 Has any follow-up occurred?

9.5.8 Is there a recording, transcript, summary or report?

9.5.9 Is Part 2 intended to address matters left unanswered in Part 1?

9.6 Selection of Participating Institutions

The organiser is requested to explain:

Why were the participating institutions selected?

What criteria were applied?

Were alternative institutions considered?

Were Black-led organisations considered?

Were descendant organisations considered?

Were grassroots organisations considered?

Were governments or public reparations bodies considered?

Was balance of institutional perspective considered?

9.7 Selection of Individual Participants

The organiser is asked:

Who selected the individual participants?

What qualifications or experience were considered?

What role is each participant expected to perform?

Are participants speaking:

personally;

professionally;

academically;

institutionally;

or on behalf of a wider organisation?

Where a participant represents an organisation, what authority do they have to state that organisation's position?

9.8 Advance Questions

Reparation Nation Limited is deliberately providing questions substantially in advance.

The organiser is therefore respectfully asked:

9.8.1 Can these questions be circulated to all participating institutions?

9.8.2 Can participants identify existing documents responsive to them?

9.8.3 Can questions be considered when determining the event agenda?

9.8.4 Can unanswered questions be retained for written response?

9.8.5 Can participants distinguish between questions they cannot answer and questions outside their responsibility?

9.8.6 Can the event record identify which questions remain unresolved?

PART B — QUESTIONS FOR THE ACADEMIC AND RESEARCH INSTITUTIONS

9.9 Academic Role in Reparations

Any academic institution participating in or supporting the event is respectfully asked to identify its role.

Is it acting as:

researcher;

host;

educator;

policy adviser;

reparations advocate;

historically connected institution;

institutional beneficiary;

funder;

or another role?

Those roles may overlap but should be distinguished.

9.10 Institutional Historical Investigation

The academic institution is asked:

Has it investigated its own historical relationship to slavery, enslavement, colonialism or associated economic systems?

If yes:

Who commissioned the investigation?

Who conducted it?

What period was examined?

What archives were examined?

What financial records were examined?

Were endowments examined?

Were donations examined?

Were buildings examined?

Were benefactors examined?

Were investments examined?

What findings were reached?

9.11 Publication of Research

Where institutional research exists, recipients are requested to identify:

the complete report;

supporting research papers;

source lists;

archival references;

methodology;

limitations;

and any subsequent corrections.

Where only summaries have been published, recipients are asked whether the underlying research can also be examined.

9.12 Research Independence

The institution is asked:

Who funded the research?

Who selected researchers?

Did the institution being investigated approve the scope?

Could researchers examine evidence beyond the original terms of reference?

Could findings be published without institutional approval?

Were uncomfortable conclusions capable of publication?

Was independent external review undertaken?

9.13 Academic Authority and Community Authority

Academic expertise is highly relevant to historical inquiry.

However, the institution is asked whether it distinguishes between:

academic expertise

and

authority to represent affected populations.

If academics speak about what affected communities want, recipients are asked:

What evidence supports those statements?

What consultation occurred?

Who participated?

How were dissenting views recorded?

9.14 Research Funding

Recipients are asked to identify material reparations-related research funding.

Questions include:

Who provides funding?

What is the amount?

What are the conditions?

Do funders influence research questions?

Do recipients publish funding relationships?

Can research reach conclusions adverse to the funder?

9.15 Academic Benefit From Reparations Work

Reparations research may itself generate institutional benefits, including:

grants;

academic posts;

publications;

prestige;

student recruitment;

research networks;

consultancy;

and intellectual property.

Recipients are asked whether such benefits are measured.

This does not suggest that academic activity is improper.

It asks whether the institution recognises that reparations research can itself create economic and institutional value.

9.16 Ownership of Research Outputs

The institution is asked:

Who owns research outputs?

Who owns data?

Who owns recordings?

Who owns oral histories?

Who owns digital archives?

Who controls licensing?

Can communities access material freely?

Can the institution commercialise work derived from community participation?

9.17 Black Researchers and Institutional Power

Recipients are asked whether Black researchers participate at:

project design level;

principal-investigator level;

funding-decision level;

publication level;

and governance level.

Participation should be distinguished from institutional authority.

9.18 Academic Safeguards Against Anti-Black Racism

The institution is asked to identify specific safeguards against anti-Black racism in:

research design;

researcher appointment;

student participation;

community engagement;

funding;

interpretation;

publication;

and public events.

Where general equality policies are relied upon, recipients are asked to identify how those policies operate in reparations research specifically.

PART C — QUESTIONS FOR THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND

9.19 Institutional Identity

The Church of England is respectfully requested to identify precisely which legal, ecclesiastical, charitable or investment bodies are responsible for its reparations-related work.

This is important because **"the Church of England"** may refer in public discussion to a complex network of legally distinct bodies.

Accordingly:

Which body commissioned the relevant research?

Which body controls relevant assets?

Which body approved any reparative commitment?

Which body administers any resulting fund?

Which body can alter or terminate that commitment?

9.20 Historical Connection

The Church of England is asked to identify the historical conduct or benefit upon which its reparations or reparative-justice work is based.

Relevant questions include:

What historical activities were identified?

What persons or bodies were involved?

What investments were identified?

What donations or endowments were identified?

What financial instruments were identified?

What property was identified?

What archival evidence supports the conclusions?

9.21 Institutional Continuity

Where historical conduct concerned predecessor bodies or historically distinct Church institutions, the Church is asked:

What present-day body is regarded as successor?

What legal continuity exists?

What asset continuity exists?

What governance continuity exists?

What principle connects the historical entity to the present reparative commitment?

9.22 Financial Benefit

The Church is asked whether historical benefit has been:

identified;

quantified;

estimated;

or traced into present-day assets.

If so:

What methodology was used?

What amount was identified?

What assumptions were required?

What independent scrutiny occurred?

9.23 Reparative Commitment

Where a financial or institutional reparative commitment exists, the Church is asked:

What amount has been announced?

Who authorised it?

Over what period?

Is it a fixed amount?

Is it expected to grow?

Where will the money come from?

Who controls the fund?

What amount has actually been transferred or spent?

9.24 Beneficiaries

The Church is respectfully asked:

Who are the intended beneficiaries?

How were they identified?

Are individuals eligible?

Are organisations eligible?

Are African institutions eligible?

Are Caribbean institutions eligible?

Are Black British organisations eligible?

Are descendants outside the United Kingdom eligible?

What are the criteria?

9.25 Governance

Recipients are asked:

Who controls the reparative programme?

Who appoints decision-makers?

What voting power do affected Black communities possess?

Who can challenge allocations?

Who audits the fund?

Who evaluates its reparative effect?

9.26 Religious Purpose and Reparative Purpose

Where Church resources are used, recipients are asked how reparative objectives are distinguished from:

mission;

charitable giving;

development;

social action;

and ordinary Church expenditure.

Would the expenditure have occurred irrespective of the Church's historical investigation?

If so, on what basis is it classified as reparative?

9.27 Theology and Responsibility

The Church is also invited to explain whether its reparations position is based upon:

historical evidence;

theological principle;

moral responsibility;

institutional responsibility;

financial benefit;

or a combination.

Where theological language such as repentance, reconciliation, atonement or justice is used, recipients are asked how those concepts translate into institutional action.

9.28 Anti-Black Racism Safeguards

The Church is asked to identify specific safeguards against anti-Black racism within:

funding decisions;

appointments;

consultations;

partnership selection;

community representation;

and evaluation.

The existence of Black participation should not be treated as a substitute for identifiable safeguards.

9.29 Institutional Racism

The Church is asked whether it recognises institutional racism within its own contemporary structures.

If so:

What definition is used?

What evidence is monitored?

What reforms have followed?

How is this work connected to the credibility of its reparations programme?

9.30 Present-Day Position

Finally, the Church is asked:

What does it presently understand still requires repair?

What remains unresolved?

What is the intended endpoint?

Who will determine whether sufficient repair has occurred?

PART D — QUESTIONS FOR THE GUARDIAN

9.31 Institutional Basis

The Guardian is respectfully requested to clarify which legal entity or entities are responsible for its work concerning the legacies of enslavement.

Questions include:

Which entity commissioned the historical investigation?

Which entity accepted the findings?

Which entity authorised any reparative programme?

Which entity provides funding?

Which entity owns the relevant assets?

9.32 Founders and Institutional Continuity

Where historical research concerns founders or early financial supporters, recipients are asked:

What historical conduct or benefit was identified?

Was the connection personal, corporate or both?

How is the financial activity of individual founders connected to the modern organisation?

What evidence establishes continuity?

Can wealth be traced?

What institutional principle creates present responsibility?

9.33 Historical Financial Connection

The Guardian is asked to identify:

what financial connections were established;

what sources were examined;

whether amounts were quantified;

whether indirect benefits were included;

what uncertainty remains;

and whether independent review occurred.

9.34 Reparative Programme

Recipients are asked:

What reparative programme has been established?

What are its objectives?

How long will it operate?

What funding is committed?

How was the amount calculated?

What proportion has been spent?

Who receives it?

Who controls decisions?

9.35 Restorative Justice

Where the programme is described using concepts such as restorative justice, recipients are asked:

What is being restored?

To whom?

How will restoration be measured?

Can editorial, educational, cultural or grant-making activity alone constitute repair?

What outcome would demonstrate completion?

9.36 Editorial Independence

Because the organisation is a media institution, recipients are respectfully asked:

Can journalists independently scrutinise the organisation’s own reparations programme?

Can journalists challenge its historical findings?

Can journalists question the adequacy of its financial response?

Can contrary views be published?

Are editorial decisions separated from institutional programme governance?

9.37 Selection of Stories and Voices

The Guardian is asked how it approaches the selection of voices within reparations coverage.

Who is treated as representative?

How are grassroots voices identified?

Are dissenting Black perspectives included?

How does the organisation prevent institutional visibility from becoming mistaken for representative legitimacy?

9.38 Financial Transparency

Recipients are asked to identify:

the full amount committed;

the funding source;

annual expenditure;

recipient organisations;

administrative costs;

consultancy costs;

and audit arrangements.

Where recipients are not publicly identified, the basis should be explained.

9.39 Institutional Benefit

The Guardian is asked whether its reparations programme itself creates:

audience growth;

institutional prestige;

commercial value;

research assets;

content;

or reputational benefit.

If so, how is that recognised within the reparative model?

A reparative project can generate institutional benefit without necessarily ceasing to be reparative, but the relationship should be transparent.

9.40 Anti-Black Racism Safeguards

The Guardian is asked to identify safeguards against anti-Black racism in:

editorial selection;

recruitment;

commissioning;

grant-making;

event participation;

community engagement;

and reparations governance.

Where data exist concerning outcomes, recipients are invited to identify them.

9.41 Present-Day Institutional Conduct

Recipients are asked whether historical reckoning is connected to examination of present institutional practices concerning Black people.

If yes:

How?

If no:

Why is the historical programme treated separately?

PART E — QUESTIONS FOR HEIRS OF SLAVERY

9.42 Institutional Identity

Heirs of Slavery is respectfully requested to clarify:

its legal or organisational status;

governance structure;

membership criteria;

leadership;

funding;

and geographical scope.

9.43 Meaning of "Heirs"

The organisation is asked to define **"Heirs"**.

Does membership depend upon:

documented genealogical descent;

inheritance;

family history;

known historical ownership;

financial benefit;

or another criterion?

What proof is required?

9.44 Historical Connection of Members

Recipients are asked whether members must demonstrate that ancestors:

owned enslaved persons;

managed plantations;

received abolition-related compensation;

invested in slavery-related enterprises;

or otherwise benefited.

If different categories exist, they should be identified.

9.45 Inherited Benefit

Heirs of Slavery is asked whether membership depends upon a continuing inherited financial benefit.

If not, does membership reflect genealogical connection alone?

If inherited wealth is relevant:

How is it traced?

Is there any financial threshold?

Can a person participate where no inherited wealth remains?

9.46 Responsibility of Descendants of Beneficiaries

The organisation is respectfully asked to articulate its position on whether descendants bear:

moral responsibility;

reparative responsibility;

financial responsibility;

representational responsibility;

or no inherited responsibility merely by virtue of descent.

If responsibility is said to arise, what principle establishes it?

9.47 Individual Responsibility Versus Historical Association

Recipients are asked how the organisation distinguishes:

historical responsibility of an ancestor

from

present responsibility of a descendant.

This distinction is particularly important because personal descent does not itself establish personal involvement in historical conduct.

9.48 Voluntary Participation

Recipients are asked whether participation is wholly voluntary.

Can members determine the form of reparative action individually?

Is there an organisational expectation?

Are financial contributions required?

Are public acknowledgements required?

Can members disagree with organisational policy?

9.49 Representation

Heirs of Slavery is asked:

Whom does the organisation represent?

Its members only?

A wider group of descendants of historical beneficiaries?

Does it claim authority to speak for all such descendants?

If so, what is the source of that mandate?

9.50 Relationship With Descendants of Enslaved People

Recipients are asked:

What formal relationships exist with descendant organisations?

How are those organisations selected?

Is participation reciprocal?

Who determines priorities?

Are affected descendants able to reject proposed forms of repair?

Does the organisation consider itself a payer, partner, advocate, intermediary or another type of participant?

9.51 Financial Contributions

Where members or the organisation make financial reparative contributions, recipients are asked:

How are amounts determined?

Who receives them?

Are payments direct?

Are they pooled?

Who controls pooled funds?

What administrative costs arise?

How are outcomes evaluated?

9.52 Inherited Property

Where individual members retain property or wealth traceable to historical slavery-related benefit, recipients are asked whether the organisation has a position concerning:

restitution;

transfer;

sale;

shared ownership;

trust arrangements;

or other forms of repair.

Where there is no organisational position, that can be stated.

9.53 Genealogical Research

Recipients are asked:

How is family history verified?

What sources are used?

Can findings be challenged?

Are genealogists used?

Who owns genealogical data?

Is sensitive family information protected?

9.54 Public Identification of Families

Where historical families or descendants are publicly identified, recipients are asked what safeguards exist against factual error.

Are individuals given an opportunity to correct genealogical claims?

Is a distinction maintained between historical evidence and personal present-day responsibility?

9.55 Anti-Black Racism

Heirs of Slavery is asked what safeguards exist against anti-Black racism within:

partnerships;

funding;

selection of community organisations;

public engagement;

and the definition of appropriate repair.

What authority do Black partners possess in determining the programme?

9.56 Power Asymmetry

Where descendants of historical beneficiaries possess wealth, institutional access or social influence greater than the communities with whom they engage, recipients are asked how that power asymmetry is recognised.

Who controls:

money;

agenda;

publicity;

access;

and final decisions?

A reparative relationship should be capable of examining power within the present relationship as well as within the historical one.

9.57 Avoiding Paternalism

Recipients are asked what safeguards prevent descendants of historical beneficiaries from determining, unilaterally or disproportionately, what affected populations require.

Who defines the repair?

Who chooses beneficiaries?

Who measures adequacy?

Who can reject the intervention?

9.58 Endpoint

Heirs of Slavery is asked:

What would constitute successful repair?

Can descendants ever be said to have discharged their responsibility?

Who would determine that?

Is the process inherently continuing?

The answer should be stated rather than assumed.

PART F — QUESTIONS FOR CENTRES, REPARATIONS RESEARCH BODIES AND SPECIALIST INSTITUTIONS

9.59 Institutional Mandate

Any specialist reparations centre or research body participating in the event is respectfully requested to identify:

its legal or institutional status;

governance;

funding;

mandate;

geographic remit;

and relationship to governments, universities or international bodies.

9.60 Authority

Recipients are asked:

Is the organisation a research body?

Policy body?

Advisory body?

Representative body?

Advocacy body?

Governmental body?

Does it have authority to negotiate?

Does it have authority to allocate funds?

Does it have authority to speak on behalf of particular populations?

9.61 Funding

Recipients are asked:

Who funds the body?

What proportion of funding comes from governments?

Universities?

Foundations?

Historically connected institutions?

Commercial bodies?

Are funding relationships public?

Can funders influence research priorities?

9.62 Research Priorities

Who determines what is researched?

Are communities able to propose priorities?

Are disputed questions investigated?

Can research challenge prevailing reparations policy?

Can conclusions contrary to governmental or institutional preferences be published?

9.63 Relationship With Policy

Recipients are asked whether their research directly influences:

government policy;

international negotiations;

institutional reparations;

financial calculations;

or beneficiary frameworks.

If so, what formal decision-making relationship exists?

9.64 Representation

Where a specialist centre speaks publicly concerning the position of affected populations, recipients are asked whether that statement is based upon:

research;

consultation;

formal mandate;

government policy;

or another basis.

Expertise should be distinguished from representative authority.

9.65 Safeguards

Recipients are asked to identify safeguards concerning:

anti-Black racism;

institutional racism;

conflicts of interest;

research independence;

governmental influence;

funder influence;

data governance;

and community accountability.

PART G — QUESTIONS FOR ALL ASSOCIATED ORGANISATIONS

9.66 Organisational Role

Every organisation associated with the event is respectfully requested to identify its role as one or more of the following:

organiser;

host;

funder;

researcher;

historically connected institution;

reparative payer;

beneficiary;

representative organisation;

community partner;

academic body;

media organisation;

religious institution;

descendant body;

policy adviser;

or

other role.

9.67 Organisational Position on Reparations

Each organisation is asked:

Does it formally support reparations?

If so, what does reparations mean institutionally?

Who approved that position?

Where is it recorded?

Does the organisation distinguish reparations from restorative justice, reparative justice, philanthropy, development and ordinary equality work?

9.68 Historical Self-Examination

Each organisation is asked:

Has it examined its own historical relationship to slavery, colonialism or associated financial systems?

If not, why not?

If yes:

What was examined?

Who conducted the research?

What findings resulted?

What remains unresolved?

9.69 Financial Self-Examination

Each organisation is asked:

Has it examined the provenance of:

endowments;

major donations;

property;

investment funds;

or predecessor assets?

If not, is such work planned?

9.70 Present-Day Self-Examination

Each organisation is also asked:

Has it examined its present institutional treatment of Black people?

This may include:

employment;

promotion;

funding;

procurement;

representation;

partnership;

governance;

complaints;

and disciplinary systems.

What evidence is publicly available?

9.71 Relationship Between Historical and Contemporary Work

Recipients are asked whether their historical reparations work and present racial-equality work are formally connected.

If not:

Why are they treated as separate?

If yes:

What governance mechanism connects them?

9.72 Financial Interests

Every participating organisation is asked whether it has any financial interest associated with the reparations field, including:

research grants;

programme funding;

consultancy;

staffing;

contracts;

fund management;

publication income;

commercial partnerships;

or institutional development.

Where relevant, such interests should be declared.

9.73 Conflicts

Recipients are asked whether they have any material financial, governance or partnership relationship with another participating organisation.

If so:

What is the relationship?

Could it affect independent scrutiny?

How is it managed?

9.74 Documentary Evidence

Reparation Nation Limited requests that participating organisations need not recreate answers already available.

Where material exists, recipients may provide:

a direct link;

document title;

page reference;

policy reference;

research report;

published accounts;

governance document;

archival source;

or other identifiable evidence.

The purpose is to build a usable documentary record.

9.75 Where No Document Exists

Where a requested policy, safeguard, calculation, research report, definition or governance arrangement does not exist, Reparation Nation Limited respectfully requests that this simply be stated.

For example:

“No specific written policy presently exists.”

or

“The institution has not undertaken that calculation.”

or

“No formal position has been adopted.”

These are substantive answers.

They are preferable to general assurances that do not answer the question.

9.76 Correction of Factual Errors

Each organisation is expressly invited to correct any factual misunderstanding within this document concerning:

its legal identity;

its role;

its historical position;

its programme;

its governance;

or its relationship to other organisations.

Where correction is required, supporting material is respectfully requested.

9.77 No Presumption From Inclusion

The inclusion of an organisation within this section does not establish:

historical responsibility;

financial benefit;

legal liability;

moral liability;

institutional racism;

anti-Black racism;

representative authority;

or any other contested conclusion.

Inclusion means only that the organisation is sufficiently connected with the subject matter of the forthcoming discussion for questions concerning its role to be relevant.

9.78 Questions Need Not Be Answered by Organisations to Which They Do Not Apply

Where a question does not apply to a particular institution, a response stating:

“Not applicable to this organisation”

is sufficient, preferably with a brief explanation where useful.

The purpose is not to force every organisation into the same institutional category.

It is to establish a comparable framework while recognising material differences.

9.79 Core Institution-Specific Test

For every institution participating in reparations work, Reparation Nation Limited proposes the following basic examination:

WHO ARE YOU?

↓

WHAT IS YOUR ROLE?

↓

WHAT IS YOUR HISTORICAL CONNECTION, IF ANY?

↓

WHAT EVIDENCE ESTABLISHES IT?

↓

WHAT PRESENT RESPONSIBILITY DO YOU ACCEPT, IF ANY?

↓

WHAT REPAIR DO YOU PROPOSE?

↓

WHO AUTHORIZED THAT POSITION?

↓

WHO CONTROLS THE RESOURCES?

↓

WHO ARE THE BENEFICIARIES?

↓

WHO REPRESENTS THEM?

↓

WHAT RACIAL AND GOVERNANCE SAFEGUARDS EXIST?

↓

WHO INDEPENDENTLY SCRUTINISES YOUR WORK?

↓

WHAT HAS ACTUALLY BEEN ACHIEVED?

↓

WHAT REMAINS UNRESOLVED?

9.80 International Reference Principle

For future worldwide discussion, Reparation Nation Limited proposes the following principle:

INSTITUTIONS PARTICIPATING IN REPARATIONS DISCUSSIONS SHOULD NOT BE TREATED MERELY AS COMMENTATORS UPON THE RESPONSIBILITY OF OTHERS. WHERE RELEVANT, THEIR OWN HISTORICAL POSITION, PRESENT INSTITUTIONAL INTERESTS, GOVERNANCE, FINANCIAL ROLE, REPRESENTATIVE CLAIMS, RACIAL SAFEGUARDS AND ACCOUNTABILITY SHOULD ALSO BE CAPABLE OF EXAMINATION.

The same evidential standards should apply consistently.

9.81 Concluding Position

The central institution-specific questions are therefore:

Why are you involved?

In what capacity are you speaking?

Whom, if anyone, do you represent?

What is your own historical position?

Have you investigated it?

What did you find?

What assets or benefits were identified?

What responsibility do you accept?

What have you committed?

Who controls that commitment?

Who receives the benefit?

What safeguards govern your decisions?

How are anti-Black racism and institutional racism guarded against?

Who independently scrutinises you?

What evidence demonstrates repair?

And what questions concerning your own role remain unanswered?

These institution-specific questions lead directly to the next necessary examination: **Africa, the Caribbean, the diaspora, states, governments, CARICOM, international bodies and the allocation of authority, responsibility and reparative benefit across borders**.

SECTION 10

AFRICA, THE CARIBBEAN, THE DIASPORA, STATES, GOVERNMENTS, CARICOM, INTERNATIONAL BODIES AND THE ALLOCATION OF AUTHORITY, RESPONSIBILITY AND REPARATIVE BENEFIT ACROSS BORDERS

10.1 Purpose of This Section

Reparations arising from slavery, enslavement, colonialism and their alleged or demonstrated continuing consequences are inherently transnational.

Historical conduct crossed borders.

People were displaced across borders.

Wealth moved across borders.

Institutions operated across borders.

Present-day descendants live across borders.

Governments, regional bodies, universities, churches, companies, financial institutions and reparations organisations now operate within different legal and political jurisdictions.

Accordingly, a fundamental question arises:

HOW SHOULD REPARATIVE RESPONSIBILITY, REPRESENTATION, NEGOTIATION, FUNDING AND BENEFIT BE ALLOCATED ACROSS STATES, REGIONS AND DIASPORA POPULATIONS?

Reparation Nation Limited considers that this question requires careful distinction between:

states;

governments;

territories;

peoples;

descendants;

regional organisations;

international organisations;

and civil-society bodies.

Those categories should not be treated as interchangeable.

10.2 State, Government and Population Must Be Distinguished

Recipients are requested to distinguish between:

the state;

the government of the day;

the population;

particular communities within that population;

and

descendants living outside that state.

A government may possess constitutional authority to act for a state.

That does not automatically answer whether it possesses authority to:

represent every descendant;

receive every form of reparative benefit;

settle every individual claim;

or determine the priorities of diaspora populations living elsewhere.

The basis of each claimed authority should be identified.

10.3 Historical Territory and Present State

Modern states do not always correspond precisely to historical territories.

Recipients are therefore asked:

10.3.1 Which historical territory is relevant?

10.3.2 What present state or states occupy that territory?

10.3.3 Have boundaries changed?

10.3.4 Have populations migrated?

10.3.5 Have states merged, divided or gained independence?

10.3.6 How is historical harm allocated where present political geography differs from historical geography?

10.4 Africa

Where Africa is referred to within reparations discourse, recipients are asked to particularise the reference.

Does “Africa” mean:

the African continent generally;

particular states;

particular regions;

particular ethnic or cultural groups;

particular historical kingdoms;

communities from which enslaved persons were taken;

the African Union;

or another institutional or geographic category?

The term should not obscure substantial historical, political and cultural diversity.

10.5 Which African States?

Where reparative claims or benefits are said to concern African states, recipients are asked:

Which states?

Why those states?

What historical connection is relied upon?

Is entitlement based upon:

place of capture;

place of origin;

historical trade routes;

colonial rule;

present economic consequence;

or another principle?

Where precise ancestry cannot be reconstructed, what methodology is used?

10.6 African Governments and Representation

Recipients are asked whether contemporary African governments are understood to represent:

their present citizens only;

historical populations within their territory;

diaspora descendants whose ancestors left centuries ago;

or some combination.

If a government claims to represent diaspora descendants abroad, what is the legal, constitutional, historical or political basis?

10.7 African Internal Responsibility

Serious historical examination may also require consideration of African actors involved in historical systems of enslavement.

Reparation Nation Limited therefore asks, without making any assumption as to responsibility in any particular case:

Were African rulers, merchants, intermediaries or institutions involved?

What evidence exists?

How should such involvement be assessed?

Does the existence of African participation alter the responsibility of European or other external actors?

How should responsibility be divided where multiple parties participated?

Historical complexity should not be used either to erase external responsibility or to suppress relevant evidence concerning internal participation.

10.8 Responsibility of Successor African Institutions

Where historical African political entities no longer exist, recipients are asked:

Does any present institution inherit responsibility?

Does territorial succession matter?

Does state succession matter?

Does inherited wealth matter?

Does present government bear responsibility for historical conduct of pre-colonial institutions?

If so, under what principle?

10.9 The Caribbean

Where “the Caribbean” is used, recipients are asked to specify whether the reference concerns:

individual states;

British Overseas Territories;

other territories;

CARICOM Member States;

CARICOM as an institution;

Caribbean populations generally;

or diaspora populations of Caribbean descent.

These are not identical categories.

10.10 Caribbean States

For each Caribbean state asserting or receiving reparative benefit, recipients are asked:

What historical harms are identified?

Which colonial power or institution is said to bear responsibility?

What evidence supports the claim?

What continuing consequences are identified?

What methodology connects historical harm to present conditions?

What form of repair is sought?

Who authorised the claim?

10.11 Government Claims Versus Individual Claims

Where a Caribbean government advances reparations claims, recipients are asked to clarify whether those claims are:

state claims;

claims on behalf of citizens;

collective historical claims;

negotiating positions;

or claims intended to encompass individual descendants.

The distinction is important.

10.12 CARICOM

Where the Caribbean Community is involved in reparations policy or advocacy, recipients are respectfully asked to clarify:

what authority CARICOM possesses;

which Member States have authorised that authority;

whether decisions are binding or advisory;

which institutional body is responsible for reparations policy;

how decisions are made;

how Member States participate;

how affected populations participate;

and how diaspora populations are considered.

10.13 CARICOM Mandate

Where CARICOM speaks collectively on reparations, recipients are asked:

What formal instrument provides the mandate?

Does the mandate extend to negotiation?

Does it extend to settlement?

Does it extend to financial agreements?

Can CARICOM bind Member States?

Can it bind citizens?

Can it bind diaspora descendants outside the Caribbean?

What are the limits of its authority?

10.14 CARICOM Reparations Structures

Recipients are requested to identify, where applicable:

regional reparations committees;

national reparations committees;

commission structures;

secretariats;

working groups;

academic partners;

legal advisers;

economic advisers;

and community representatives.

For each body:

Who appoints it?

Who funds it?

What authority does it possess?

What records are published?

10.15 National Reparations Committees

Where national reparations committees exist, recipients are asked:

Who appoints members?

How are Black and descendant communities represented?

Are members elected or appointed?

What mandate do they possess?

Can they negotiate?

Can they receive funds?

Can they settle claims?

What accountability exists?

Are minutes and reports public?

10.16 Regional and National Authority

Recipients are asked how responsibility is divided between:

CARICOM;

national governments;

national reparations committees;

regional academic institutions;

civil-society organisations;

and international partners.

Where disagreement arises, who has final authority?

10.17 Diaspora Populations

The diaspora presents a particularly important representational question.

Recipients are asked:

Who is included within the diaspora?

Does it include descendants living in:

the United Kingdom;

the United States;

Canada;

Europe;

Latin America;

Africa;

or elsewhere?

Does present nationality matter?

Does historical Caribbean ancestry matter?

Can a person belong to multiple diaspora categories simultaneously?

10.18 Who Represents the Diaspora?

Recipients are asked:

Who possesses authority to represent diaspora populations?

Governments of ancestral states?

Governments of present residence?

Diaspora organisations?

Descendant organisations?

Individuals?

Regional bodies?

No representative at all unless expressly authorised?

The answer should not be assumed.

10.19 Diaspora Without Governmental Representation

Many descendants may live permanently outside the states from which their families historically originated.

Recipients are asked:

How can those persons participate directly?

Can they submit claims?

Can they vote in representative processes?

Can they receive reparative benefits?

Must they operate through ancestral governments?

If so, why?

10.20 Dual and Multiple Connections

A person may have:

African ancestry;

Caribbean ancestry;

British nationality;

and residence in another country.

Recipients are asked how multiple connections affect reparative status.

Can a person qualify under more than one framework?

How is duplication avoided?

Should duplication be avoided where different harms are being repaired?

10.21 Black British Populations

Where reparations discussions concern Britain, recipients are asked how Black British populations are situated within the framework.

Questions include:

Are Black British descendants treated solely as diaspora beneficiaries?

Are harms experienced within Britain separately recognised?

Are descendants of Caribbean migrants treated differently from recent African migrants?

Are mixed-Black British people included?

Who represents them?

10.22 Africa Versus Caribbean Allocation

Where reparative resources are finite, recipients are asked how allocation between African and Caribbean interests is determined.

Does priority depend upon:

historical harm;

population;

economic impact;

degree of institutional benefit;

continuing consequence;

negotiated agreement;

or another factor?

Who decides?

10.23 Diaspora Versus State Allocation

Recipients are also asked:

Should reparative funds go primarily to states or directly to descendants?

If states receive the majority of resources, what provision exists for diaspora populations?

If direct descendant payments are prioritised, what role remains for state-level repair?

These are different models and should be openly distinguished.

10.24 Inter-State Distribution

Where several states claim against the same responsible institution or former colonial power, recipients are asked:

How is distribution calculated?

By population?

By historical extraction?

By duration of colonial rule?

By number of enslaved persons?

By present economic consequence?

By negotiation?

What methodology governs comparative allocation?

10.25 Responsibility Across Multiple Colonial Powers

A state may have experienced rule or economic intervention by more than one external power.

Recipients are asked:

How is responsibility divided?

Can the same harm be attributed to multiple states?

How are overlapping responsibilities valued?

How is double recovery addressed?

10.26 Responsibility of Private Institutions Across Borders

Reparations may involve companies, banks, insurers, churches and universities operating internationally.

Recipients are asked:

Which jurisdiction governs responsibility?

Does the institution answer in the country where it is incorporated?

Where the harm occurred?

Where assets are held?

Where beneficiaries live?

Can claims proceed in multiple jurisdictions?

10.27 Cross-Border Institutional Succession

Where historical institutions operated across territories and later reorganised, recipients are asked:

Which present entity is the successor?

Where is it registered?

Which assets did it inherit?

Which liabilities did it inherit?

What legal documentation establishes succession?

10.28 International Organisations

Where international organisations participate in reparations work, recipients are asked:

What is their mandate?

Is the mandate advisory?

Normative?

Financial?

Legal?

Research-based?

Can they impose obligations?

Can they only recommend?

Which states authorised their role?

10.29 United Nations and Other International Frameworks

Where recipients rely upon international principles, declarations, resolutions or guidance concerning reparations, they are requested to identify the specific instrument relied upon.

Questions include:

Is it legally binding?

Politically declaratory?

Advisory?

Customary?

Institution-specific?

How does it apply to historical slavery or colonialism?

What legal or policy interpretation is being adopted?

References to “international law” should identify the actual legal basis relied upon.

10.30 International Law and Historical Responsibility

Recipients are asked to distinguish between:

conduct unlawful under law applicable at the time;

conduct now regarded as unlawful;

present legal responsibility;

historical or moral responsibility;

and voluntary reparative action.

The distinction is essential where legal language is used.

10.31 State Immunity and Jurisdiction

Where legal claims against states are contemplated, recipients are asked whether questions of:

state immunity;

jurisdiction;

limitation;

standing;

succession;

and applicable law

have been examined.

Where the process is political rather than judicial, that should be stated clearly.

10.32 Negotiation Rather Than Litigation

Where reparations are pursued through negotiation, recipients are asked:

Who sits at the negotiating table?

Who selected them?

What mandate do they possess?

Are negotiations confidential?

Are draft terms published?

Are affected populations consulted before agreement?

Can negotiators bind those populations?

10.33 Bilateral Negotiations

Where one state negotiates directly with another, recipients are asked:

Is the negotiation state-to-state only?

Are civil-society representatives present?

Are descendants consulted?

Is diaspora participation permitted?

Can private institutional responsibility also be addressed?

10.34 Multilateral Negotiations

Where several states negotiate collectively, recipients are asked:

How are internal positions agreed?

Do smaller states possess equal voice?

Are decisions unanimous?

By majority?

By consensus?

Who drafts the negotiating position?

Can dissenting Member States publish separate positions?

10.35 Confidential Negotiations

Confidentiality may sometimes be necessary.

However, recipients are asked:

What matters are confidential?

Why?

For how long?

Who can access negotiating documents?

When will records become public?

Can affected populations scrutinise a proposed settlement before it becomes binding?

10.36 Negotiating Power

Reparation Nation Limited considers that negotiations should also be examined through the question of relative power.

Who controls:

finance;

legal expertise;

economic data;

international institutions;

media access;

and negotiating resources?

Are weaker states or community organisations provided with independent technical support?

10.37 Technical Assistance

Recipients are asked whether claimant states or communities receive assistance concerning:

legal analysis;

economic modelling;

financial valuation;

archival research;

asset tracing;

and negotiation.

Who funds that assistance?

Can advisers act independently of the funder?

10.38 Conditional Reparations

Where funding is offered subject to conditions, recipients are asked:

What are the conditions?

Who imposed them?

Do conditions concern governance?

Procurement?

Economic policy?

Debt?

Investment?

Political reform?

Can a payment properly be characterised as reparative if the payer substantially controls how the recipient uses it?

10.39 Loans and Conditional Finance

Where reparative programmes include loans, development finance or guarantees, recipients are asked whether conditions may create future financial obligations.

Could failure result in:

interest charges;

default;

asset seizure;

policy conditions;

or creditor control?

If so, the reparative character of the arrangement requires careful explanation.

10.40 Sovereign Debt

Recipients are asked whether the relationship between reparations and sovereign debt has been examined.

Could reparative payments:

reduce debt;

service creditors;

improve creditworthiness;

or indirectly benefit financial institutions?

If so, how is it ensured that intended populations receive substantive benefit?

10.41 Debt Cancellation

Where debt cancellation is proposed as reparative action, recipients are asked:

Which debt?

How was it incurred?

Who currently owns it?

What amount has already been repaid?

What is its current economic value?

Does cancellation directly repair the identified historical harm?

Why should cancellation be characterised as reparations rather than ordinary sovereign debt restructuring?

10.42 Assets Located Abroad

Where assets connected to historical benefit are held in another jurisdiction, recipients are asked:

Can those assets be identified?

Can they be frozen?

Transferred?

Placed in trust?

Returned?

Who has legal authority?

What happens where property law in the holding jurisdiction prevents transfer?

10.43 Cultural Property Across Borders

Where reparations involve cultural objects, recipients are asked:

Who is entitled to receive them?

A state?

A museum?

A community?

A traditional authority?

Descendants?

What happens where claimant groups disagree?

Who bears conservation and transport costs?

10.44 Land Claims

Where historical harm involved land, recipients are asked:

Is restitution possible?

Who holds title today?

Are present owners responsible?

Can state compensation substitute for return?

What happens where land has been subdivided or substantially developed?

Land raises different issues from financial compensation.

10.45 Reparative Migration Rights

Recipients are asked whether any reparations frameworks contemplate:

citizenship;

right of return;

residence rights;

visa privileges;

or other migration-related measures.

If so:

Who qualifies?

Which state bears responsibility?

Is the measure individual or collective?

What historical connection is required?

10.46 Citizenship as Reparation

Where citizenship is proposed as a form of repair, recipients are asked:

Does citizenship itself repair an identified harm?

Is it additional to other remedies?

Can it be passed to descendants?

Does it create tax or military obligations?

Can it be revoked?

Who determines eligibility?

10.47 International Taxation or Levies

Where global reparations funding is proposed through taxation, levies or international financial mechanisms, recipients are asked:

Who imposes the charge?

Under what legal authority?

Who collects it?

Who controls the fund?

Which states contribute?

Which institutions contribute?

Who receives?

What audit applies?

10.48 Currency

Where reparations cross jurisdictions, recipients are asked:

In what currency are liabilities calculated?

In what currency are payments made?

Who bears exchange-rate risk?

What date determines conversion?

Can currency depreciation materially reduce reparative value?

10.49 Inflation Across Jurisdictions

Recipients are asked whether reparative amounts are adjusted for differing inflation rates and purchasing power.

A nominally identical payment may have very different economic effects in different countries.

10.50 Purchasing Power

Where allocation occurs internationally, recipients are asked whether purchasing-power differences are considered.

If so:

Does this affect fairness?

Should equivalent harm produce equal nominal payments or equal real economic value?

What principle governs the choice?

10.51 International Funds

Where a regional or international reparations fund is proposed, recipients are asked:

Where will it be legally domiciled?

Who will own it?

Which law governs it?

Who appoints trustees?

Which bank will hold funds?

Who manages investments?

Who audits?

Who can sue or be sued?

What happens on dissolution?

10.52 International Banking Arrangements

Recipients are asked whether the choice of banks, custodians, investment managers and payment infrastructure forms part of reparations governance.

Who selects them?

What fees are paid?

Are institutions with relevant historical connections eligible to manage reparations money?

If so, how are conflicts assessed?

10.53 International Procurement

Where reparations funds finance large projects, recipients are asked whether procurement will favour:

local businesses;

Black-owned businesses;

international contractors;

or open competition.

How is value for money balanced against reparative economic objectives?

10.54 Local Economic Benefit

Recipients are asked whether international reparations expenditure is designed to create durable local economic capacity.

For example:

Who owns infrastructure after completion?

Who owns businesses created?

Who receives contracts?

Who receives technical knowledge?

Who holds intellectual property?

A project funded as repair may produce limited local repair if most economic value leaves the beneficiary jurisdiction.

10.55 Reparations and Development Aid

Reparation Nation Limited considers it important to distinguish reparations from development assistance.

Recipients are therefore asked:

Would the funding have been provided anyway as development aid?

Has existing aid been relabelled?

Is reparations funding additional?

Does it carry the same conditions as aid?

Can the payer count the same expenditure under both aid and reparations budgets?

10.56 Aid Dependency

Where reparations are delivered through existing aid structures, recipients are asked whether this risks preserving unequal donor-recipient relationships.

Who controls programme design?

Who sets conditions?

Who hires consultants?

Who evaluates success?

Can beneficiary states reject proposed programmes and request alternative forms of repair?

10.57 Reparations and Trade

Recipients are asked whether reparative measures may include:

trade preferences;

market access;

tariff arrangements;

investment;

technology transfer;

or industrial support.

If so:

How are such measures valued?

Who benefits?

Are they temporary?

How is reparative effect measured?

10.58 Reparations and Resource Extraction

Where countries continue to export natural resources under international commercial arrangements, recipients are asked whether contemporary extraction patterns are considered within reparative analysis.

This does not presume exploitation.

It asks whether a reparations framework concerned with historical economic extraction also examines present economic relationships.

10.59 Reparations and Corporate Investment

Where responsible institutions invest commercially in claimant countries, recipients are asked whether ordinary profitable investment can count as reparative action.

If so:

Why?

Does the beneficiary retain ownership?

What returns flow back to the investor?

Can a transaction be both commercial and reparative?

The financial distinction should be explicit.

10.60 Reparations and Private Profit

If reparations projects create opportunities for private profit, recipients are asked:

Who profits?

Was the profit anticipated?

Does it reduce the value reaching beneficiaries?

Are profit margins disclosed?

Should some categories of reparative infrastructure be delivered on a not-for-profit basis?

10.61 Intermediaries

Cross-border reparations may involve:

international NGOs;

consultancies;

banks;

accountants;

law firms;

universities;

and development agencies.

Recipients are asked how much value is retained by intermediaries before reaching final beneficiaries.

10.62 Cross-Border Administrative Costs

Recipients are requested to disclose, where relevant:

legal fees;

banking fees;

exchange costs;

consultancy fees;

management charges;

travel;

conference costs;

and administrative expenditure.

The gross value of an international reparations commitment may differ materially from the net value reaching beneficiaries.

10.63 International Representation Register

For future international reference, Reparation Nation Limited considers that a register could identify:

State or organisation

Population claimed to be represented

Legal or constitutional mandate

Geographic scope

Negotiating authority

Settlement authority

Financial authority

Diaspora mandate

Accountability mechanism

Current representatives

Outstanding mandate questions

This could help distinguish political visibility from demonstrable representative authority.

10.64 International Responsibility Register

A corresponding register could identify:

Responsible or participating institution

Historical conduct

Territory affected

Period

Evidence

Benefit identified

Present successor

Responsibility accepted

Responsibility disputed

Proposed repair

Financial commitment

Jurisdiction

Outstanding issues

10.65 International Reparations Flow Map

For complex cross-border arrangements, Reparation Nation Limited proposes that the movement of authority and money should be capable of being mapped:

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HISTORICALLY RESPONSIBLE ENTITY

↓

NEGOTIATING BODY

↓

AGREEMENT

↓

FUNDING SOURCE

↓

CUSTODIAN

↓

REGIONAL OR NATIONAL BODY

↓

INTERMEDIARY

↓

PROGRAMME

↓

FINAL BENEFICIARY

↓

MEASURABLE REPAIR

At each stage:

Who controls the decision?

How much money remains?

What legal authority applies?

What safeguard exists?

Who audits?

10.66 Questions for CARICOM and Relevant Reparations Authorities

Where this document is considered by CARICOM, national reparations committees or related authorities, Reparation Nation Limited respectfully requests answers, where applicable, to the following:

10.66.1 What is the precise legal or political mandate?

10.66.2 Which populations are represented?

10.66.3 Does that representation extend to diaspora populations?

10.66.4 What consultation has occurred?

10.66.5 Who can negotiate?

10.66.6 Who can settle?

10.66.7 Who can receive funds?

10.66.8 Who determines allocation?

10.66.9 What safeguards govern those decisions?

10.66.10 What independent scrutiny exists?

10.66.11 What anti-Black-racism safeguards exist?

10.66.12 What institutional-racism safeguards exist?

10.66.13 How are national and regional authority divided?

10.66.14 How are diaspora interests incorporated?

10.66.15 What documentary material establishes these arrangements?

10.67 Questions for Governments of Former Colonial Powers

Relevant governments are respectfully asked:

10.67.1 What historical responsibility, if any, is accepted?

10.67.2 What legal responsibility, if any, is accepted?

10.67.3 What historical benefits have been investigated?

10.67.4 What state records have been examined?

10.67.5 What present assets have been considered?

10.67.6 What reparative measures are contemplated?

10.67.7 Who has authority to negotiate?

10.67.8 What populations are recognised as potential beneficiaries?

10.67.9 What role do private historically connected institutions play?

10.67.10 What safeguards ensure that negotiations are not determined solely by present geopolitical power?

10.68 Questions for Claimant Governments

Governments advancing reparative claims are respectfully asked:

10.68.1 What harm is claimed?

10.68.2 On whose behalf?

10.68.3 What evidence supports the claim?

10.68.4 What remedy is sought?

10.68.5 Who authorised that position?

10.68.6 How were citizens consulted?

10.68.7 How are diaspora descendants included?

10.68.8 How would funds be governed?

10.68.9 Would funds be ring-fenced?

10.68.10 What audit and public reporting would apply?

10.68.11 Can government expenditure unrelated to repair be charged against reparations funds?

10.68.12 Who determines when repair is complete?

10.69 No Assumption of Uniform Caribbean or African Interest

Reparation Nation Limited does not assume that all African states, all Caribbean states, all Black diaspora populations or all descendants share identical interests.

Different populations may prioritise:

direct compensation;

debt relief;

land;

education;

trade;

health;

cultural restoration;

citizenship;

institutional reform;

or other measures.

The existence of disagreement should be recorded rather than suppressed.

10.70 No Assumption That Governments Exhaust the Voice of the People

Similarly, governmental participation should not automatically be treated as exhausting the voice of:

individual citizens;

descendants;

community organisations;

diaspora populations;

or affected minorities.

Governmental authority and community voice should be distinguished.

10.71 No Assumption That Diaspora Bodies Represent Entire Diasporas

The same principle applies to diaspora organisations.

Visibility, funding, institutional recognition or participation in international conferences does not by itself establish authority to represent an entire diaspora population.

Mandate should be identified where claimed.

10.72 Core Cross-Border Authority Test

For future international use, Reparation Nation Limited proposes the following sequence:

WHERE DID THE HISTORICAL HARM OCCUR?

↓

WHO SUFFERED IT?

↓

WHERE DO THEIR DESCENDANTS LIVE TODAY?

↓

WHO CLAIMS TO REPRESENT THEM?

↓

WHAT IS THE SOURCE OF THAT AUTHORITY?

↓

WHO BEARS PRESENT RESPONSIBILITY?

↓

IN WHICH JURISDICTION?

↓

WHO CAN NEGOTIATE?

↓

WHO CAN SETTLE?

↓

WHO RECEIVES THE RESOURCES?

↓

WHO CONTROLS THEM?

↓

HOW ARE STATES, COMMUNITIES AND DIASPORA POPULATIONS ALLOCATED THEIR SHARE?

↓

WHO AUDITS THE CROSS-BORDER FLOW?

↓

WHAT EVIDENCE SHOWS THAT THE FINAL BENEFICIARIES ACTUALLY RECEIVED REPAIR?

10.73 International Reference Principle

For future worldwide discussion, Reparation Nation Limited proposes the following principle:

THE INTERNATIONAL CHARACTER OF HISTORICAL HARM DOES NOT REMOVE THE NEED FOR PRECISE AUTHORITY, EVIDENCE, REPRESENTATION, FINANCIAL TRACEABILITY AND ACCOUNTABILITY. THE MORE COMPLEX THE CROSS-BORDER STRUCTURE BECOMES, THE MORE IMPORTANT IT IS TO IDENTIFY WHO SPEAKS, WHO DECIDES, WHO PAYS, WHO RECEIVES, WHO CONTROLS AND WHO SCRUTINISES EACH STAGE.

10.74 Concluding Position

The central international questions are therefore:

Which people were harmed?

In which territories?

Where do their descendants live now?

Which governments represent which interests?

What authority does CARICOM or any other regional body possess?

Who represents diaspora populations?

Can governments negotiate or settle claims belonging to persons outside their jurisdiction?

How is responsibility divided among states and private institutions?

How are Africa, the Caribbean and the wider diaspora treated?

How are cross-border funds controlled?

How are intermediaries monitored?

How much value reaches the final beneficiary?

What legal framework governs disputes?

What safeguards protect against unequal bargaining power?

And how can a global reparations system ensure that international complexity does not obscure the basic evidential chain between historical harm and actual repair?

These questions lead directly to the next necessary examination: **non-financial reparations, restitution, apology, memorialisation, education, cultural restoration,**

institutional reform, guarantees of non-repetition and the distinction between symbolic action and measurable repair.

SECTION 11

NON-FINANCIAL REPARATIONS, RESTITUTION, APOLOGY, MEMORIALISATION, EDUCATION, CULTURAL RESTORATION, INSTITUTIONAL REFORM AND GUARANTEES OF NON-REPETITION

11.1 Purpose of This Section

Reparations are not necessarily limited to money.

Where historical harm involved:

loss of liberty;

family separation;

loss of land;

loss of property;

loss of cultural objects;

religious suppression;

destruction of language or identity;

institutional exclusion;

misrepresentation;

discriminatory law;

or continuing structural disadvantage,

financial payment alone may not address the whole of the identified harm.

Accordingly, a central question arises:

WHAT FORMS OF NON-FINANCIAL REPAIR ARE BEING PROPOSED, WHAT HARM ARE THEY INTENDED TO ADDRESS, AND WHAT EVIDENCE WOULD DEMONSTRATE THAT THEY HAVE ACTUALLY PRODUCED REPAIR?

Reparation Nation Limited therefore considers that non-financial reparations should be examined with the same evidential discipline applied to financial reparations.

11.2 Non-Financial Reparations Must Be Defined

Recipients are requested to identify what they include within the category of non-financial reparations.

Possible measures may include:

restitution;

return of property;

return of land;

return of cultural objects;

archives;

apologies;

acknowledgements;

memorials;

public education;

curriculum reform;

scholarships;

institutional reform;

changes to governance;

changes to representation;

changes to law;

rehabilitation;

restoration of rights;

citizenship;

access to records;

truth-telling;

public disclosure;

and guarantees of non-repetition.

Where several measures are used, each should be identified separately.

11.3 Symbolic Action and Substantive Repair

Reparation Nation Limited considers it essential to distinguish:

symbolic action

from

substantive repair.

A symbolic measure may have genuine value.

However, recipients are asked:

What harm does the measure address?

How does it address that harm?

Who requested it?

Who approved it?

Who benefits?

Is it intended to be sufficient by itself?

Or is it one component of a wider reparative programme?

Symbolism should not automatically be treated as equivalent to full repair.

11.4 Restitution

Where restitution is proposed, recipients are asked:

11.4.1 What is being returned?

11.4.2 To whom?

11.4.3 Who presently owns it?

11.4.4 What historical evidence supports the claim?

11.4.5 Is the original asset identifiable?

11.4.6 Is physical return possible?

11.4.7 What happens where physical return is impossible?

11.4.8 Is financial substitution contemplated?

11.4.9 Who determines equivalence?

11.5 Land Restitution

Where land is involved, recipients are asked:

What land?

What historical title existed?

How was ownership lost?

Who owns it today?

Has the land changed materially?

Are third-party rights involved?

Can title be restored?

Can alternative land be provided?

Can shared ownership be created?

Can long-term control be restored without full transfer of title?

The legal and practical issues should be distinguished from the historical and moral questions.

11.6 Property Restitution

Where buildings or other property are involved, recipients are asked:

Can the specific property be identified?

Has ownership changed?

Was value extracted from it?

Who received that value?

Can title be returned?

If not, can equivalent property be provided?

How is equivalence determined?

11.7 Cultural Objects

Where cultural objects are held by museums, universities, churches, governments or private collections, recipients are asked:

What is the provenance?

How was the object acquired?

Was acquisition voluntary?

Was coercion involved?

Was violence involved?

Was colonial authority involved?

Who originally possessed the object?

Who has standing to request its return?

Who should receive it?

11.8 Competing Claims to Cultural Objects

Where several communities, states or institutions claim the same object, recipients are asked:

Who resolves the dispute?

What evidence is considered?

Does the modern state automatically take priority?

Can traditional communities make direct claims?

Can shared custody be used?

Can rotating custody be used?

Can digital access supplement physical return?

The method should be transparent.

11.9 Archives and Records

Archives may themselves be reparative resources.

Recipients are asked whether repair may include:

return of original records;

digital copies;

open access;

cataloguing;

translation;

community control;

or creation of accessible public repositories.

Where records concern historically harmed people, who should control access?

11.10 Access to Historical Records

Recipients are asked:

Are relevant archives open?

Are fees charged?

Are records digitised?

Are catalogues searchable?

Are restrictions justified?

Can descendants obtain records concerning ancestors?

Are communities required to travel internationally to access records produced from their own history?

Access itself may become a reparative issue.

11.11 Apology

Where apology is proposed, recipients are asked:

Who is apologising?

On whose authority?

To whom?

For what specific conduct?

Does the apology accept responsibility?

Does it accept legal liability?

Does it accept moral responsibility?

Does it identify the historical evidence?

Does it include commitment to action?

11.12 Regret, Apology and Acceptance of Responsibility

Recipients are asked to distinguish clearly between:

regret;

sorrow;

acknowledgement;

apology;

acceptance of responsibility;

and

acceptance of legal liability.

These terms can have materially different meanings.

11.13 Who Receives an Apology?

Recipients are asked:

Is an apology addressed to:

named individuals;

descendants;

states;

communities;

racial populations;

religious groups;

or humanity generally?

Who determines whether the apology is accepted?

Can one representative accept it for everyone?

11.14 Apology Without Repair

A difficult question arises where an institution apologises but provides no material remedy.

Recipients are asked:

Is apology itself regarded as reparation?

If yes, why?

If the historical harm involved economic loss, can words alone constitute adequate repair?

If apology is one component, what other measures accompany it?

11.15 Repair Without Apology

Conversely, recipients are asked whether practical repair can occur without apology.

If an institution transfers substantial resources but refuses to acknowledge responsibility, is the action reparative?

Who determines the answer?

This illustrates why different components of repair should be analysed separately.

11.16 Memorialisation

Recipients are asked whether memorialisation forms part of their reparative approach.

Possible measures include:

monuments;

plaques;

public memorials;

renaming;

commemorative events;

days of remembrance;

digital memorials;

museum exhibitions;

and preserved historical sites.

For each measure:

What harm is being addressed?

Who selected the form?

Who approved the wording?

Who maintains it?

11.17 Who Controls the Narrative?

Memorials are not neutral objects.

They tell a story.

Recipients are therefore asked:

Who writes the text?

Who selects which historical facts are included?

Who determines terminology?

Can affected communities review drafts?

Can disputed interpretations be recorded?

Can the memorial be corrected later?

11.18 Naming and Renaming

Where buildings, streets, institutions, scholarships or prizes are renamed, recipients are asked:

Why?

What historical finding triggered the decision?

Who proposed the change?

Who was consulted?

Does renaming itself constitute reparative action?

What happens to the historical record associated with the former name?

11.19 Removal Versus Contextualisation

Where monuments or names are contested, recipients are asked whether the approach is:

removal;

retention;

reinterpretation;

contextualisation;

relocation;

or another response.

Who decides?

What principle governs the decision?

How is historical preservation balanced against present harm?

11.20 Museums

Museums involved in reparations are asked:

What collections have been reviewed?

What provenance gaps remain?

What objects are contested?

What claims have been received?

How long are claims taking?

Who makes final decisions?

Are decisions appealable?

11.21 Museum Governance

Where museums determine claims concerning objects they themselves hold, recipients are asked:

What independent scrutiny exists?

Can the museum be both custodian and final judge?

What external review is available?

Are reasons published?

11.22 Education

Education is frequently proposed as a reparative measure.

Recipients are therefore asked:

What education?

For whom?

At what level?

Who designs it?

What historical material is included?

What evidence supports it?

How is accuracy reviewed?

Who determines whether the educational intervention has had any reparative effect?

11.23 Curriculum Reform

Where school or university curricula are changed, recipients are asked:

What was omitted previously?

What is being added?

Who selects content?

Are multiple scholarly interpretations included?

Are primary sources used?

How are disputed historical claims handled?

Is curriculum reform intended as education, repair, prevention of repetition, or all three?

11.24 Teaching Slavery and Colonialism

Recipients are asked whether education distinguishes between:

different systems of slavery;

different colonial regimes;

different periods;

different regions;

different actors;

and different consequences.

Over-generalisation can itself reduce historical accuracy.

11.25 Teaching Institutional Responsibility

Where an institution teaches its own historical role, recipients are asked:

Does it publish the evidence?

Does it teach uncertainty?

Does it identify disputes?

Can students examine original sources?

Does the institution permit criticism of its own interpretation?

11.26 Scholarships

Where scholarships are presented as reparative, recipients are asked:

Who qualifies?

How many awards?

What is their financial value?

Who funds them?

Would the scholarships have existed anyway?

Are they additional?

Do they produce long-term institutional benefit for the awarding institution?

How is reparative effect measured?

11.27 Education Versus Compensation

Recipients are asked whether educational opportunity is being offered in place of compensation.

If so:

Who decided that substitution?

Did affected people request it?

Can a scholarship reasonably substitute for a different form of historical loss?

The relation between remedy and harm should be explicit.

11.28 Institutional Reform

Where institutions accept that repair requires changing current systems, recipients are asked to identify the reforms.

These may concern:

governance;

recruitment;

promotion;

procurement;

funding;

representation;

complaints;

discipline;

research;

archives;

investment;

or another area.

For each reform:

What problem was identified?

What change was made?

When?

Who approved it?

How is effectiveness measured?

11.29 Structural Repair

Reparation Nation Limited considers that structural repair should be distinguished from one-off intervention.

Structural repair may involve changing:

rules;

institutions;

distribution of power;

ownership;

resource allocation;

decision-making authority;

or long-term access.

Recipients are asked which, if any, of their reparative measures are intended to produce structural change.

11.30 Institutional Power Transfer

Where historical harm involved exclusion from power, recipients are asked whether repair includes any transfer of present decision-making authority.

For example:

board representation;

community ownership;

shared governance;

veto rights;

appointment powers;

or control over resources.

If no power is transferred, recipients are asked whether their conception of repair is primarily compensatory, symbolic or programmatic.

11.31 Ownership as Repair

Recipients are asked whether reparative measures create durable ownership for affected populations.

This may include:

land;

businesses;

property;

intellectual property;

funds;

cultural institutions;

archives;

or digital infrastructure.

Ownership should be distinguished from temporary access or project funding.

11.32 Rehabilitation

Where rehabilitation forms part of reparations, recipients are asked what is being rehabilitated.

Possible forms may include:

legal status;

institutional reputation;

social standing;

health;

community capacity;

economic capacity;

or cultural institutions.

What evidence establishes the need?

What outcome constitutes successful rehabilitation?

11.33 Restoration of Rights

Where a historical population lost rights, recipients are asked whether repair includes restoration or creation of:

citizenship rights;

land rights;

political rights;

religious rights;

cultural rights;

or access rights.

Who has authority to restore them?

11.34 Citizenship and Right of Return

Where citizenship or right of return is proposed, recipients are asked:

Who qualifies?

Does ancestry suffice?

How many generations?

Is residency required?

Can citizenship be inherited?

Does it create full political rights?

Is it symbolic or substantive?

What historical harm is it intended to repair?

11.35 Language Restoration

Where historical harm involved suppression or loss of language, recipients are asked whether reparative measures include:

language education;

documentation;

translation;

revitalisation;

community media;

or institutional recognition.

Who determines priorities?

11.36 Religious and Spiritual Restoration

Where historical systems suppressed or disrupted religion or spiritual practice, recipients are asked whether repair includes:

return of sacred objects;

access to sacred sites;

recognition;

institutional apology;

protection of practice;

or other measures.

Who identifies the affected tradition?

Who possesses authority to receive returned objects or recognition?

11.37 Cultural Restoration

Recipients are asked how they define cultural restoration.

Does it include:

arts;

music;

language;

ceremony;

dress;

history;

archives;

community institutions;

heritage sites;

or cultural property?

How is culture distinguished from institutional programming conducted on behalf of communities?

11.38 Cultural Ownership

Where institutions fund Black cultural activity, recipients are asked:

Who owns the resulting work?

Who owns recordings?

Who owns images?

Who owns archives?

Who owns trademarks?

Who controls future commercial use?

Cultural funding should not inadvertently transfer cultural assets away from the population said to benefit.

11.39 Truth-Telling

Where truth-telling forms part of reparations, recipients are asked:

What is the process?

Who gives evidence?

Who hears it?

Is testimony recorded?

Can institutions respond?

Are findings published?

Is the purpose historical truth, reconciliation, legal accountability, public education or another objective?

11.40 Truth Commissions and Similar Processes

Where commission-type processes are proposed, recipients are asked:

Who appoints commissioners?

What powers do they possess?

Can they compel evidence?

Can witnesses be challenged?

What evidential standard applies?

Are findings legally binding?

What remedies can follow?

11.41 Public Disclosure

Recipients are asked whether institutions regard disclosure of historical records as reparative.

If so:

What records?

Are previously confidential files opened?

Are records searchable?

Are redactions explained?

Is disclosure permanent?

Can descendants request specific files?

11.42 Naming Historical Actors

Where institutions publicly identify persons historically connected to slavery or colonialism, recipients are asked:

What evidential threshold applies?

Are descendants notified?

Are claims distinguished from proven facts?

Can errors be corrected?

Is contextual material included?

Historical accountability should be compatible with evidential accuracy.

11.43 Rehabilitation of Historical Victims

Where historical records contain criminal, disciplinary or derogatory descriptions of persons resisting slavery, colonial rule or racial oppression, recipients are asked whether formal historical reconsideration is possible.

Can convictions be reviewed?

Can institutional records be corrected?

Can official narratives be amended?

11.44 Public Holidays and Commemorative Dates

Where commemorative dates are proposed, recipients are asked:

What event is commemorated?

Who selected the date?

What is the intended reparative purpose?

How will the measure be evaluated?

Is it educational, symbolic, political or another form of intervention?

11.45 Public Art

Where reparations funds support public art, recipients are asked:

Who commissions it?

Who selects artists?

Who owns the work?

Who controls the site?

What happens if the work is removed?

Are affected communities involved in selection?

11.46 Institutional Names and Symbols

Recipients are asked whether institutional names, coats of arms, symbols or ceremonial practices have been reviewed.

Where they are retained:

Why?

Where they are removed:

Why?

Where contextualised:

How?

The purpose should be tied to an identifiable reparative rationale rather than fashion or pressure alone.

11.47 Guarantees of Non-Repetition

A core question in reparations is whether harm is prevented from recurring.

Recipients are asked what they understand by **guarantees of non-repetition**.

Possible measures may include:

legal reform;

institutional reform;

monitoring;

education;

independent oversight;

data collection;

disciplinary systems;

racial safeguards;

or changes in governance.

11.48 What Is Not to Be Repeated?

A guarantee of non-repetition requires an identified risk.

Recipients are therefore asked:

What conduct must not recur?

What institutional process produced it?

Does that process still exist?

What was changed?

How can recurrence be detected?

11.49 Historical Non-Repetition Versus Contemporary Racism

Where slavery itself is no longer lawful, recipients are asked what non-repetition means in practical contemporary terms.

Does it concern:

forced labour;

racial discrimination;

institutional exclusion;

economic exploitation;

dehumanising representations;

racial violence;

or another identified continuation?

The link should be explained rather than assumed.

11.50 Legal Reform

Where law reform is proposed as reparation, recipients are asked:

What law?

What harm does it address?

Who has legislative authority?

Is the reform prospective or retrospective?

What measurable outcome is expected?

Does legislation itself constitute repair or merely create conditions for repair?

11.51 Institutional Policy Reform

Recipients are asked whether internal policies have changed because of reparations work.

If so:

Which policies?

What triggered the change?

What evidence supported it?

Who approved it?

Has the effect been measured?

11.52 Training

Training is frequently offered as an institutional response.

Recipients are asked:

What training?

Who receives it?

Who designed it?

Is it mandatory?

How often?

Is competence tested?

Does training alter behaviour or outcomes?

How is effectiveness measured?

Training attendance should not automatically be treated as evidence of repair.

11.53 Recruitment and Promotion Reform

Where contemporary racial disparities are identified, recipients are asked whether reparative institutional reform includes:

recruitment;

promotion;

retention;

mentoring;

leadership pathways;

or pay review.

What baseline is used?

What target or expected outcome exists?

11.54 Procurement Reform

Where institutions possess significant purchasing power, recipients are asked whether procurement is part of reparative reform.

Does the institution examine:

supplier access;

contract size;

Black-owned businesses;

community businesses;

barriers to entry;

and subcontracting?

Who measures the economic effect?

11.55 Investment Reform

Where an institution's historical wealth or modern investments are relevant, recipients are asked whether investment policy has changed.

Are certain investments excluded?

Are reparative investment strategies used?

Are Black-owned asset managers considered?

Is investment performance balanced against reparative objectives?

11.56 Divestment

Where divestment is used, recipients are asked:

From what assets?

Why?

What reparative purpose does divestment serve?

Where is the capital reinvested?

Could divestment shift ownership without changing underlying activity?

How is outcome measured?

11.57 Community Ownership

Recipients are asked whether any reparative model includes transfer of assets into:

community ownership;

community trusts;

co-operatives;

or other collective structures.

How are those structures governed?

Who qualifies as a member?

Can assets later be sold?

Who benefits from appreciation?

11.58 Capacity Building

Where capacity building is presented as reparation, recipients are asked:

Capacity to do what?

For whom?

How long does support last?

Who owns resulting infrastructure?

Does capacity remain after grant funding ends?

Temporary project activity should be distinguished from durable institutional capacity.

11.59 Business and Economic Development

Where non-financial reparations include business support, recipients are asked whether support consists of:

training;

mentoring;

market access;

procurement access;

property access;

technical support;

or another mechanism.

If financial capital is also provided, that component should be separately accounted for.

11.60 Health Measures

Where health interventions are proposed as reparative, recipients are asked:

What identified historical or continuing harm is being addressed?

What population?

What evidence establishes the connection?

What programme is proposed?

How are outcomes measured?

Ordinary public-health activity should be distinguished from specifically reparative intervention.

11.61 Housing

Where housing is included, recipients are asked:

What historical harm is identified?

Is the intervention:

home ownership;

rental support;

land transfer;

housing construction;

or another measure?

Who owns resulting assets?

How is long-term benefit preserved?

11.62 Institutional Access

Where repair concerns historic exclusion from institutions, recipients are asked whether access measures include:

education;

employment;

leadership;

funding;

cultural spaces;

legal institutions;

or political participation.

How is access measured?

Access without retention or decision-making power may be incomplete.

11.63 Status and Dignity

Some reparative measures may seek restoration of dignity, recognition or status.

Recipients are asked how such outcomes are defined and measured.

Who determines whether dignity has been restored?

Can institutions declare success unilaterally?

11.64 Psychological and Social Harm

Where psychological, collective or social harms are cited, recipients are asked:

What evidence establishes the harm?

What professional or community framework is used?

What intervention is proposed?

Is participation voluntary?

How is cultural appropriateness assessed?

How is outcome measured?

This subject should not be reduced to unsupported assumptions about affected populations.

11.65 Intergenerational Measures

Where interventions are intended for future generations, recipients are asked:

How long should the programme operate?

What outcomes are expected across generations?

Who reviews continuation?

How are future beneficiaries represented today?

11.66 One-Off Measures Versus Continuing Obligations

Recipients are asked to distinguish between measures intended to occur once and measures intended to continue.

Examples:

one apology may be one-off;

a scholarship fund may continue;

institutional reform may be permanent;

an archive may require ongoing maintenance.

The duration of each obligation should be stated.

11.67 Additionality

As with financial reparations, non-financial measures should be examined for additionality.

Recipients are asked:

Would this measure have occurred anyway?

Was the institution already legally obliged to do it?

Was the programme already planned?

Has an ordinary institutional duty been relabelled as reparations?

If so, what additional reparative element exists?

11.68 Existing Legal Duties

Where an institution complies with existing equality, employment, education, heritage or other legal duties, recipients are asked whether compliance itself is being counted as reparative action.

If so, why?

Meeting an existing legal obligation may be different from providing additional repair.

11.69 Rebranding Existing Work

Recipients are asked whether existing programmes have been reclassified under reparations terminology.

If yes:

When?

Why?

Was additional funding provided?

Were objectives changed?

Were beneficiaries changed?

Was governance changed?

A change of label should be distinguishable from a change in substance.

11.70 Measuring Non-Financial Repair

Non-financial interventions should still be capable of evaluation.

Recipients are asked:

What is the baseline?

What is the objective?

What indicator is used?

What timescale applies?

Who evaluates?

What evidence shows change?

What would count as failure?

11.71 Qualitative Evidence

Not every outcome can be reduced to numerical measurement.

Recipients are therefore asked whether qualitative evidence is used.

If so:

Who collects it?

How are participants selected?

How are dissenting views included?

Are methods published?

How is anecdotal evidence distinguished from wider population evidence?

11.72 Beneficiary Evaluation

Recipients are asked whether intended beneficiaries themselves can assess whether an intervention is reparative.

Are they asked:

Did the measure address the identified harm?

Was it appropriate?

Was it imposed?

Was it useful?

What should change?

Institutional self-evaluation should be supplemented by beneficiary evidence where practicable.

11.73 Unintended Harm

A measure intended as repair may produce unintended effects.

Recipients are asked whether they monitor:

division within communities;

stigma;

dependency;

displacement;

commercial exploitation;

privacy loss;

cultural appropriation;

or other unintended consequences.

A reparative intention should not prevent evaluation of possible harm.

11.74 Reversal or Modification

Where evidence shows that a non-financial measure is ineffective or harmful, recipients are asked:

Can it be modified?

Who has authority?

Can beneficiaries trigger review?

Can programmes be terminated?

Can resources be redirected?

11.75 Who Decides Adequacy?

The same fundamental question arises as with financial repair:

WHO DECIDES THAT THE NON-FINANCIAL MEASURE IS ADEQUATE?

The responsible institution?

Government?

Beneficiaries?

Independent evaluator?

Court?

Negotiating body?

A combination?

The authority should be identified.

11.76 Completion

Recipients are asked:

When is a non-financial obligation complete?

When the apology is issued?

When an object is returned?

When a curriculum changes?

When a policy is adopted?

When measurable outcomes occur?

When beneficiaries consider repair achieved?

Without an endpoint or review standard, completion remains unclear.

11.77 Partial Repair

Recipients are asked whether they recognise the concept of partial repair.

An apology may repair one aspect.

Restitution may address another.

Institutional reform may address another.

Financial compensation may address another.

A reparations programme should be capable of stating which components of identified harm remain unresolved.

11.78 Reparations Matrix

For future international use, Reparation Nation Limited considers that each reparative measure could be recorded through a common matrix:

Historical or continuing harm

Evidence

Proposed non-financial measure

Responsible institution

Beneficiary

Authority for measure

Implementation date

Cost, if any

Ownership or control transferred

Expected outcome

Measurement method

Independent evaluator

Actual outcome

Outstanding harm

This would make symbolic and substantive measures easier to distinguish.

11.79 Non-Financial Reparations Register

A public register could include:

Measure

Category

Institution

Beneficiary

Harm addressed

Date announced

Date implemented

Status

Supporting documentation

Governance

Evaluation

Evidence of repair

Outstanding questions

11.80 Questions for Institutions Participating in the Forthcoming Discussion

Each organisation participating in or associated with **Part 2: Reckoning and Repair** is respectfully invited to identify:

11.80.1 what non-financial reparative measures it recognises;

11.80.2 which measures it has undertaken;

11.80.3 what harm each measure is intended to address;

11.80.4 who authorised each measure;

11.80.5 who the intended beneficiaries are;

11.80.6 how beneficiaries were consulted;

11.80.7 whether any assets, rights or decision-making power were transferred;

11.80.8 how the measure differs from ordinary institutional activity;

11.80.9 what anti-Black-racism safeguards apply;

11.80.10 what institutional-racism safeguards apply;

11.80.11 what independent scrutiny applies;

11.80.12 how outcomes are measured;

11.80.13 what evidence of repair presently exists;

11.80.14 what remains unresolved;

and

11.80.15 what would constitute completion.

11.81 Core Non-Financial Reparations Test

For future international reference, Reparation Nation Limited proposes the following sequence:

WHAT HARM IS IDENTIFIED?

↓

WHY IS A NON-FINANCIAL REMEDY APPROPRIATE?

↓

WHAT EXACTLY IS BEING DONE, RETURNED, RESTORED OR CHANGED?

↓

WHO AUTHORIZED IT?

↓

WHO IS THE BENEFICIARY?

↓

DID THE BENEFICIARY PARTICIPATE IN CHOOSING THE REMEDY?

↓

DOES THE MEASURE TRANSFER ANY ASSET, RIGHT, POWER OR CAPACITY?

↓

IS IT ADDITIONAL TO EXISTING DUTIES?

↓

WHAT SAFEGUARDS APPLY?

↓

HOW IS THE OUTCOME MEASURED?

↓

WHO INDEPENDENTLY EVALUATES IT?

↓

WHAT EVIDENCE SHOWS THAT REPAIR OCCURRED?

↓

WHAT PART OF THE ORIGINAL HARM REMAINS?

11.82 International Reference Principle

For future worldwide consideration, Reparation Nation Limited proposes the following principle:

NON-FINANCIAL ACTION SHOULD NOT BE DESCRIBED AS REPARATION SOLELY BECAUSE IT CONCERNS SLAVERY, COLONIALISM, RACE, MEMORY OR HISTORICAL INJUSTICE. ITS REPARATIVE CHARACTER SHOULD BE CAPABLE OF BEING EXPLAINED THROUGH THE IDENTIFIED HARM, THE CHOSEN REMEDY, THE INTENDED BENEFICIARY, THE AUTHORITY FOR THE INTERVENTION AND EVIDENCE OF ITS EFFECT.

11.83 Concluding Position

The central questions are therefore:

What is being restored?

What is being returned?

What is being acknowledged?

What is being apologised for?

What is being taught?

What is being changed institutionally?

What rights are being restored?

What power is being transferred?

What assets are being transferred?

What guarantees exist against repetition?

Who selected the remedy?

Who benefits?

Who owns the result?

How does the measure differ from ordinary institutional activity?

What safeguards apply?

Who evaluates the outcome?

What evidence demonstrates repair?

And what remains unrepaired after the measure has been completed?

These questions lead directly to the next necessary examination: **evidence, measurement, indicators, outcomes, independent evaluation, audit and the question of how any institution can demonstrate that reparations have produced actual repair rather than activity alone**.

SECTION 12

EVIDENCE, MEASUREMENT, INDICATORS, OUTCOMES, INDEPENDENT EVALUATION, AUDIT AND THE QUESTION OF WHETHER REPARATIONS HAVE PRODUCED ACTUAL REPAIR

12.1 Purpose of This Section

A reparations programme may generate substantial activity.

There may be:

research;

reports;

conferences;

consultations;

funding;

appointments;

projects;

education;

memorials;

institutional statements;

policy changes;

community programmes;

and public commitments.

However, activity is not necessarily the same as repair.

Accordingly, a central question arises:

WHAT EVIDENCE DEMONSTRATES THAT THE IDENTIFIED HARM HAS ACTUALLY BEEN REDUCED, REVERSED, RESTORED, COMPENSATED OR OTHERWISE REPAIRED?

Reparation Nation Limited therefore considers that any serious reparations framework should be capable of distinguishing:

input;

activity;

output;

outcome;

and

actual reparative effect.

This section examines how that distinction should be made.

12.2 From Intention to Evidence

A reparative intention may be genuine.

A programme may also be well designed.

Neither fact alone proves that repair occurred.

Recipients are therefore asked to distinguish between:

what an institution intended to achieve;

what it actually did;

what immediate outputs were produced;

what measurable changes followed;

and whether those changes correspond to the identified harm.

12.3 The Basic Reparative Evidence Chain

For future international use, Reparation Nation Limited proposes the following evidential chain:

IDENTIFIED HISTORICAL OR CONTINUING HARM

↓

EVIDENCE ESTABLISHING THAT HARM

↓

DEFINED REPARATIVE OBJECTIVE

↓

SPECIFIC INTERVENTION

↓

IDENTIFIED BENEFICIARY

↓

MEASURABLE OUTPUT

↓

MEASURABLE OUTCOME

↓

EVIDENCE LINKING THE OUTCOME TO THE INTERVENTION

↓

INDEPENDENT EVALUATION

↓

CONCLUSION AS TO WHAT, IF ANYTHING, HAS ACTUALLY BEEN REPAIRED

Where one or more parts of this chain are absent, the limitation should be stated.

12.4 Inputs

Recipients are asked to identify the inputs used within each reparative programme.

These may include:

money;

staff;

property;

research;

technical expertise;

volunteer time;

institutional access;

data;

community knowledge;

or other resources.

Inputs show what has been committed.

They do not, by themselves, show what has been achieved.

12.5 Activities

Recipients are asked to identify the principal activities undertaken.

Examples may include:

grant-making;

research;

events;

training;

education;

scholarships;

asset transfer;

community consultation;

archival work;

legal reform;

institutional reform;

or public communication.

Again, the fact that an activity occurred does not establish reparative effect.

12.6 Outputs

Outputs are the immediate products of activity.

Examples may include:

number of grants awarded;

number of participants trained;

number of scholarships created;

number of records digitised;

number of objects returned;

number of policies changed;

number of events held;

or amount of money distributed.

Recipients are asked to identify outputs separately from outcomes.

12.7 Outcomes

Outcomes concern what changed as a result.

Possible outcomes may include:

increased access;

increased ownership;

reduced disparity;

improved institutional participation;

restored property;

greater economic capacity;

improved archival access;

changed governance;

or another measurable effect.

Recipients are requested to explain how outcomes are defined.

12.8 Impact

Recipients are asked whether they distinguish between:

outcome

and

longer-term impact.

An outcome may arise shortly after intervention.

A wider impact may require years or generations to assess.

Where long-term claims are made, recipients are asked what evidence supports them.

12.9 Baseline

No change can be measured without a starting point.

Recipients are therefore asked:

What was the baseline?

When was it measured?

What data were used?

Who collected the data?

Was the baseline independently reviewed?

Without a baseline, subsequent claims of improvement may be difficult to test.

12.10 Target

Recipients are asked whether programmes have defined targets.

For example:

What level of improvement was expected?

Over what period?

For which population?

Was the target absolute or relative?

Was it publicly announced?

Who approved it?

A reparative programme without a defined target may be difficult to judge.

12.11 Indicator

Recipients are asked to identify the indicators used to measure progress.

An indicator should relate to the harm being addressed.

For example, where the identified harm concerns economic exclusion, relevant indicators may differ from those suitable for cultural restitution or institutional representation.

The choice of indicator should therefore be justified.

12.12 Output Indicators Versus Outcome Indicators

Recipients are asked to distinguish between:

output indicators

and

outcome indicators.

For example:

“100 people attended training” is an output.

“Discriminatory outcomes reduced after training” is an outcome claim requiring additional evidence.

Similarly:

“£5 million was distributed” is an output.

“Economic capacity increased among intended beneficiaries” is an outcome claim.

These should not be conflated.

12.13 Measuring Financial Repair

Where the identified harm is financial or economic, recipients are asked:

What financial indicator is used?

Income?

Wealth?

Asset ownership?

Business ownership?

Property ownership?

Investment capital?

Debt?

Employment?

Access to finance?

Another measure?

Why was that indicator selected?

12.14 Measuring Wealth

Where wealth is used as an indicator, recipients are asked:

How is wealth defined?

Does it include:

property;

savings;

pensions;

business assets;

investments;

debts;

or inheritance?

Are household and individual wealth distinguished?

What data source is used?

12.15 Measuring Ownership

Where repair is intended to increase ownership, recipients are asked:

What exactly is owned?

By individuals?

Families?

Communities?

Institutions?

Is ownership temporary or permanent?

Can assets be sold?

Can they be inherited?

Is legal title transferred?

Access should not be treated automatically as ownership.

12.16 Measuring Institutional Power

Where repair concerns participation or representation, recipients are asked whether measurement examines:

number of participants;

number of senior decision-makers;

voting power;

budgetary authority;

appointment authority;

asset control;

and veto rights.

Presence should be distinguished from power.

12.17 Measuring Cultural Repair

Where cultural repair is claimed, recipients are asked:

What indicator is used?

Language use?

Community control?

Return of objects?

Access to cultural institutions?

Funding?

Transmission between generations?

Community assessment?

How is cultural repair defined without imposing an external institutional standard?

12.18 Measuring Educational Repair

Where education is used as a reparative measure, recipients are asked whether outcomes concern:

enrolment;

completion;

attainment;

access;

curriculum knowledge;

institutional participation;

graduate outcomes;

or another measure.

A scholarship awarded does not itself prove educational repair.

12.19 Measuring Institutional Reform

Where an institution changes policy, recipients are asked:

Was implementation measured?

Did decision-making behaviour change?

Did outcomes change?

Were complaints reduced?

Were disparities reduced?

Did participation widen?

A new policy document is an output.

Its practical effect requires separate evidence.

12.20 Measuring Anti-Black Racism Safeguards

Where institutions introduce anti-Black-racism safeguards, recipients are asked how effectiveness is measured.

Possible indicators may include:

complaint patterns;

funding outcomes;

appointment outcomes;

procurement outcomes;

retention;

promotion;

participant surveys;

or independent reviews.

Recipients are asked not merely whether safeguards exist, but whether there is evidence that they work.

12.21 Measuring Institutional Racism

Where an institution seeks to reduce institutional racism, recipients are asked:

What systemic pattern is being monitored?

What comparator is used?

What period?

What threshold signals concern?

What alternative explanations are examined?

Who determines whether institutional change has occurred?

12.22 Absolute Change Versus Relative Disparity

An outcome can improve in absolute terms while a disparity remains unchanged or increases.

Recipients are therefore asked whether they distinguish between:

absolute improvement

and

relative improvement.

For example, conditions may improve for all groups while inequality between groups persists.

Which form of change constitutes repair?

12.23 Comparator Groups

Where disparities are measured, recipients are asked:

Who is the comparator?

Why?

Is comparison made with:

the national population;

another racial group;

regional population;

historical baseline;

or another standard?

The comparator can materially influence the conclusion.

12.24 Geography

Recipients are asked whether outcomes are measured:

nationally;

regionally;

locally;

internationally;

or by specific community.

A national improvement may conceal local deterioration.

12.25 Time Period

Recipients are asked:

Over what period is change measured?

One year?

Five years?

A generation?

What period is appropriate to the intervention?

Short-term evaluation may be insufficient for structural repair, while indefinite delay may prevent accountability.

12.26 Attribution

A central methodological question is:

DID THE REPARATIONS PROGRAMME CAUSE THE OBSERVED CHANGE?

Recipients are asked:

What other factors may have contributed?

What external economic or social changes occurred?

Was there a control or comparison group?

Was the intervention one of several simultaneous measures?

How confident is the institution in attributing the result?

Correlation should not automatically be treated as causation.

12.27 Contribution Rather Than Sole Causation

Where sole causation cannot be demonstrated, recipients are asked whether a **contribution analysis** is used.

Did the programme materially contribute to change?

What evidence supports that conclusion?

What alternative explanations remain?

This may be more realistic than claiming exclusive causation.

12.28 Counterfactual Evaluation

Recipients are asked whether evaluation considers:

WHAT WOULD PROBABLY HAVE HAPPENED WITHOUT THE INTERVENTION?

Without some counterfactual reasoning, it may be difficult to establish whether observed improvement resulted from the programme.

12.29 Quantitative Evidence

Where quantitative evidence is used, recipients are asked to identify:

data source;

sample size;

sampling method;

definitions;

missing data;

confidence intervals where relevant;

statistical assumptions;

and limitations.

Numbers should not acquire authority merely because they are numerical.

12.30 Qualitative Evidence

Qualitative evidence may include:

interviews;

focus groups;

testimony;

case studies;

community reports;

and participant observation.

Recipients are asked:

How were participants selected?

How were responses analysed?

Were dissenting views preserved?

Were quotations contextualised?

Who interpreted the evidence?

12.31 Mixed Methods

Where both quantitative and qualitative evidence exist, recipients are asked how the two are combined.

Do they corroborate one another?

Do they conflict?

If they conflict, how is that addressed?

12.32 Beneficiary Testimony

Recipients are asked whether intended beneficiaries are able to say directly whether they consider a measure reparative.

Questions may include:

Did the intervention reach you?

Did it address the identified harm?

Did it create durable benefit?

Did it create unintended harm?

What should change?

Beneficiary testimony should not necessarily determine the entire evaluation, but it is relevant evidence.

12.33 Who Defines Success?

A programme may be considered successful by the funder but unsuccessful by the intended beneficiaries.

Recipients are therefore asked:

Who defines success?

The payer?

The implementing institution?

Government?

Community representatives?

Individual beneficiaries?

Independent evaluator?

What happens where their assessments conflict?

12.34 Pre-Defined Success Criteria

Recipients are asked whether success criteria are established before implementation.

If criteria are defined only after results are known, there is a risk that success may be retrospectively defined around whatever occurred.

12.35 Changing Success Criteria

Where targets or indicators change during a programme, recipients are asked:

Why?

Who authorised the change?

Was the original target unattainable?

Was new evidence discovered?

Are changes publicly recorded?

12.36 Failure Criteria

A programme should also define what would constitute failure.

Recipients are asked:

What result would demonstrate that the programme did not work?

Is there a threshold?

Can a programme ever formally fail?

If every possible outcome can be described as progress, meaningful evaluation becomes difficult.

12.37 Partial Success

Recipients are asked whether programmes can be classified as:

successful;

partially successful;

inconclusive;

unsuccessful;

or harmful.

Binary success/failure classifications may conceal important complexity.

12.38 Negative Outcomes

Recipients are asked whether evaluations actively search for negative effects.

These may include:

community division;

economic displacement;

institutional dependence;

elite capture;

loss of privacy;

stigmatisation;

administrative burden;

or diversion of resources.

A reparative programme can have both positive and negative effects.

12.39 Distributional Outcomes

Average improvement may conceal unequal distribution.

Recipients are therefore asked:

Who benefited most?

Who benefited least?

Who received nothing?

Did established organisations benefit disproportionately?

Did particular geographic areas receive more?

Were poorer beneficiaries reached?

Distribution matters.

12.40 Intended Versus Actual Beneficiaries

Recipients are asked to distinguish:

intended beneficiaries

from

actual beneficiaries.

A programme may be designed for one group while value ultimately accrues to:

consultants;

universities;

property owners;

banks;

contractors;

or intermediary institutions.

The full benefit chain should therefore be examined.

12.41 Net Reparative Benefit

Recipients are asked whether they assess **net benefit**.

For example:

gross funding

minus

administration;

consultancy;

financing costs;

transaction costs;

tax;

and unintended losses.

What proportion of total resources produces durable benefit for the intended population?

12.42 Durability

Recipients are asked:

How long does the benefit last?

One year?

Five years?

A generation?

Does the benefit disappear when funding ends?

Does the beneficiary retain an asset, skill, right, institution or structural advantage?

Durability may be a significant measure of repair.

12.43 Sustainability

Where long-term programmes are created, recipients are asked:

Can the programme continue without permanent external subsidy?

If subsidy ends, what happens?

Who owns the infrastructure?

Who maintains it?

Who replaces equipment?

Who bears future costs?

12.44 Intergenerational Outcomes

Where programmes seek to address intergenerational harm, recipients are asked:

What intergenerational outcome is expected?

How can it be measured?

Over how many generations?

Who funds long-term monitoring?

Who retains records?

12.45 Longitudinal Evaluation

Recipients are asked whether programmes are evaluated over time.

Possible evaluation points may include:

before intervention;

during implementation;

immediately after;

five years later;

ten years later;

or another appropriate period.

One-time evaluation may miss long-term effects.

12.46 Independent Evaluation

Reparation Nation Limited considers independent evaluation particularly important where institutions publicly claim success.

Recipients are therefore asked:

Who selected the evaluator?

Who pays?

Was the evaluator involved in programme design?

Can the evaluator reach a negative conclusion?

Can the report be published without approval?

Can the institution edit findings?

12.47 Evaluator Conflicts of Interest

Recipients are asked whether evaluators disclose:

previous work for the institution;

future contract interests;

funding relationships;

personal connections;

or involvement in programme design.

An evaluator may be highly competent while still possessing a conflict requiring disclosure.

12.48 Publication of Evaluation Reports

Recipients are asked:

Are full evaluation reports published?

Or only executive summaries?

Are negative findings published?

Are underlying data available where lawful?

Are methodology and limitations visible?

12.49 Independent Replication

Where major findings are used to justify continuing reparations expenditure, recipients are asked whether independent researchers can reproduce the analysis.

If not, why not?

Reproducibility may be particularly important for international reference.

12.50 Peer Review

Where academic methodology is used, recipients are asked whether findings undergo peer review.

If so:

Who selected reviewers?

Was review anonymous?

Were criticisms addressed?

Is the review record available?

Peer review is one form of scrutiny, not a substitute for all others.

12.51 Audit Versus Evaluation

Recipients are asked to distinguish:

financial audit

from

programme evaluation.

Financial audit may establish that money was accounted for correctly.

Programme evaluation asks whether the expenditure achieved the intended reparative objective.

Both may be necessary.

12.52 Performance Audit

Recipients are asked whether any independent body assesses:

economy;

efficiency;

effectiveness;

and reparative impact.

A programme can account accurately for expenditure while delivering poor outcomes.

12.53 Social Audit

Where community legitimacy is important, recipients are asked whether a form of social or community audit exists.

Can beneficiaries examine:

decisions;

expenditure;

outcomes;

and institutional conduct?

Can they issue their own findings?

12.54 Racial Equity Audit

Recipients are asked whether reparative programmes undergo specific racial-equity review.

Does the review examine:

who received funding;

who was excluded;

who held power;

whose evidence was accepted;

whose organisations grew;

and whether Black people acquired durable assets or authority?

12.55 Governance Audit

Recipients are asked whether governance is periodically audited for:

concentration of power;

conflicts;

appointment practices;

transparency;

community representation;

and accountability.

Governance quality itself may affect reparative outcomes.

12.56 Data Audit

Where important data underpin decisions, recipients are asked whether data quality is audited.

Questions include:

Are records complete?

Are categories consistent?

Are duplicates removed?

Are missing values disclosed?

Are historical data comparable with current data?

Poor data can undermine otherwise sophisticated evaluation.

12.57 Financial Traceability

Recipients are asked whether every substantial reparative payment can be traced through:

source;

custodian;

intermediary;

recipient;

expenditure;

and final beneficiary.

A transparent financial trail should support outcome evaluation.

12.58 Documentary Traceability

Similarly, recipients are asked whether every major conclusion can be traced to:

source document;

research finding;

meeting record;

decision;

policy;

implementation record;

and evaluation.

This permits future reconstruction.

12.59 Version Control

Where policies, reports or methodologies change, recipients are asked whether previous versions are preserved.

Can an external researcher determine:

what the policy said at a particular date;

when it changed;

who changed it;

and why?

Version history may become important to future accountability.

12.60 Evidence Preservation

Recipients are asked to preserve, where lawful and appropriate:

data;

notes;

interviews;

calculations;

meeting records;

financial records;

correspondence;

draft reports;

evaluation materials;

and policy versions.

A long-term reparations framework should itself leave an auditable historical record.

12.61 Open Data

Where possible, recipients are invited to consider publication of anonymised data supporting major reparations claims.

Open data may allow:

independent analysis;

comparison;

correction;

and methodological improvement.

Privacy and legal obligations should nevertheless be respected.

12.62 Public Dashboard

For large programmes, recipients are asked whether a public dashboard could record:

funding committed;

funding spent;

number of beneficiaries;

geographic distribution;

administrative costs;

programme outputs;

outcomes;

evaluation status;

and outstanding commitments.

Such a dashboard should not substitute for underlying documentation.

12.63 Reparations Outcome Register

For future worldwide use, Reparation Nation Limited proposes consideration of a **Reparations Outcome Register**.

For each intervention, the register could identify:

Historical or continuing harm

Evidence

Responsible institution

Reparative intervention

Resources committed

Beneficiary

Baseline

Target

Indicator

Implementation period

Output

Outcome

Independent evaluator

Evaluation result

Unintended effects

Outstanding harm

Current status

12.64 Repair Scorecards

Recipients are invited to consider whether structured scorecards could help compare different programmes.

However, any scorecard should avoid false precision.

Where qualitative judgment is required, it should be identified as judgment rather than presented as objective mathematics.

12.65 Avoiding Metric Manipulation

Recipients are asked what safeguards exist against selecting indicators that make programmes appear successful.

For example:

measuring money spent rather than beneficiaries helped;

measuring attendance rather than outcomes;

measuring policy adoption rather than implementation;

or counting the same beneficiary repeatedly.

Indicators should test the objective rather than merely report activity.

12.66 Avoiding Cherry-Picking

Recipients are asked whether evaluation requires disclosure of:

positive findings;

negative findings;

neutral findings;

and statistically inconclusive findings.

Selective publication may distort the evidential picture.

12.67 Pre-Registration of Evaluation

For major programmes, recipients are invited to consider whether evaluation methodology should be established and recorded before outcomes are known.

This may include:

hypotheses;

indicators;

data sources;

evaluation periods;

and success criteria.

Doing so may reduce retrospective adjustment.

12.68 Independent Challenge

Recipients are asked whether external researchers, communities or organisations can challenge official outcome claims.

Can they submit contrary data?

Will the institution respond?

Can corrections be published?

A reparative evidence system should remain open to falsification and revision.

12.69 Correcting Published Claims

Where an institution later discovers that an outcome claim was inaccurate, recipients are asked:

Is there a formal correction procedure?

Are previous versions retained?

Are affected parties notified?

Does the institution amend public statements?

12.70 Uncertainty

Recipients are requested to state uncertainty openly.

Where evidence does not establish a firm conclusion, appropriate language may include:

uncertain;

estimated;

probable;

possible;

inconclusive;

contested;

or unknown.

Uncertainty is not necessarily weakness.

False certainty is more problematic.

12.71 Confidence Levels

Where quantitative methods permit, recipients are asked whether confidence levels or ranges are provided.

Where they do not, the basis of judgment should still be explained.

12.72 Evidence Hierarchy

Recipients are asked whether they operate an evidence hierarchy.

For example:

primary archival record;

audited financial record;

peer-reviewed research;

official statistics;

oral testimony;

expert opinion;

institutional statement;

or other sources.

If different evidence types are weighted differently, the basis should be stated.

12.73 Conflicting Evidence

Where evidence conflicts, recipients are asked:

How is disagreement resolved?

Is one source automatically preferred?

Are competing interpretations published?

Can the conclusion remain unresolved?

A responsible framework should permit genuine uncertainty.

12.74 Evidence of Absence

Recipients are asked to distinguish:

absence of evidence

from

evidence of absence.

Where historical records do not show something occurred, does the institution treat that as proof it did not occur?

What other sources are considered?

12.75 Burden of Proof

A reparations framework should identify who bears the burden of establishing:

historical connection;

harm;

descent;

institutional benefit;

causation;

eligibility;

and programme success.

Recipients are asked to state the applicable standard in each context.

12.76 Standard of Proof

Where formal determinations are made, recipients are asked:

What evidential standard applies?

Balance of probabilities?

Reasonable inference?

Historical consensus?

Administrative eligibility standard?

Political negotiation?

Another standard?

The standard should match the purpose of the decision.

12.77 Different Standards for Different Questions

The standard appropriate for:

historical research

may not be identical to that required for:

individual financial entitlement;

legal liability;

public historical statement;

or policy design.

Recipients are asked to distinguish them.

12.78 Independent Evidential Panel

For disputed major claims, recipients are invited to consider whether independent multidisciplinary panels could review:

history;

economics;

law;

data;

genealogy;

community evidence;

and financial tracing.

Such panels should themselves be subject to conflict and transparency safeguards.

12.79 Who Appoints the Experts?

The use of expertise raises the same governance question:

Who selects experts?

Who pays them?

What qualifications are required?

Are competing schools of thought represented?

Can experts dissent?

Expertise should inform decisions without becoming immune from scrutiny.

12.80 Evidence and Public Communications

Recipients are asked whether public statements distinguish clearly between:

established fact;

institutional interpretation;

estimate;

policy position;

aspiration;

and advocacy.

Public communications should not transform uncertainty into certainty merely for clarity of presentation.

12.81 Headlines and Evidence

Where media or institutions announce large figures or significant historical findings, recipients are asked whether supporting methodology is accessible.

A headline may be useful for public communication.

It should not become a substitute for underlying evidence.

12.82 Evidence of Repair Versus Evidence of Satisfaction

Recipients are asked to distinguish whether a beneficiary reports:

satisfaction with a programme

from

evidence that the historical or continuing harm has actually been repaired.

A well-liked intervention may not necessarily address the target harm.

Conversely, an effective structural intervention may not produce immediate satisfaction.

Both measures may be relevant.

12.83 Perception Measures

Where surveys measure perceptions of fairness, trust or recognition, recipients are asked:

Who was surveyed?

What questions were asked?

What response rate occurred?

How were non-responses treated?

Are findings representative?

Perception is important but should be identified as perception.

12.84 Reparative Legitimacy

Recipients are asked whether the perceived legitimacy of a reparations process is itself measured.

Do intended beneficiaries regard:

decision-makers;

representatives;

funders;

and evaluators

as legitimate?

If not, what effect does that have on the reparative process?

12.85 Process and Outcome

A process can be fair yet ineffective.

A process can also produce a beneficial outcome while being procedurally unfair.

Recipients are therefore asked to assess separately:

process quality

and

outcome quality.

Both may matter.

12.86 Cost Effectiveness

Recipients are asked:

How much did the programme cost?

What measurable outcome resulted?

Could the same outcome have been achieved at lower cost?

Could greater repair have been achieved with the same resources?

This does not reduce reparations to commercial efficiency.

It asks whether scarce reparative resources were used effectively.

12.87 Opportunity Cost

Every allocation prevents alternative use of the same resource.

Recipients are asked:

What alternative interventions were considered?

Why was the selected intervention preferred?

What potential benefit was forgone?

Opportunity cost should be considered where choices are substantial.

12.88 Comparative Evaluation

Where several models operate, recipients are asked whether their effectiveness can be compared.

For example:

direct payment;

community fund;

scholarship;

asset transfer;

institutional reform;

or business investment.

Which produces the strongest reparative outcome for the identified harm?

12.89 Cross-Country Comparison

International reparations programmes may provide opportunities for comparative analysis.

Recipients are asked:

Are indicators standardised?

Can outcomes be compared between countries?

What contextual differences prevent direct comparison?

Comparability should not be assumed where definitions differ.

12.90 Historical Benchmarking

Recipients are asked whether current outcomes are compared with:

historical baseline;

pre-intervention baseline;

national average;

or desired endpoint.

Different benchmarks answer different questions.

12.91 Reparative Endpoint

Ultimately, recipients are asked:

WHAT EVIDENCE WOULD BE SUFFICIENT TO CONCLUDE THAT THE IDENTIFIED HARM HAS BEEN REPAIRED?

Without an answer, the programme may remain permanent without an objective completion test.

12.92 Declaring Completion

Recipients are asked:

Who may declare repair complete?

The responsible institution?

Government?

Beneficiaries?

An independent body?

A court?

A negotiated mechanism?

Can the declaration be challenged?

12.93 Completion of One Harm Does Not Complete All Reparations

Where multiple harms exist, recipients are asked to record them separately.

One intervention may successfully repair one category while leaving others unresolved.

A programme should therefore be capable of saying:

repaired;

partially repaired;

not repaired;

or

not yet measurable

for each identified harm.

12.94 Permanent Monitoring

Where some consequences may require long-term observation, recipients are asked:

Who maintains monitoring after a programme ends?

Who funds it?

Where are the data kept?

Who reports deterioration?

Can a completed programme be reopened if harm re-emerges?

12.95 Questions Specifically Directed to the Forthcoming Event

The organisers and participating institutions are respectfully asked whether the event itself can address the evidential question:

HOW DOES EACH PARTICIPATING INSTITUTION KNOW WHETHER ITS REPARATIONS OR REPARATIVE-JUSTICE WORK IS ACTUALLY WORKING?

Specific questions include:

12.95.1 What outcomes are measured?

12.95.2 What baselines are used?

12.95.3 What indicators are used?

12.95.4 Who evaluates?

12.95.5 Is evaluation independent?

12.95.6 Are negative findings published?

12.95.7 What programmes have failed or required modification?

12.95.8 What evidence demonstrates actual repair?

12.95.9 What remains unmeasured?

12.95.10 What would constitute completion?

12.96 Questions for Each Participating Institution

Each institution is respectfully invited to identify:

12.96.1 the harm it says its programme addresses;

12.96.2 the baseline;

12.96.3 the intended outcome;

12.96.4 the indicator;

12.96.5 the target;

12.96.6 the evaluation period;

12.96.7 the evaluator;

12.96.8 evaluator independence;

12.96.9 the evidence collected;

12.96.10 the results obtained;

12.96.11 unintended consequences;

12.96.12 corrective action;

12.96.13 remaining harm;

and

12.96.14 the criteria for eventual completion.

12.97 No Presumption That Activity Equals Failure

For avoidance of doubt, the distinction between activity and repair does not suggest that activities such as:

education;

consultation;

research;

memorialisation;

or institution-building

have no value.

The question is whether their value is being described accurately.

An activity may be:

necessary;

useful;

preparatory;

educational;

symbolic;

or reparative.

Its classification should depend upon evidence rather than terminology alone.

12.98 No Presumption That Lack of Immediate Measurement Means No Repair

Some reparative effects may take time to emerge or may be difficult to quantify.

Recipients should therefore not be expected to provide numerical proof where no reliable numerical measure exists.

However, the limitation should be stated and the best available evidence identified.

Difficulty of measurement should not become a reason to abandon evaluation entirely.

12.99 Core Evidence and Outcome Test

For future international reference, Reparation Nation Limited proposes the following sequence:

WHAT IS THE IDENTIFIED HARM?

↓

WHAT EVIDENCE ESTABLISHES IT?

↓

WHAT OUTCOME WOULD CONSTITUTE REPAIR?

↓

WHAT BASELINE EXISTS?

↓

WHAT INTERVENTION WAS UNDERTAKEN?

↓

WHAT OUTPUT WAS PRODUCED?

↓

WHAT CHANGED?

↓

HOW WAS THE CHANGE MEASURED?

↓

WHAT EVIDENCE LINKS THE CHANGE TO THE INTERVENTION?

↓

WHO INDEPENDENTLY EVALUATED IT?

↓

WHAT NEGATIVE OR UNINTENDED EFFECTS OCCURRED?

↓

WHAT REMAINS UNREPAIRED?

↓

WHO HAS AUTHORITY TO DETERMINE WHETHER REPAIR IS COMPLETE?

12.100 International Reference Principle

For future worldwide discussion, Reparation Nation Limited proposes the following principle:

REPARATIONS SHOULD ULTIMATELY BE CAPABLE OF EVALUATION BY REFERENCE TO WHAT WAS HARMED, WHAT WAS DONE, WHAT CHANGED, WHO BENEFITED, WHAT EVIDENCE SUPPORTS THE CLAIMED CHANGE, WHAT REMAINS UNRESOLVED AND WHO INDEPENDENTLY VERIFIED THE RESULT. EXPENDITURE, ACTIVITY, PUBLICITY, INTENTION OR INSTITUTIONAL SELF-DESCRIPTION SHOULD NOT, WITHOUT MORE, BE TREATED AS PROOF OF REPAIR.

12.101 Concluding Position

The central questions are therefore:

What was the harm?

What was the baseline?

What was supposed to change?

What intervention occurred?

What was produced?

What actually changed?

Who benefited?

Who did not benefit?

How was the change measured?

What alternative explanations exist?

Who independently evaluated the result?

Were negative findings published?

What unintended consequences occurred?

What corrective action followed?

What remains unrepaired?

And what evidence would ultimately justify saying that repair has actually occurred?

These questions lead directly to the next necessary examination: **transparency, disclosure, access to information, documentary preservation, public registers, unanswered questions and the creation of a durable international evidential record of reparations claims, decisions, commitments and outcomes**.

SECTION 13

TRANSPARENCY, DISCLOSURE, ACCESS TO INFORMATION, DOCUMENTARY PRESERVATION, PUBLIC REGISTERS, UNANSWERED QUESTIONS AND THE CREATION OF A DURABLE INTERNATIONAL EVIDENTIAL RECORD

13.1 Purpose of This Section

Reparations discussions may extend across:

decades;

institutions;

governments;

jurisdictions;

academic programmes;

funding structures;

community organisations;

and successive generations of decision-makers.

Without reliable records, later participants may be unable to determine:

what was asked;

what was answered;

what evidence existed;

what commitments were made;

what money was allocated;

what safeguards applied;

what outcomes occurred;

and what remained unresolved.

Accordingly, a central question arises:

HOW CAN REPARATIONS WORK BE DOCUMENTED SO THAT FUTURE GENERATIONS CAN RECONSTRUCT THE EVIDENTIAL AND DECISION-MAKING RECORD RATHER THAN DEPEND UPON MEMORY, SUMMARY OR INSTITUTIONAL NARRATIVE?

Reparation Nation Limited considers documentary preservation and transparency to be part of the infrastructure of accountability.

13.2 Transparency Should Be Structured

Transparency should not depend solely upon whether an institution chooses to publish occasional statements.

Recipients are asked whether transparency is governed by:

written policy;

publication schedules;

statutory obligations;

governance rules;

contractual obligations;

funding conditions;

or another identifiable framework.

The scope of transparency should be clear.

13.3 What Should Be Transparent?

Recipients are asked whether the following are publicly identifiable where appropriate:

institutional mandate;

governance;

decision-makers;

appointments;

funding;

historical research;

methodology;

consultations;

beneficiary criteria;

allocations;

contracts;

conflicts of interest;

audit;

evaluation;

complaints procedures;

and outcomes.

Where an item is not public, recipients are asked why.

13.4 Disclosure by Default

For material reparations-related records, Reparation Nation Limited invites recipients to consider the principle:

PUBLISH UNLESS THERE IS A CLEAR, LAWFUL AND IDENTIFIABLE REASON NOT TO PUBLISH.

This differs materially from a model in which information remains inaccessible unless an external party successfully demands it.

13.5 Legal Obligation Versus Voluntary Transparency

Recipients are asked to distinguish between:

information published because law requires it;

information published because a regulator requires it;

information published because a funder requires it;

and

information published voluntarily.

This distinction helps identify the actual institutional standard being applied.

13.6 Public Bodies

Where a public body participates in reparations work, recipients are asked:

What statutory access-to-information regime applies?

What records fall within it?

What exemptions may apply?

Who determines disclosure?

Can refusals be reviewed?

What appeal route exists?

13.7 Private Bodies Performing Public-Facing Reparative Functions

Private organisations may not always be subject to the same statutory disclosure duties as public bodies.

Recipients are therefore asked:

Where a private institution exercises significant public-facing reparations functions, does it voluntarily adopt transparency standards comparable to public bodies?

If not, why not?

13.8 Charities and Foundations

Where charities or foundations participate, recipients are asked:

What information is filed with regulators?

What additional information is voluntarily published?

Are grant decisions transparent?

Are major donors disclosed?

Are related-party transactions disclosed?

Are annual reports sufficiently detailed to identify reparations expenditure?

13.9 Companies

Where companies participate, recipients are asked:

What corporate records are publicly available?

What reparations commitments are authorised by the board?

Are commitments recorded in annual reports?

Are material liabilities recognised in accounts where applicable?

Who can verify the amount actually committed or spent?

13.10 Universities

Universities are asked whether reparations-related records concerning:

research;

funding;

appointments;

governance;

partnerships;

historical investigations;

and programme evaluation

are publicly accessible.

Where information is restricted, the reason should be identifiable.

13.11 Churches and Religious Bodies

Religious bodies are asked:

Which governance records are public?

Which financial records are public?

Can reparations-related decisions be traced to an authorised body?

Are minutes available?

Are investment decisions transparent?

Can community members inspect relevant records?

13.12 Media Organisations

Media organisations participating in reparations work are asked whether there is a publicly accessible documentary record concerning:

historical research;

institutional findings;

funding commitments;

programme governance;

recipient selection;

and evaluation.

Public reporting about reparations should be distinguishable from reporting on the organisation's own reparative programme.

13.13 Reparations Organisations and Campaign Bodies

Organisations established specifically to pursue reparations are asked whether they publish:

constitution;

governance structure;

membership;

funding;

accounts;

mandate;

decision-making procedures;

conflicts;

and policy positions.

Advocacy does not remove the need for institutional transparency.

13.14 Document Index

Reparation Nation Limited considers that each significant reparations institution could maintain a public **Document Index**.

It could include:

Document title

Date

Author

Institution

Document type

Subject

Version

Status

Public access location

Restrictions, if any

Superseded by

Related decisions

Such an index would make documentary reconstruction substantially easier.

13.15 Version Control

Recipients are asked whether important documents contain:

version numbers;

publication dates;

revision dates;

authors;

approvers;

and change histories.

Without version control, it may become impossible to determine which policy was operative at a particular time.

13.16 Superseded Policies

Where a policy changes, recipients are asked:

Is the earlier version preserved?

Is the date of replacement recorded?

Is the reason for change recorded?

Can a person determine what rule applied when an earlier decision was made?

Historical accountability requires preservation of superseded material.

13.17 Drafts

Recipients are asked whether draft material is preserved where it is significant to decision-making.

Drafts may reveal:

alternative proposals;

changes in methodology;

removed findings;

and development of institutional reasoning.

Not every draft must necessarily be public, but preservation may be important.

13.18 Meeting Papers

Recipients are asked whether meeting packs, agendas and supporting papers are retained.

Can future researchers determine what information decision-makers possessed when a decision was made?

A final minute alone may not reveal the evidential basis.

13.19 Minutes

Minutes should permit reconstruction of material decisions.

Recipients are asked whether minutes record:

attendance;

agenda;

declared conflicts;

evidence considered;

decisions;

votes;

dissent;

actions;

and responsible officers.

13.20 Record of Dissent

Where members disagree, recipients are asked whether dissenting views can be recorded.

Institutional consensus should not erase evidence that substantial disagreement existed.

This may later be relevant to understanding how decisions evolved.

13.21 Record of Abstentions and Recusals

Recipients are asked whether records identify:

abstentions;

conflict-related recusals;

and absence from decisions.

This may be important where responsibility for a decision is later examined.

13.22 Decision Log

A public or auditable **Decision Log** could identify:

Decision number

Date

Decision-maker

Authority

Issue

Evidence considered

Consultation

Conflicts

Decision

Reasons

Financial effect

Review route

Implementation status

13.23 Financial Records

Recipients are asked whether reparations-related financial records separately identify:

pledges;

commitments;

allocations;

transfers;

administration;

consultancy;

programme expenditure;

and final beneficiary value.

Financial information should permit tracing rather than simply presenting an aggregate total.

13.24 Contract Register

Where significant contracts are awarded, recipients are asked whether a register identifies:

contractor;

value;

purpose;

procurement process;

start date;

end date;

extensions;

related-party interests;

and performance status.

13.25 Grants Register

Where reparations funds are distributed by grant, recipients are asked whether the following are recorded:

recipient;

amount;

purpose;

decision date;

decision-maker;

selection criteria;

duration;

conditions;

monitoring;

and outcome.

13.26 Beneficiary Privacy

Transparency concerning funding must be balanced against legitimate privacy.

Recipients are asked:

What beneficiary information is public?

What information is protected?

Why?

Can aggregated data be published where individual disclosure would be inappropriate?

13.27 Individual Claims

Where individuals submit reparations claims, recipients are asked:

How are records protected?

Who can access them?

How long are they retained?

Can claimants obtain their own records?

Can information be used for unrelated purposes?

13.28 Genealogical Records

Where descent or family history is relevant, recipients are asked:

Who holds genealogical evidence?

Is it retained permanently?

Can individuals correct errors?

Can information be shared internationally?

Can DNA or genealogical information be used for unrelated research?

13.29 Oral Testimony

Where oral history or testimony is collected, recipients are asked:

Is a recording retained?

Is a transcript produced?

Can the witness review it?

Can factual corrections be made?

Who owns the recording?

What future access conditions apply?

13.30 Research Data

Recipients are asked whether research datasets are preserved.

Where privacy permits:

Can anonymised datasets be shared?

Can methodology be reproduced?

Are coding decisions documented?

Is metadata preserved?

13.31 Metadata

Documents without metadata may lose evidential value.

Recipients are therefore asked whether records preserve:

creation date;

author;

source;

modification history;

file type;

custodian;

and relevant identifiers.

13.32 Digital Preservation

Many reparations records may now exist only digitally.

Recipients are asked:

What preservation system is used?

Are backups maintained?

Are obsolete formats migrated?

Are checksums or equivalent integrity controls used where appropriate?

Who is responsible for digital preservation?

13.33 Website Preservation

Institutional websites change.

Recipients are asked whether important reparations webpages are archived before alteration or removal.

Can previous versions be reconstructed?

Can links cited in reports remain accessible?

13.34 Link Rot

Recipients are asked whether permanent identifiers or archived copies are maintained for important online evidence.

A citation to a webpage that later disappears may weaken the future evidential record.

13.35 Emails

Recipients are asked whether significant institutional email correspondence concerning reparations decisions is retained under applicable record-management policies.

Can material correspondence be recovered when needed?

Are decisions intentionally moved into informal channels that are not preserved?

13.36 Messaging Platforms

Where institutional business occurs through:

messaging applications;

collaboration platforms;

or private groups,

recipients are asked whether material decisions made there are captured into the official record.

13.37 Social Media

Where public institutional positions are announced through social media, recipients are asked whether those statements are preserved.

Can deleted or amended posts be reconstructed?

Are social-media statements treated as formal institutional positions?

13.38 Recording Public Events

Public reparations events may themselves become historically important.

Recipients are asked whether events are:

audio recorded;

video recorded;

transcribed;

summarised;

or otherwise preserved.

If no record is made, why?

13.39 Transcript

Where an event includes substantive institutional statements, recipients are asked whether a transcript can be made available.

A transcript may permit:

accurate quotation;

future comparison;

correction;

and documentary accountability.

13.40 Event Q&A Record

Where audience questions are submitted, recipients are asked whether they are preserved.

Can the public later determine:

what was asked;

what was answered;

what was not answered;

and what was excluded because of time?

13.41 Questions Submitted in Advance

Where advance questions are provided, recipients are asked whether they are retained as part of the institutional record.

This document itself is intended to create such a record.

13.42 Unanswered Questions

An unanswered question should not disappear merely because an event ends.

Reparation Nation Limited proposes that unanswered questions be categorised.

Possible categories include:

ANSWERED

PARTIALLY ANSWERED

DOCUMENT REFERENCED

REFERRED TO ANOTHER BODY

NOT APPLICABLE

NO POLICY EXISTS

NO INFORMATION HELD

REQUIRES FURTHER RESEARCH

DECLINED

UNANSWERED

Such categorisation can improve clarity substantially.

13.43 "No Information Held" Is an Answer

Where an institution does not hold requested information, recipients are invited simply to state:

"No information is presently held."

That answer may itself be relevant to understanding institutional preparedness.

13.44 "No Policy Exists" Is an Answer

Similarly, where no policy exists:

"No specific policy presently exists."

is preferable to general discussion that might be mistaken for an existing formal safeguard.

13.45 "Not Yet Examined" Is an Answer

Where an institution has not investigated a matter, recipients may state:

"This matter has not yet been examined."

This creates a clear baseline for future discussion.

13.46 Referral to Correct Body

Where the recipient is not responsible, recipients are asked, where practicable, to identify the correct body.

For example:

Which department?

Which legal entity?

Which committee?

Which government?

Which archive?

Which officer?

This reduces unnecessary repetition.

13.47 Specific References Rather Than General Links

Where documents are relied upon, recipients are asked, where possible, to provide:

document title;

date;

page;

section;

paragraph;

or direct location.

A general institutional homepage may not permit efficient verification.

13.48 Documentary Authority

Where a statement represents formal institutional policy, recipients are asked:

Who authorised it?

Under what governance instrument?

Is it current?

Can it be changed?

Is it binding internally?

This distinguishes formal policy from informal commentary.

13.49 Public Statements by Individuals

Where an individual participates in a public reparations event, recipients are asked to clarify whether they speak:

personally;

academically;

professionally;

or institutionally.

Future references should not incorrectly attribute a personal statement to an entire organisation.

13.50 Corrections Register

For durable international reference, Reparation Nation Limited considers that institutions could maintain a **Corrections Register**.

It could record:

original statement;

date;

error identified;

correction;

reason;

supporting evidence;

and date corrected.

Correction should be treated as evidence of institutional reliability rather than necessarily as institutional failure.

13.51 Right to Correct This Document

Reparation Nation Limited expressly invites recipients to correct any factual error in this document concerning:

their identity;

role;

governance;

programme;

historical position;

financial commitment;

or published policy.

Supporting documentation is respectfully requested where possible.

13.52 Preservation of Corrections

Where this document is later revised following institutional corrections, Reparation Nation Limited considers that previous versions should be preserved.

Future readers should be capable of determining:

what was originally understood;

what was corrected;

when;

and on what evidence.

13.53 Record of Non-Response

Where no response is received, the record should state only that no response was received by the relevant date.

It should not automatically infer:

agreement;

disagreement;

admission;

or refusal.

Silence should be recorded accurately as silence.

13.54 No Adverse Conclusion Merely From Delay

Similarly, delay alone should not automatically establish avoidance or bad faith.

However, the chronology should remain visible.

For example:

date sent;

date acknowledged;

date substantive response received;

and outstanding matters.

13.55 Correspondence Register

For future use, Reparation Nation Limited proposes a **Reparations Correspondence Register** recording:

Reference

Date sent

Sender

Recipient

Subject

Questions raised

Acknowledgement date

Response date

Documents provided

Questions answered

Questions outstanding

Further correspondence

Status

13.56 Evidence Register

A separate **Evidence Register** could record:

Evidence ID

Document

Source

Date

Custodian

Subject

Claim supported

Limitations

Verification status

Public access

This would reduce repeated reliance upon unidentified or inaccessible material.

13.57 Claims Register

Where material claims are made, a **Claims Register** could identify:

Claim

Person or institution making it

Date

Evidence relied upon

Status

Accepted

Disputed

Partially supported

Unverified

Superseded

Corrected

Such a register could be especially useful where reparations debates span many institutions.

13.58 Commitments Register

Recipients are invited to consider a **Reparations Commitments Register**.

For each commitment:

Institution

Commitment

Date

Authority

Financial value, if any

Timescale

Beneficiary

Implementation mechanism

Status

Evidence of completion

Outstanding obligation

This would distinguish announcement from implementation.

13.59 Questions Register

A durable **Questions Register** could record:

Question ID

Question

Institution responsible

Date first asked

Response

Documentary evidence

Status

Follow-up required

Date resolved

This document is intended in part to establish such a question-based evidential framework.

13.60 International Reparations Register

Ultimately, recipients and future institutions may wish to consider whether reparations work could benefit from an internationally comparable public register bringing together:

historical claims;

institutional responsibility;

evidence;

mandates;

financial commitments;

beneficiaries;

governance;

safeguards;

outcomes;

and unresolved questions.

Such a register should not determine truth merely by recording claims.

Its purpose would be to make claims and evidence traceable.

13.61 Claim Is Not Fact

A central evidential safeguard must remain:

THE RECORDING OF A CLAIM DOES NOT MAKE THE CLAIM TRUE.

A register should distinguish between:

claim;

evidence;

institutional finding;

legal finding;

academic interpretation;

disputed proposition;

and established fact.

13.62 Institutional Finding Is Not Necessarily Final Truth

Similarly, an institutional report represents the findings of that institution or commissioned research.

It should remain open to:

correction;

challenge;

new evidence;

and contrary interpretation.

13.63 Academic Publication Is Not Necessarily Conclusive

Peer-reviewed research may provide strong evidence.

It should nevertheless be distinguishable from:

judicial finding;

official record;

primary source;

or universally accepted historical fact.

Evidence should retain its proper category.

13.64 Public Accessibility

Recipients are asked whether important reparations records can be accessed without:

subscription;

institutional affiliation;

expensive fees;

or specialist databases.

A publicly funded or public-facing reparations process may lose transparency if its evidential foundation is inaccessible to the population concerned.

13.65 Accessibility of Language

Transparency also concerns comprehensibility.

Recipients are asked whether important material is available in:

plain-language summary;

full technical form;

and, where relevant, multiple languages.

Plain-language access should not replace the complete underlying document.

13.66 Disability Access

Recipients are asked whether significant public material is available in accessible formats where required.

Examples may include:

screen-reader compatible documents;

captioned video;

transcripts;

and other appropriate formats.

13.67 Cost of Access

Recipients are asked whether fees for:

archives;

reports;

data;

copies;

or research access

could create barriers to affected communities.

If fees exist, are waivers available?

13.68 Archives Located Abroad

Where historically relevant records are held abroad, recipients are asked whether digital access can reduce geographic inequality.

Who pays digitisation costs?

Who determines priorities?

Can source communities participate?

13.69 Document Authentication

Recipients are asked how significant documentary evidence is authenticated.

Possible methods may include:

archival reference;

certified copy;

digital signature;

institutional provenance;

or other verification.

This may become increasingly important where digital manipulation becomes easier.

13.70 AI-Generated Material

Where artificial intelligence is used to:

summarise;

translate;

classify;

analyse;

or draft material,

recipients are asked whether this is disclosed where materially relevant.

AI-generated text should not be mistaken for primary evidence.

13.71 Machine-Generated Errors

Recipients are asked what process exists to detect:

incorrect summaries;

false citations;

misclassification;

or invented information

introduced by automated systems.

Human verification remains important where material conclusions depend upon the output.

13.72 Preservation of Source Versus Summary

Where records are summarised, recipients are asked whether the original source remains preserved.

A summary should not replace the source.

This principle is particularly important where future disputes may concern wording or context.

13.73 Redaction

Where records are redacted, recipients are asked whether:

the reason for redaction is identified;

the legal basis is stated where relevant;

the extent is proportionate;

and unredacted versions are preserved securely.

13.74 Confidentiality Periods

Where records cannot presently be disclosed, recipients are asked:

Can a future release date be specified?

Will confidentiality be reviewed?

Does restriction expire automatically?

Permanent secrecy should require particular justification.

13.75 Legal Privilege

Where legal privilege is relied upon, recipients are not asked to disclose privileged legal advice.

However, they are asked, where possible, to distinguish:

the existence of a decision;

the non-privileged evidence considered;

and the privileged advice itself.

Privilege should not unnecessarily obscure the entire decision-making record.

13.76 Commercial Confidentiality

Where commercial confidentiality is relied upon, recipients are asked:

What commercial interest would disclosure harm?

Can pricing or contractual information be partially disclosed?

Can confidentiality expire after the contract ends?

Public reparations expenditure may justify substantial transparency.

13.77 Personal Data

Where personal data prevent full disclosure, recipients are asked whether:

anonymisation;

aggregation;

or redaction

can permit publication of the underlying institutional information.

Data protection and transparency need not always be treated as mutually exclusive.

13.78 Security

Where genuine security concerns exist, recipients are asked to identify the category of risk without unnecessarily disclosing sensitive operational detail.

Security restrictions should be proportionate to the risk.

13.79 Destruction of Records

Recipients are asked:

What records may be destroyed?

After how long?

Under whose authority?

Are litigation, inquiry, audit or public-interest holds possible?

Are historically significant reparations records exempted from routine destruction?

13.80 Preservation Notice

Where a dispute or significant unanswered question arises, recipients are invited to consider whether relevant records should be preserved pending resolution.

This may include:

emails;

minutes;

drafts;

data;

contracts;

financial records;

and research material.

13.81 Institutional Memory

Staff and leadership change.

Recipients are therefore asked whether knowledge of reparations commitments depends upon particular individuals.

Are responsibilities documented sufficiently so that commitments survive personnel changes?

13.82 Succession of Responsibility

Where an organisation restructures, merges or closes, recipients are asked:

Who inherits the records?

Who inherits the commitments?

Who answers outstanding questions?

Who retains the archive?

Responsibility should not disappear merely because institutional form changes.

13.83 Dissolution

Where a reparations body is dissolved:

Where do records go?

Who receives remaining funds?

Who owns intellectual property?

Who continues unresolved obligations?

Who holds the final audit?

13.84 Long-Term Archival Custody

For major reparations records, recipients are asked whether eventual transfer to an independent or public archive is contemplated.

Long-term evidence should not necessarily depend forever upon the institution whose conduct is being documented.

13.85 International Archival Standards

Where records have international significance, recipients are asked whether preservation follows recognised professional archival standards.

If a different standard is used, recipients are invited to identify it.

13.86 Duplicate Preservation

Where records are uniquely important, recipients are asked whether preservation in more than one secure location is appropriate.

This may protect against:

technical failure;

institutional closure;

accidental deletion;

or physical disaster.

13.87 Public Chronology

For complex long-running reparations processes, Reparation Nation Limited proposes a public chronology recording:

date;

event;

decision;

document;

commitment;

payment;

response;

evaluation;

and status.

A chronology can prevent later confusion about sequence.

13.88 Questions Specifically Directed to the Forthcoming Event

The organiser and participating institutions are respectfully asked:

13.88.1 Will advance questions be preserved?

13.88.2 Will participating institutions receive them before the event?

13.88.3 Will there be an identifiable process for documentary responses?

13.88.4 Will unanswered questions be retained?

13.88.5 Will the event be recorded?

13.88.6 Will a transcript or substantial written record be available?

13.88.7 Will speakers be able to correct any factual transcription errors?

13.88.8 Will materials referred to during the event be identified?

13.88.9 Will subsequent institutional responses be linked to the original questions?

13.88.10 Will a record remain accessible after the event concludes?

13.89 Advance Documentary Response

Given the quantity and complexity of questions in this document, Reparation Nation Limited does not expect every matter to be addressed orally during a single event.

Recipients are therefore invited, where practical, to respond by:

providing existing documents;

providing specific references;

identifying the correct responsible institution;

or stating where information does not presently exist.

This may substantially improve the quality of the subsequent discussion.

13.90 Continuing Questions

The questions contained within this document are not intended to prevent further questions arising from:

answers;

documents;

new evidence;

changed policy;

or future events.

Reparation Nation Limited therefore reserves the practical ability to seek further clarification as the evidential record develops.

This does not predetermine the nature of any future conclusion.

13.91 No Assumption From Non-Disclosure

Where information is not disclosed, this document does not automatically assume wrongdoing.

The relevant question remains:

Why is the information unavailable?

Possible explanations may include:

non-existence;

lack of custody;

privacy;

legal restriction;

commercial confidentiality;

privilege;

security;

or institutional choice.

The reason should be established before conclusions are drawn.

13.92 No Assumption From Disclosure

Conversely, extensive disclosure does not itself establish that an institution has acted correctly.

Transparency facilitates scrutiny.

It does not replace scrutiny.

13.93 Documentary Integrity Principle

For future worldwide use, Reparation Nation Limited proposes the following principle:

EVERY MATERIAL REPARATIONS CLAIM, DECISION, COMMITMENT, PAYMENT, REPRESENTATIVE MANDATE, SAFEGUARD AND OUTCOME SHOULD, SO FAR AS REASONABLY PRACTICABLE, BE CAPABLE OF BEING TRACED TO AN IDENTIFIABLE DOCUMENTARY OR EVIDENTIAL SOURCE.

13.94 Unanswered Questions Principle

Reparation Nation Limited further proposes:

A QUESTION SHOULD NOT CEASE TO EXIST MERELY BECAUSE IT WAS NOT ANSWERED AT THE TIME IT WAS FIRST ASKED.

An unanswered question should remain identifiable until:

answered;

shown to be inapplicable;

referred to the correct body;

withdrawn;

or otherwise formally resolved.

13.95 Institutional Silence Principle

Where no response is received, the proper record is:

NO RESPONSE RECEIVED AS AT [DATE].

Nothing further should automatically be inferred.

This protects evidential accuracy.

13.96 Correction Principle

Where an error is identified:

CORRECT THE RECORD, PRESERVE THE PREVIOUS VERSION, IDENTIFY THE REASON FOR CORRECTION AND RETAIN THE SUPPORTING EVIDENCE.

A reliable evidential framework should be capable of correcting itself.

13.97 Core Transparency and Record Test

For international reference, Reparation Nation Limited proposes the following sequence:

WHAT CLAIM WAS MADE?

↓

WHERE IS THE EVIDENCE?

↓

WHO MADE THE DECISION?

↓

WHERE IS THE DECISION RECORDED?

↓

WHAT REASONS WERE GIVEN?

↓

WHAT MONEY OR ASSETS WERE COMMITTED?

↓

WHERE IS THAT COMMITMENT RECORDED?

↓

WHO RECEIVED THE BENEFIT?

↓

WHERE IS THE OUTCOME RECORDED?

↓

WHAT QUESTIONS REMAIN UNANSWERED?

↓

WHO IS RESPONSIBLE FOR ANSWERING THEM?

↓

WILL THE RECORD STILL EXIST IN TEN, FIFTY OR ONE HUNDRED YEARS?

13.98 International Reference Principle

For future worldwide discussion, Reparation Nation Limited proposes the following principle:

A REPARATIONS PROCESS THAT CANNOT BE DOCUMENTED, RECONSTRUCTED, CHALLENGED, CORRECTED AND PRESERVED RISKS BECOMING DEPENDENT UPON INSTITUTIONAL MEMORY AND NARRATIVE RATHER THAN EVIDENCE. TRANSPARENCY AND RECORD PRESERVATION ARE THEREFORE NOT MERELY ADMINISTRATIVE MATTERS; THEY ARE PART OF THE ARCHITECTURE OF ACCOUNTABILITY.

13.99 Concluding Position

The central documentary questions are therefore:

What records exist?

Who holds them?

Can the public access them?

What is withheld and why?

Which version is authoritative?

What changed?

Who authorised the change?

What questions were asked?

Which were answered?

Which remain unanswered?

What commitments were made?

What evidence shows implementation?

What corrections have occurred?

Are earlier versions preserved?

Will records survive institutional restructuring or closure?

And can a future researcher reconstruct the complete evidential history without having to rely upon assumptions about what happened?

These questions lead directly to the next necessary examination: **remedies for failure, complaints, dispute resolution, correction, accountability, sanctions, enforcement and what should happen when a reparations institution, representative, funder, researcher or programme fails to meet its stated obligations or safeguards**.

SECTION 14

REMEDIES FOR FAILURE, COMPLAINTS, DISPUTE RESOLUTION, CORRECTION, ACCOUNTABILITY, SANCTIONS, ENFORCEMENT AND WHAT SHOULD HAPPEN WHEN REPARATIONS SYSTEMS FAIL

14.1 Purpose of This Section

Any serious reparations framework must address not only what should happen when systems work properly, but also what should happen when they do not.

Failures may concern:

incorrect historical findings;

poor governance;

conflicts of interest;

racial discrimination;

institutional racism;

misallocation of funds;

misrepresentation;

failure to consult;

breach of mandate;

failure to preserve records;

failure to disclose;

failed programmes;

ineffective safeguards;

or other institutional defects.

Accordingly, a central question arises:

WHAT REMEDY EXISTS WHEN A REPARATIONS INSTITUTION, FUNDER, REPRESENTATIVE, RESEARCHER, GOVERNMENT, COMMISSION, CHARITY, UNIVERSITY, CHURCH, COMPANY OR OTHER ACTOR GETS SOMETHING MATERIALLY WRONG?

Reparation Nation Limited considers that accountability requires more than the existence of good intentions or internal policies.

A credible system should be capable of:

receiving concerns;

investigating them;

correcting errors;

remedying harm;

disciplining misconduct where appropriate;

and preserving a transparent record of what occurred.

14.2 Failure Must Be Defined

Recipients are asked what constitutes failure within their reparations work.

Possible forms may include:

failure to follow procedure;

failure to comply with mandate;

failure to disclose a conflict;

failure to apply a safeguard;

failure to consult;

failure to provide reasons;

failure to achieve an outcome;

financial mismanagement;

racially discriminatory impact;

false or unsupported historical claim;

misrepresentation of authority;

or refusal to correct an identified error.

The definition of failure should be identifiable.

14.3 Error, Misconduct and Failure Should Be Distinguished

Not every incorrect decision constitutes misconduct.

Recipients are therefore asked to distinguish between:

honest error;

procedural failure;

negligence;

poor judgment;

conflict of interest;

misconduct;

discriminatory conduct;

fraud;

and

systemic institutional failure.

Different failures may require different remedies.

14.4 Complaint Rights

Recipients are asked whether persons affected by reparations decisions can complain.

Relevant complainants may include:

individual beneficiaries;

rejected applicants;

community organisations;

research participants;

employees;

contractors;

representatives;

funders;

or members of the public.

Who is permitted to complain?

14.5 What Can Be Complained About?

Recipients are asked whether complaints may concern:

eligibility;

funding decisions;

appointments;

representation;

anti-Black racism;

institutional racism;

conflicts of interest;

procurement;

research conduct;

data use;

privacy;

programme effectiveness;

misleading public statements;

failure to consult;

or record preservation.

If some subjects are excluded, why?

14.6 Complaint Procedure

Recipients are asked to identify:

where complaints are submitted;

whether there is a written procedure;

what information is required;

what deadlines apply;

who acknowledges receipt;

who investigates;

and how outcomes are communicated.

14.7 Accessibility of Complaint Procedures

Recipients are asked whether complaint procedures are accessible.

Can complaints be made:

in writing;

online;

through representatives;

in accessible formats;

or through another suitable method?

Are complainants required to use complex legal terminology?

Is assistance available?

14.8 Time Limits

Recipients are asked:

What time limit applies?

When does time begin?

Can time be extended?

What happens where the complainant only discovers the issue later?

What happens where historical records emerge after the deadline?

Rigid time limits may be inappropriate for some reparations-related matters.

14.9 Acknowledgement

Recipients are asked whether complaints are formally acknowledged.

Does acknowledgement identify:

reference number;

date received;

person responsible;

expected timescale;

and escalation route?

14.10 Independent Investigation

Where a complaint concerns the body itself, recipients are asked:

Who investigates?

Can the same person whose decision is challenged conduct the review?

Can senior leadership override findings?

Is external investigation available?

Institutional self-investigation may require safeguards.

14.11 Investigator Independence

Recipients are asked:

Who appoints the investigator?

Who pays them?

Have they previously worked for the institution?

Can they investigate senior leaders?

Can they access all relevant records?

Can they publish an adverse conclusion?

14.12 Evidence in Complaints

Recipients are asked whether complainants can submit:

documents;

data;

witness accounts;

expert evidence;

audio;

video;

or other relevant material.

Can the institution request additional evidence?

Is contrary evidence disclosed to the complainant?

14.13 Opportunity to Respond

Fairness may require affected decision-makers or institutions to respond to criticism.

Recipients are asked:

Are they shown the substance of the complaint?

Can they provide evidence?

Can factual disputes be tested?

Can complainants respond to new material?

14.14 Written Findings

Recipients are asked whether complaint outcomes provide written findings.

Do they identify:

issues considered;

evidence;

findings;

reasoning;

remedy;

and review rights?

A simple statement that a complaint is “not upheld” may provide insufficient information for meaningful scrutiny.

14.15 Findings Categories

For future reference, findings could distinguish:

UPHELD

PARTIALLY UPHELD

NOT UPHELD

INCONCLUSIVE

OUTSIDE JURISDICTION

REFERRED

RESOLVED INFORMALLY

Such distinctions can improve clarity.

14.16 Standard of Proof

Recipients are asked what evidential standard applies to complaints.

Does it differ depending upon whether the issue is:

administrative;

disciplinary;

financial;

discriminatory;

or potentially criminal?

The standard should be identifiable.

14.17 Appeals

Recipients are asked whether complaint outcomes can be appealed.

Who hears the appeal?

Is the appellate body independent?

Can new evidence be admitted?

Can findings be reversed?

What time limit applies?

14.18 Internal Review

Where there is no formal appeal, can an internal review occur?

Who conducts it?

What threshold must be met?

Can an error of fact trigger review?

Can new evidence trigger review?

14.19 External Review

Recipients are asked whether decisions may be reviewed externally by:

regulators;

ombudsmen;

courts;

professional bodies;

funders;

auditors;

or independent panels.

The appropriate route will depend upon institutional type and jurisdiction.

14.20 Judicial or Legal Challenge

Where legal challenge is available, recipients are asked to identify the general route without assuming that every reparations dispute is justiciable.

Possible issues may concern:

contract;

public law;

charity law;

company law;

trust law;

employment law;

discrimination law;

data protection;

or other applicable legal frameworks.

Where no legal remedy exists, that should be distinguished from the absence of a moral or institutional complaint.

14.21 Alternative Dispute Resolution

Recipients are asked whether disputes may be resolved through:

mediation;

conciliation;

facilitated negotiation;

arbitration;

restorative processes;

or another mechanism.

Where such processes are used:

Are they voluntary?

Who appoints the neutral party?

Who pays?

Are outcomes binding?

14.22 Mediation

Where mediation is offered, recipients are asked:

Can either side refuse?

Does mediation prevent later formal complaint?

Are power imbalances considered?

Can parties obtain independent advice?

Is the outcome confidential?

14.23 Confidential Settlements

Recipients are asked whether complaint disputes may end in confidential settlement.

If so:

Can confidentiality prevent disclosure of systemic problems?

Are aggregate lessons published?

Can complainants discuss discrimination concerns?

How are transparency and legitimate confidentiality balanced?

14.24 Correction of Historical Findings

Where an institution publishes a historical claim later shown to be inaccurate, recipients are asked:

Who can request correction?

What evidence is required?

Who decides?

Is the original publication amended?

Is the correction visible?

Are downstream publications notified?

14.25 Correction of Financial Calculations

Where reparative values or historical benefit calculations are shown to contain errors:

Are calculations recalculated?

Are commitments adjusted?

Are affected beneficiaries notified?

Are prior reports corrected?

Who independently verifies the correction?

14.26 Correction of Eligibility Decisions

Where an individual was wrongly excluded:

Can the decision be reopened?

Can benefits be awarded retrospectively?

Can lost opportunities be compensated?

Can priority be restored?

14.27 Correction of Representation Errors

Where an organisation is wrongly treated as representative of a population, recipients are asked:

Can the record be corrected?

Can decisions based upon the false mandate be reviewed?

Can affected persons challenge resulting agreements?

14.28 Correction of Racially Discriminatory Decisions

Where a decision is found to have been affected by racial discrimination or institutional racism, recipients are asked:

Can the decision be voided?

Can it be reconsidered independently?

Can compensation be provided?

Can policy be changed?

Can similar historical decisions be reviewed?

14.29 Systemic Review

A single upheld complaint may indicate a wider problem.

Recipients are asked:

What triggers a systemic review?

Does one serious case suffice?

Does a pattern of cases trigger review?

Are previous decisions sampled?

Are affected groups contacted?

14.30 Look-Back Exercises

Where a defective policy has affected many decisions, recipients are asked whether a retrospective **look-back exercise** can occur.

Questions include:

How far back?

Which cases?

Who identifies affected persons?

Are they required to complain individually?

Can compensation be automatic?

14.31 Remediation

Recipients are asked what forms of remediation are available.

Possible measures may include:

apology;

correction;

reconsideration;

financial compensation;

restoration of funding;

restoration of position;

additional consultation;

policy reform;

training;

disciplinary action;

or institutional restructuring.

14.32 Remedy Should Correspond to Harm

A remedy should relate to the failure.

For example:

a publication error may require correction;

a discriminatory funding decision may require reconsideration and potentially financial remedy;

financial misappropriation may require recovery;

a governance failure may require restructuring.

Recipients are asked how proportionality is determined.

14.33 Financial Compensation for Institutional Failure

Recipients are asked whether compensation is available where an institution itself causes measurable harm through:

wrongful exclusion;

delay;

discrimination;

misuse of data;

breach of agreement;

or another failure.

Who determines value?

14.34 Restitution

Where the institution improperly withheld or diverted property, funding or entitlement, recipients are asked whether restitution is available.

Can the original benefit be restored?

If not, can equivalent value be provided?

14.35 Reinstatement

Where a person or organisation is wrongly removed from:

a programme;

board;

grant;

consultation;

or representative role,

can reinstatement occur?

What happens where the opportunity has already passed?

14.36 Apology as a Remedy for Institutional Failure

Where an institution apologises for its own present-day failure, recipients are asked whether the apology includes:

what went wrong;

who was affected;

what evidence established the problem;

what corrective action occurred;

and what will prevent repetition.

14.37 Policy Change

Where a complaint reveals a defective policy, recipients are asked:

Can the policy be amended immediately?

Who has authority?

Are persons previously affected reviewed?

Is the new policy published?

14.38 Suspension of Decisions

Where serious concerns arise, recipients are asked whether disputed decisions can be temporarily suspended.

Examples may include:

fund transfers;

appointments;

contracts;

asset disposals;

or programme closure.

Who has authority to suspend?

14.39 Interim Measures

Recipients are asked whether interim protective measures are available before final determination.

For example:

preserving funding;

preserving records;

preventing disposal of assets;

or maintaining access.

Interim remedies may prevent irreversible harm.

14.40 Record Preservation During Disputes

Once a material dispute arises, recipients are asked whether relevant records are placed under preservation hold.

This may include:

emails;

minutes;

contracts;

data;

financial records;

research;

and digital logs.

14.41 Sanctions

Where serious misconduct is established, recipients are asked what sanctions exist.

Possible sanctions may include:

warning;

removal from decision-making;

termination;

suspension;

financial recovery;

disqualification;

contract termination;

regulatory referral;

or other action.

14.42 Sanctions Must Be Authorised

Recipients are asked:

Who has authority to impose sanctions?

Under what rule?

Can the sanction be appealed?

Is proportionality considered?

14.43 Sanctions Against Organisations

Where a funded organisation materially breaches conditions, recipients are asked whether sanctions may include:

funding suspension;

repayment;

future ineligibility;

additional monitoring;

or termination.

How are beneficiaries protected where sanctioning the organisation might harm them?

14.44 Recovery of Funds

Where funds are misused, recipients are asked:

Can money be recovered?

From whom?

Under what legal or contractual authority?

Who undertakes recovery?

What happens if recovery costs exceed the amount?

14.45 Clawback

Recipients are asked whether grant or investment agreements contain clawback provisions.

What triggers clawback?

Misrepresentation?

Non-performance?

Misuse?

Conflict?

Failure to meet conditions?

Are beneficiaries informed?

14.46 Fraud

Where fraud is suspected, recipients are asked:

What investigation procedure applies?

Who is notified?

Are payments suspended?

Are law-enforcement or regulatory referrals possible?

How are innocent beneficiaries protected?

14.47 Corruption

Recipients are asked whether anti-corruption safeguards exist in reparations-related:

procurement;

appointments;

funding;

asset management;

and international transfers.

Where corruption is established, what remedies follow?

14.48 Misrepresentation

Where an individual or organisation falsely claims:

descendant status;

representative authority;

beneficiary status;

professional qualification;

or institutional endorsement,

recipients are asked what verification and remedy systems exist.

14.49 False Claims by Institutions

Accountability should operate in both directions.

Recipients are asked what happens where an institution itself publishes a materially false or misleading claim concerning:

its historical role;

its financial commitment;

community support;

programme outcomes;

or safeguards.

Who can require correction?

14.50 Misleading Use of Statistics

Where statistics are materially misrepresented:

Can the record be corrected?

Can methodology be independently reviewed?

Are public statements amended?

How are affected decisions reconsidered?

14.51 Research Misconduct

Recipients are asked what happens where reparations-related research is affected by:

fabrication;

falsification;

plagiarism;

serious methodological misconduct;

failure to disclose conflicts;

or unethical treatment of participants.

What institutional process applies?

14.52 Retraction

Where published research is fundamentally unreliable, recipients are asked whether formal retraction is possible.

Are institutions relying upon the research notified?

Are downstream decisions reviewed?

14.53 Ethical Complaints

Where community testimony, genealogical data or cultural material is used improperly, recipients are asked:

What ethical complaint process exists?

Can consent be withdrawn?

Can material be removed?

Can compensation be provided?

14.54 Data Breaches

Where personal data are compromised:

Who investigates?

Who is notified?

Can affected persons obtain information?

What remedy exists?

Can the responsible contractor be sanctioned?

14.55 Algorithmic Error

Where an automated system wrongly rejects or categorises a beneficiary:

Can the decision be reviewed by a human?

Can systemic bias be investigated?

Can similar cases be reopened?

Can the algorithm be suspended?

14.56 Complaints Concerning Anti-Black Racism

Recipients are specifically asked to identify the procedure where a person believes anti-Black racism affected a reparations-related decision.

Who investigates?

What expertise is required?

What evidence is considered?

Can outcome disparities be examined?

Can the complainant obtain independent review?

14.57 Complaints Concerning Institutional Racism

Where the concern relates to systemic rather than individual conduct, recipients are asked whether the complaint procedure is capable of investigating:

patterns;

policies;

structures;

repeated outcomes;

and institutional culture.

A procedure designed only to identify individual misconduct may be insufficient for systemic complaints.

14.58 Burden on the Complainant

Recipients are asked whether complainants must prove institutional racism before an investigation begins.

Alternatively, can evidence of repeated disparity trigger institutional inquiry?

The threshold should be identified.

14.59 Protection Against Retaliation

Recipients are asked whether complainants are protected against retaliation.

Potential retaliation may include:

funding withdrawal;

loss of contracts;

exclusion from events;

removal from committees;

loss of employment;

or reputational action.

What monitoring exists?

14.60 Anonymous Complaints

Recipients are asked whether anonymous concerns can be raised.

If anonymous complaints are limited:

Why?

Can they still trigger preliminary review?

14.61 Whistleblowers

Recipients are asked what protection exists for insiders reporting wrongdoing.

Can employees, trustees, consultants and contractors report concerns?

Can they bypass management?

Can they approach regulators directly?

14.62 Community Oversight of Complaints

Recipients are asked whether affected communities have any role in reviewing serious reparations-related complaints.

If so:

How are participants selected?

What confidentiality applies?

Do they possess decision-making power or advisory status only?

14.63 Independent Ombudsman

For large or international reparations systems, recipients are invited to consider whether an independent ombudsman or equivalent body would improve accountability.

Possible functions could include:

receiving complaints;

investigating maladministration;

examining systemic patterns;

recommending remedies;

and publishing reports.

14.64 International Dispute Resolution

Where disputes cross borders, recipients are asked:

Which jurisdiction applies?

Which law governs?

Where is the dispute heard?

Can decisions be enforced abroad?

Do agreements contain dispute-resolution clauses?

14.65 Disputes Between Governments

Where reparations negotiations involve states, recipients are asked:

What happens if governments disagree?

Is there mediation?

Arbitration?

International adjudication?

Diplomatic negotiation?

No formal mechanism?

14.66 Disputes Between Governments and Descendants

Recipients are asked what happens where a government claims to represent descendants but significant descendant groups reject the settlement.

Can those groups challenge?

Can they opt out?

Can they maintain separate claims?

14.67 Disputes Between Representative Organisations

Where two organisations claim overlapping representation, recipients are asked:

Who resolves the dispute?

Is recognition determined by funders?

Government?

Membership?

Election?

Court?

No single authority?

The basis should be explicit.

14.68 Disputes Over Beneficiary Eligibility

Where beneficiary status is disputed, recipients are asked:

Who decides?

What evidence is accepted?

Is genealogy required?

Can decisions be appealed?

How are incomplete records treated?

14.69 Disputes Over Historical Facts

Historical disagreement may be genuine.

Recipients are asked:

Can competing interpretations coexist?

When is an independent expert panel used?

What evidential standard applies?

Can conclusions be revised?

14.70 Disputes Over Valuation

Where parties agree that harm occurred but disagree about value:

What mechanism resolves valuation?

Negotiation?

Expert determination?

Court?

Arbitration?

Economic panel?

Can multiple valuation methods be published?

14.71 Disputes Over Adequacy of Repair

Recipients are asked:

Who determines whether the proposed remedy is sufficient?

Can beneficiaries reject it?

Can the responsible institution declare completion unilaterally?

Can adequacy be independently assessed?

14.72 Settlement Agreements

Where disputes culminate in settlement, recipients are asked:

Who signs?

What authority do they possess?

What claims are resolved?

What claims remain?

Does the settlement contain waiver language?

Does it bind future generations?

14.73 Waiver

Recipients are asked to particularise any waiver.

Does it waive:

individual claims;

state claims;

institutional claims;

future claims;

unknown claims;

or only specifically defined matters?

The scope should not be assumed.

14.74 Authority to Waive

Even where a representative can negotiate, it does not automatically follow that they can waive another person's rights.

Recipients are asked:

What is the source of waiver authority?

Who consented?

Can consent be revoked?

14.75 Full and Final Settlement

Where “full and final settlement” language is used, recipients are asked:

Full and final as to what?

Which harm?

Which party?

Which period?

Which jurisdiction?

Does it affect claims against unrelated institutions?

Precision is necessary.

14.76 Settlement Without Completion of Repair

A settlement may resolve a legal or political dispute without proving that the underlying harm has been fully repaired.

Recipients are asked to distinguish:

settlement

from

actual repair.

14.77 Non-Compliance With Settlement

Recipients are asked what happens if an agreed reparations settlement is not implemented.

Are there:

deadlines;

interest;

enforcement rights;

independent monitoring;

sanctions;

or reopening provisions?

14.78 Enforcement

A commitment without enforcement may depend entirely upon goodwill.

Recipients are asked:

What commitments are legally binding?

What commitments are political?

What commitments are voluntary?

What happens where they are not fulfilled?

14.79 Contractual Enforcement

Where institutions enter binding agreements, recipients are asked:

Who can enforce them?

In which court or tribunal?

What remedies exist?

Can beneficiaries enforce directly?

14.80 Political Accountability

Where commitments are political rather than legally enforceable, recipients are asked what accountability substitutes for legal enforcement.

Possible mechanisms may include:

parliamentary scrutiny;

public reporting;

elections;

independent commissions;

or international monitoring.

14.81 Regulatory Enforcement

Recipients are asked whether regulators can intervene in reparations-related failures concerning:

charities;

companies;

financial management;

data protection;

employment;

or professional conduct.

14.82 Funding Enforcement

Funders may possess powerful enforcement mechanisms.

Recipients are asked:

Can funders suspend or terminate projects?

Can they require repayment?

Can they impose conditions?

How is funder power itself scrutinised?

14.83 Independent Monitoring of Commitments

Recipients are asked whether major commitments are monitored by persons independent of the institution that made them.

Who verifies implementation?

Who publishes progress?

Who records breach?

14.84 Failure Register

For future international use, Reparation Nation Limited proposes consideration of a **Reparations Failure and Remediation Register**.

It could identify:

Institution

Programme or decision

Failure identified

Date

Evidence

Investigator

Finding

People affected

Remedy ordered

Corrective action

Sanction

Implementation status

Systemic review

Outstanding issue

14.85 Complaints Register

An appropriately anonymised **Complaints Register** could record:

Complaint category

Date

Institution

Issue

Outcome

Time taken

Remedy

Whether systemic action followed

Personal information should be protected where necessary.

14.86 Enforcement Register

A corresponding register could distinguish:

Commitment

Binding status

Due date

Responsible body

Monitoring body

Compliance status

Breach

Enforcement action

Outcome

This would make visible the difference between promise and enforceable obligation.

14.87 Lessons-Learned Register

Where errors occur, recipients are invited to record:

what failed;

why;

what changed;

whether earlier cases were reviewed;

and whether the same failure later recurred.

Accountability should create institutional learning.

14.88 Questions for the Forthcoming Event

The organisers and participating institutions are respectfully invited to consider the following questions:

14.88.1 What happens if your institution's historical research is shown to contain a material error?

14.88.2 What happens if a reparations funding decision is discriminatory?

14.88.3 What happens if a conflict of interest was not disclosed?

14.88.4 What happens if community consultation was materially defective?

14.88.5 What happens if a funded reparative programme fails?

14.88.6 Can beneficiaries complain?

14.88.7 Can decisions be appealed?

14.88.8 Is independent investigation available?

14.88.9 Can compensation or restitution follow?

14.88.10 Can systemic failures trigger review of earlier decisions?

14.88.11 Are serious findings published?

14.88.12 Who enforces commitments made by the institution?

14.89 Questions for Each Participating Institution

Each participating institution is respectfully asked to identify:

14.89.1 its complaint procedure;

14.89.2 appeal mechanism;

14.89.3 independent review mechanism;

14.89.4 anti-retaliation safeguard;

14.89.5 racial-discrimination complaint route;

14.89.6 systemic-review procedure;

14.89.7 correction policy;

14.89.8 remedies available;

14.89.9 sanctions available;

14.89.10 enforcement mechanism;

14.89.11 record-preservation procedure during disputes;

14.89.12 regulatory or external oversight;

and

14.89.13 whether significant complaint outcomes are published.

14.90 No Presumption of Failure

The inclusion of these questions does not imply that any participating institution has failed.

A robust accountability system should exist precisely because any institution can make mistakes.

Asking about remedies before a failure occurs may help prevent disputes later.

14.91 No Presumption That Every Error Requires Punishment

Correction and punishment should also be distinguished.

An honest error promptly acknowledged and corrected may require a different response from:

concealment;

retaliation;

fraud;

or repeated systemic failure.

Proportionality should remain central.

14.92 No Presumption That Internal Resolution Is Inadequate

Internal resolution may be efficient and fair.

The question is whether sufficient independence, transparency and review exist where the complaint concerns those controlling the internal process.

14.93 Accountability Principle

For future worldwide use, Reparation Nation Limited proposes:

A REPARATIONS INSTITUTION SHOULD NOT BE JUDGED ONLY BY THE QUALITY OF ITS STATED PRINCIPLES, BUT ALSO BY WHAT HAPPENS WHEN THOSE PRINCIPLES ARE BREACHED.

14.94 Remedy Principle

Reparation Nation Limited further proposes:

WHERE A REPARATIONS PROCESS ITSELF CAUSES HARM, THE PROCESS SHOULD BE CAPABLE OF PROVIDING REPAIR FOR THAT HARM RATHER THAN ASSUMING THAT ITS REPARATIVE PURPOSE PLACES IT BEYOND ACCOUNTABILITY.

14.95 Enforcement Principle

A further principle follows:

A COMMITMENT SHOULD BE IDENTIFIED AS LEGALLY BINDING, POLITICALLY BINDING, INSTITUTIONALLY ADOPTED OR VOLUNTARY. THE PUBLIC SHOULD NOT HAVE TO GUESS WHETHER A PROMISE CAN ACTUALLY BE ENFORCED.

14.96 Core Failure and Remedy Test

For future international reference, Reparation Nation Limited proposes the following sequence:

WHAT WENT WRONG?

↓

WHO WAS AFFECTED?

↓

WHAT EVIDENCE ESTABLISHES THE FAILURE?

↓

WHO INVESTIGATES?

↓

ARE THEY INDEPENDENT?

↓

WHAT FINDING WAS REACHED?

↓

CAN THE FINDING BE CHALLENGED?

↓

WHAT REMEDY CORRESPONDS TO THE HARM?

↓

WHAT CORRECTIVE ACTION IS REQUIRED?

↓

IS A SANCTION APPROPRIATE?

↓

ARE SIMILAR PAST DECISIONS REVIEWED?

↓

WHO CHECKS THAT THE REMEDY WAS IMPLEMENTED?

↓

WHAT CHANGES PREVENT REPETITION?

14.97 International Reference Principle

For future worldwide discussion, Reparation Nation Limited proposes the following principle:

NO REPARATIONS SYSTEM SHOULD BE DESIGNED ON THE ASSUMPTION THAT ITS OWN INSTITUTIONS, REPRESENTATIVES, RESEARCHERS, FUNDERS OR DECISION-MAKERS WILL NEVER FAIL. CREDIBLE REPARATIONS GOVERNANCE REQUIRES COMPLAINTS, REVIEW, CORRECTION, REMEDY, ENFORCEMENT AND LEARNING MECHANISMS THAT ARE IDENTIFIABLE BEFORE A DISPUTE ARISES.

14.98 Concluding Position

The central accountability questions are therefore:

What happens when the institution is wrong?

Who can complain?

Who investigates?

Who reviews the investigator?

Can decisions be reversed?

Can money be restored?

Can harm caused by the reparations process itself be compensated?

Can discriminatory outcomes trigger systemic review?

Can false historical claims be corrected?

Can representative authority be challenged?

Can funds be recovered?

Can decision-makers be removed?

Can commitments be enforced?

Are failures publicly recorded?

Are earlier cases reconsidered when systemic defects are discovered?

And what evidence demonstrates that the institution learned from the failure rather than merely closing the complaint?

These questions lead directly to the next necessary examination: **future obligations, completion, review cycles, transfer of responsibility, succession, long-term stewardship and the question of when, if ever, reparative obligations can properly be regarded as discharged**.

SECTION 15

FUTURE OBLIGATIONS, REVIEW CYCLES, SUCCESSION, LONG-TERM STEWARDSHIP AND THE QUESTION OF WHEN REPARATIVE OBLIGATIONS CAN PROPERLY BE REGARDED AS DISCHARGED

15.1 Purpose of This Section

Reparations are often discussed as if they concern only the correction of historical wrongs.

However, once an institution, government, representative body or fund accepts that some form of reparative responsibility exists, a further question arises:

HOW LONG DOES THAT RESPONSIBILITY CONTINUE, WHO INHERITS IT, HOW IS IT REVIEWED, AND WHAT CONDITIONS MUST BE SATISFIED BEFORE IT CAN PROPERLY BE SAID TO HAVE BEEN DISCHARGED?

This is particularly important where:

the harm is intergenerational;

the intervention is long-term;

the responsible institution changes structure;

leadership changes;

funds are transferred;

governments change;

organisations dissolve;

assets are sold;

or the stated reparative objective has no clear endpoint.

Reparation Nation Limited therefore considers that future obligations and completion criteria should be defined explicitly rather than left uncertain.

15.2 Reparative Obligation Must Be Identified

Recipients are asked to identify whether any reparative obligation they recognise is:

one-off;

time-limited;

continuing;

periodically reviewable;

conditional;

intergenerational;

or potentially permanent.

The category should be stated.

15.3 One-Off Obligations

Some reparative measures may reasonably be completed once.

Examples may include:

return of a specific object;

payment of a specific sum;

publication of a correction;

release of records;

or execution of a specific legal transfer.

Recipients are asked:

What event constitutes completion?

Who verifies that it occurred?

What record proves completion?

15.4 Continuing Obligations

Other obligations may continue over time.

Examples may include:

maintenance of an archive;

operation of a scholarship fund;

governance representation;

monitoring;

institutional reform;

preservation of land;

or long-term financial commitments.

Recipients are asked:

What is the expected duration?

Who bears responsibility?

How is performance reviewed?

What happens if the responsible institution changes?

15.5 Intergenerational Obligations

Where harm is characterised as intergenerational, recipients are asked whether repair must also operate across generations.

If so:

How many generations?

What outcome is expected?

How are future generations represented?

Can an agreement made today bind people not yet born?

What ethical or legal principle supports that approach?

15.6 Fixed-Term Programmes

Where a programme operates for a fixed period, recipients are asked:

Why was that period selected?

Was it linked to evidence?

Funding availability?

Political agreement?

Institutional convenience?

Will the programme end even if the identified harm remains?

15.7 Review Before Expiry

Recipients are asked whether fixed-term programmes undergo review before termination.

Questions include:

Was the objective achieved?

What remains unresolved?

Should the programme continue?

Should its form change?

Who decides?

15.8 Sunset Clauses

Where a policy or body contains a sunset clause, recipients are asked:

What triggers expiry?

Is renewal possible?

Who approves renewal?

What evidence must be considered?

Sunset clauses should not automatically terminate unresolved reparative obligations.

15.9 Periodic Review

Recipients are asked whether reparations policies are reviewed:

annually;

every three years;

every five years;

or on another cycle.

What is reviewed?

Governance?

Funding?

Outcomes?

Representation?

Safeguards?

Historical evidence?

15.10 Independent Review

Recipients are asked whether periodic review is undertaken independently.

Who appoints the reviewer?

Who pays?

Can the reviewer recommend:

continuation;

reduction;

expansion;

restructuring;

or termination?

15.11 Review Criteria

Recipients are asked whether review criteria are predetermined.

Possible criteria may include:

progress against targets;

beneficiary outcomes;

financial integrity;

governance quality;

racial safeguards;

public legitimacy;

or unresolved harms.

15.12 Review Triggered by New Evidence

Recipients are asked whether new historical evidence can reopen previously settled institutional conclusions.

For example:

new archive material;

new financial records;

new genealogical evidence;

or corrected research.

Can the institutional position change accordingly?

15.13 Review Triggered by Failure

Where a programme fails materially, recipients are asked whether a special review is triggered.

Can the programme be:

redesigned;

suspended;

terminated;

or replaced?

15.14 Review Triggered by Changed Circumstances

Recipients are asked whether major external changes can trigger review.

Examples may include:

economic crisis;

change in law;

institutional merger;

new government;

war;

migration;

technological change;

or major demographic change.

15.15 Institutional Succession

Reparations obligations may outlast the institution that created them.

Recipients are therefore asked:

What happens if an institution:

merges;

restructures;

changes name;

is acquired;

is dissolved;

or transfers its assets?

Who inherits the obligation?

15.16 Legal Successor

Where a legal successor exists, recipients are asked:

Does the successor inherit:

assets;

liabilities;

contractual commitments;

reparative obligations;

archives;

and governance duties?

What legal instrument establishes this?

15.17 Institutional Successor Without Strict Legal Continuity

Where there is substantial institutional continuity but no exact legal identity, recipients are asked whether reparative responsibility continues.

Relevant factors may include:

same assets;

same property;

same endowment;

same institutional purpose;

same name;

same archive;

same reputation;

or continuity of benefit.

What principle is applied?

15.18 Transfer of Assets

Where relevant assets are transferred to another institution, recipients are asked:

Does any reparative obligation follow the asset?

If not, why not?

Can an institution dispose of historically connected assets while retaining none of the associated responsibility?

15.19 Asset Sale

Where historically connected property is sold, recipients are asked:

What happens to the proceeds?

Are proceeds traceable?

Does the obligation attach to the value realised?

Can sale extinguish the connection?

15.20 Endowment Transfer

Where an endowment is transferred, recipients are asked:

Does the recipient inherit restrictions?

Does it inherit reparative commitments?

Who monitors continuity?

15.21 Change of Ownership

Where a company with historical responsibility is acquired, recipients are asked:

Does the new owner inherit reparative commitments?

Were those commitments disclosed during acquisition?

Were they valued?

Can ownership change terminate them?

15.22 Corporate Dissolution

Where a company is dissolved, recipients are asked:

What happens to unresolved reparative obligations?

Do they pass to:

successors;

shareholders;

state bodies;

trusts;

or no one?

Where possible, the legal position should be identified.

15.23 Charity Dissolution

Where a charity or foundation holding reparative assets closes:

Who receives remaining funds?

Must they continue to serve the same purpose?

Who preserves records?

Who informs beneficiaries?

15.24 Government Change

Governments change.

Recipients are asked whether reparative commitments made by one administration continue to bind the next.

If not legally binding:

What protects continuity?

Can an incoming government reverse the programme?

15.25 State Continuity

Where the state itself continues but the government changes, recipients are asked whether reparative responsibility is regarded as:

state responsibility;

government policy;

or both.

This distinction may determine long-term stability.

15.26 Constitutional Change

Where constitutional arrangements change, recipients are asked:

What happens to reparative agreements?

Do obligations survive:

devolution;

independence;

federal restructuring;

or territorial change?

15.27 International Succession

Where states divide, merge or undergo succession, recipients are asked:

How are reparations claims and obligations divided?

By territory?

Population?

Asset?

Treaty?

Negotiation?

15.28 Transfer Between Institutions

Where responsibility for a reparations programme moves from one institution to another, recipients are asked:

What records transfer?

What funds transfer?

What liabilities transfer?

What outstanding complaints transfer?

What unresolved questions transfer?

15.29 Preservation of Institutional Memory

Recipients are asked whether handover procedures ensure that incoming leadership understands:

historical findings;

commitments;

ongoing obligations;

complaints;

and outstanding questions.

Institutional memory should not depend upon individual staff.

15.30 Staff Turnover

Where staff responsible for reparations work leave, recipients are asked:

Is there a formal handover?

Are correspondence records retained?

Are commitments documented?

Are contacts preserved?

15.31 Leadership Change

Where a new chair, director, bishop, editor, vice-chancellor, minister or executive assumes responsibility, recipients are asked:

Do existing reparative commitments automatically continue?

Must the new leader reaffirm them?

Can they alter them unilaterally?

15.32 Board Change

Recipients are asked whether board turnover can affect reparative policy.

What decisions require board approval?

Can a new board reverse earlier commitments?

What protections exist for already-promised benefits?

15.33 Funder Withdrawal

Where a programme depends on external funding, recipients are asked:

What happens if the funder withdraws?

Does the programme end?

Is replacement funding sought?

Are beneficiaries protected?

Does the institution itself bear residual responsibility?

15.34 Insolvency

Where a responsible institution becomes insolvent, recipients are asked:

Are reparative obligations treated as:

secured;

unsecured;

charitable;

contractual;

or discretionary?

Where do beneficiaries rank?

15.35 Reserve Funding

Recipients are asked whether long-term commitments are backed by reserves.

If a programme is promised for ten or twenty years:

Is funding secured?

Or does each year depend upon future discretionary approval?

15.36 Trust Structures

Where long-term funds are placed in trust, recipients are asked:

Who are the trustees?

What duties apply?

Can the trust purpose be changed?

Who are the beneficiaries?

What happens if the original institution disappears?

15.37 Ring-Fencing

Recipients are asked whether committed reparations funds are ring-fenced.

Can they be diverted to:

general expenditure;

institutional crisis;

other programmes;

or debt?

If diversion is possible, who authorises it?

15.38 Inflation Protection

Long-term commitments may lose value.

Recipients are asked:

Are amounts inflation-linked?

Are they indexed?

Can purchasing power decline substantially before expenditure?

15.39 Investment Risk

Where long-term funds are invested, recipients are asked:

Who determines risk?

What happens if investments lose value?

Does the responsible institution replace losses?

Do beneficiaries bear investment risk?

15.40 Investment Returns

Recipients are asked:

Who owns investment growth?

Is it added to the reparations fund?

Can the institution retain part?

How is growth reported?

15.41 Long-Term Stewardship

Where reparative assets must be managed over decades, recipients are asked:

Who serves as steward?

What fiduciary obligations exist?

How are future beneficiaries protected?

Who monitors the steward?

15.42 Stewardship of Land

Where land is transferred for reparative purposes:

Can it later be sold?

Mortgaged?

Leased?

Developed?

Who must consent?

How is permanent community benefit protected?

15.43 Stewardship of Cultural Assets

Where cultural objects or archives are returned:

Who preserves them?

Who funds conservation?

Who decides access?

Can they later be sold?

Can they leave the community again?

15.44 Stewardship of Intellectual Property

Where reparative projects generate:

research;

films;

books;

archives;

databases;

software;

or educational material,

recipients are asked:

Who owns the intellectual property?

Who receives future income?

Does ownership endure beyond the project?

15.45 Future Commercialisation

Recipients are asked whether reparative assets or outputs can later be commercialised.

If so:

Who receives the proceeds?

Can outside investors acquire rights?

Does commercialisation undermine the original reparative purpose?

15.46 Change of Purpose

Recipients are asked whether a reparations fund, trust, building, archive or programme can later be used for another purpose.

Who authorises such a change?

What threshold applies?

Are beneficiaries consulted?

15.47 Cy-Près or Equivalent Doctrines

Where charitable or trust purposes become impossible or impracticable, recipients are asked what legal mechanism allows adaptation.

Where a replacement purpose is chosen:

How close must it remain to the original reparative objective?

15.48 Mission Drift

Recipients are asked how they detect **mission drift**.

Has a reparations programme gradually become:

general charity;

general diversity work;

development aid;

academic research;

or institutional public relations?

If so, who reviews whether the original reparative purpose remains intact?

15.49 Scope Expansion

Conversely, recipients are asked how new harms or populations are added to an existing reparations programme.

Who authorises expansion?

What evidence is required?

Does expansion dilute resources originally intended for other beneficiaries?

15.50 Scope Reduction

Recipients are asked whether a programme can narrow its remit.

If so:

Why?

Who decides?

What happens to populations previously included?

15.51 Changing Definitions

Definitions of:

reparations;

descendant;

beneficiary;

institutional racism;

or eligible harm

may change over time.

Recipients are asked:

How are definitional changes approved?

Are earlier decisions revisited?

15.52 Changing Eligibility

Where eligibility criteria change, recipients are asked:

Do new criteria apply prospectively only?

Can persons previously rejected reapply?

Can previously approved beneficiaries lose status?

15.53 Changing Representation

Where representative organisations lose membership or legitimacy, recipients are asked:

Can their status be reviewed?

Who determines continued mandate?

Can another organisation replace them?

15.54 Mandate Renewal

Recipients are asked whether representative mandates expire.

If so:

How are they renewed?

Election?

Appointment?

Membership vote?

Government renewal?

Community consultation?

15.55 Long-Term Democratic Legitimacy

A representative body that was legitimate at creation may not remain representative indefinitely.

Recipients are therefore asked:

What mechanism ensures continuing accountability?

15.56 Future Generations and Consent

Recipients are asked whether current representatives can make decisions affecting future generations.

If so:

What safeguards exist?

Can future generations revisit decisions?

Can assets be preserved rather than fully consumed?

15.57 Intergenerational Funds

Where funds are intended for future generations, recipients are asked:

What proportion may be spent now?

What proportion is preserved?

Who decides?

What investment policy applies?

15.58 Permanent Endowments

Recipients are asked whether permanent endowment models are considered.

If so:

Is only investment income spent?

Who manages capital?

Can capital ever be invaded?

15.59 Spend-Down Models

Alternatively, where the objective is to spend the fund completely, recipients are asked:

Over what period?

Why?

What outcome should exist when the fund reaches zero?

15.60 Completion by Expenditure

Recipients are specifically asked whether spending the full budget constitutes completion.

Reparation Nation Limited considers that:

MONEY SPENT IS NOT NECESSARILY THE SAME AS HARM REPAIRED.

Accordingly, financial exhaustion and reparative completion should be distinguished.

15.61 Completion by Delivery

Similarly, delivering all promised programmes may satisfy contractual or administrative obligations.

It does not necessarily establish that the intended harm was repaired.

Recipients are asked how this distinction is handled.

15.62 Completion by Outcome

Where completion depends upon outcome, recipients are asked:

What outcome?

What threshold?

Who measures it?

How long must the outcome persist?

15.63 Completion by Agreement

Where parties agree that obligations are discharged, recipients are asked:

Who are the parties?

What authority do they possess?

What harms does the agreement cover?

Does it affect non-parties?

15.64 Completion by Settlement

A legal settlement may terminate a legal claim.

Recipients are asked whether this also means the moral, historical or institutional reparative obligation is considered discharged.

If so, why?

If not, what remains?

15.65 Completion by Restitution

Where a specific property is returned, recipients are asked whether the return discharges:

only the property claim;

associated economic loss;

cultural harm;

or all related claims.

The scope should be explicit.

15.66 Completion by Apology

Recipients are asked whether apology can ever fully discharge an obligation.

If so:

Which obligation?

Under what conditions?

Who accepts the apology?

15.67 Completion by Institutional Reform

Where the reparative objective is structural change, recipients are asked:

How long must the new system operate successfully before repair is considered complete?

Can reform later be reversed?

What happens if disparity reappears?

15.68 Partial Discharge

Recipients are asked whether reparative obligations can be partially discharged.

For example:

financial loss repaired;

cultural loss unresolved;

historical record corrected;

institutional reform incomplete.

A multidimensional system should be capable of recording partial completion.

15.69 Remaining Liability or Responsibility

Where one element is completed, recipients are asked:

What remains?

Does the responsible institution publish an outstanding-obligations statement?

15.70 Reparative Balance Sheet

For future international use, Reparation Nation Limited proposes consideration of a **Reparative Balance Sheet**.

It could identify:

Identified harm

Responsibility accepted

Remedy promised

Remedy delivered

Outcome achieved

Outstanding obligation

Completion status

Evidence

This would distinguish historic commitments from current liabilities or responsibilities.

15.71 Completion Register

A **Reparations Completion Register** could record:

Institution

Obligation

Date accepted

Implementation period

Completion criterion

Evidence

Independent verification

Beneficiary position

Status

Remaining issues

15.72 Review Register

A corresponding **Review Register** could identify:

Programme

Review date

Reviewer

Scope

Findings

Recommendations

Institutional response

Changes made

Next review

15.73 Succession Register

Where obligations move between institutions, a **Succession Register** could identify:

Original institution

Successor institution

Date

Legal basis

Assets transferred

Records transferred

Obligations transferred

Outstanding questions

This may be particularly important for long-term international work.

15.74 Stewardship Register

Long-term assets could similarly be recorded through:

Asset

Owner

Steward

Beneficiary

Restrictions

Income

Maintenance obligations

Review mechanism

Transfer rules

Current status

15.75 No Automatic Discharge Through Passage of Time

Reparation Nation Limited does not assume that the mere passage of time automatically extinguishes moral, institutional or reparative responsibility.

Nor does it assume that responsibility necessarily continues forever.

The question should instead be:

What type of responsibility exists?

What principle governs duration?

What remedy was required?

Was it completed?

What evidence supports discharge?

15.76 No Automatic Perpetuity

Conversely, reparations should not automatically become permanent simply because no completion test was created.

A programme without an endpoint may create:

institutional dependency;

administrative permanence;

or incentives to perpetuate its own existence.

Recipients are asked whether completion is capable of being objectively considered.

15.77 Institutional Incentive to Continue

Recipients are asked whether institutions administering reparations have financial or organisational incentives for programmes to continue indefinitely.

For example:

employment;

grant income;

institutional prestige;

research opportunities;

or administrative fees.

This is a structural governance question and not an allegation of improper conduct.

15.78 Institutional Incentive to End Early

The opposite incentive may also exist.

A responsible institution may prefer to declare completion quickly.

Recipients are asked what independent safeguards prevent premature closure.

15.79 Beneficiary Incentives

Recipients are asked whether beneficiary structures can also create incentives affecting continuation or closure.

The existence of an incentive does not establish abuse.

It should nevertheless be recognised where relevant.

15.80 Independent Completion Assessment

For major programmes, recipients are invited to consider whether completion should be assessed independently.

Who appoints the assessor?

What evidence is required?

Can beneficiaries participate?

Can the responsible institution challenge findings?

15.81 Public Consultation Before Closure

Recipients are asked whether a significant reparations programme can close without consultation.

Should beneficiaries be informed?

Can they submit objections?

Are unresolved commitments listed?

15.82 Closure Report

Where a programme ends, recipients are asked whether a final report should identify:

original objective;

resources committed;

resources spent;

beneficiaries;

outcomes;

failures;

complaints;

assets remaining;

records transferred;

and unresolved harm.

15.83 Final Audit

Recipients are asked whether closure includes:

financial audit;

governance audit;

outcome evaluation;

and record-preservation review.

15.84 Residual Funds

Where money remains at closure:

Who receives it?

Can it revert to the payer?

Must it remain reparative?

Can beneficiaries decide?

15.85 Residual Assets

Where property or other assets remain:

Who owns them?

Are restrictions permanent?

Can they be transferred?

15.86 Outstanding Complaints at Closure

Recipients are asked what happens to unresolved complaints if a programme ends.

Who continues the investigation?

Who provides any remedy?

15.87 Outstanding Claims at Closure

Similarly:

Can unresolved claims still be submitted?

Is there a final deadline?

How are late-discovered claims treated?

15.88 Record Custody After Closure

Recipients are asked:

Where do records go?

Who can access them?

How long are they retained?

Who answers future historical questions?

15.89 Future Research

Closure of a reparations programme should not necessarily prevent future research.

Recipients are asked whether archives remain available for independent examination.

15.90 Reopening

Recipients are asked whether a concluded reparations process can ever be reopened.

Possible triggers may include:

fraud;

new evidence;

fundamental error;

misrepresentation;

undisclosed conflict;

or previously unknown beneficiaries.

What threshold applies?

15.91 Finality

Finality has value.

Institutions and beneficiaries may require certainty.

Recipients are therefore asked:

What matters need finality?

What matters should remain open?

How is certainty balanced against correction of serious error?

15.92 Discharge of Legal Obligation Versus Wider Responsibility

Recipients are asked to distinguish:

legal discharge;

contractual discharge;

political discharge;

financial discharge;

moral discharge;

historical acknowledgement;

and actual reparative completion.

These may occur at different times.

15.93 Who Can Give Discharge?

A fundamental question is:

WHO POSSESSES AUTHORITY TO SAY THAT THE OBLIGATION HAS BEEN DISCHARGED?

Possible answers may include:

individual claimant;

government;

representative organisation;

court;

trustee;

independent body;

beneficiary community;

or contractual counterparty.

The relevant authority should be identified rather than assumed.

15.94 Can One Generation Bind Another?

Recipients are asked whether a present settlement can extinguish claims of future descendants.

If yes:

What authority permits this?

If no:

What degree of finality is actually possible?

15.95 Can One Government Bind a Future Government?

Recipients are asked to distinguish legal commitments from political promises.

Can a future administration lawfully reverse the agreement?

If so, what protection exists?

15.96 Can One Representative Bind Non-Members?

Where an organisation negotiates an agreement, recipients are asked whether non-members are bound.

If so, what is the source of that authority?

15.97 Can a State Bind Diaspora Populations Abroad?

Where governments negotiate on behalf of historical populations, recipients are asked whether any settlement binds descendants living in other sovereign states.

The basis should be particularised.

15.98 Can an Institution Discharge Itself?

Reparation Nation Limited considers that a significant question arises where the institution responsible for repair also determines that its responsibility has been fully discharged.

Recipients are asked what independent scrutiny exists before such a conclusion is reached.

15.99 Continuing Duty to Preserve the Record

Even where substantive obligations are completed, recipients are asked whether a continuing duty remains to preserve:

historical evidence;

records of decisions;

financial records;

and final evaluations.

Completion of repair should not require destruction of the evidential record.

15.100 Continuing Duty to Correct the Record

Where later evidence shows that a published historical or institutional statement was materially wrong, recipients are asked whether correction remains possible even after the programme has formally closed.

15.101 Continuing Duty of Non-Repetition

Recipients are asked whether guarantees of non-repetition survive formal completion.

If an institution declares reparations complete but later recreates substantially the same discriminatory structures, what effect does that have on the earlier declaration?

15.102 Continuing Safeguards

Recipients are asked whether anti-Black-racism and institutional-racism safeguards introduced as part of reparations remain after the formal reparations programme ends.

If not, why not?

15.103 Questions for the Forthcoming Event

The organisers and participating institutions are respectfully invited to consider:

15.103.1 Is your reparations work time-limited or continuing?

15.103.2 What are the review dates?

15.103.3 Who conducts those reviews?

15.103.4 What constitutes success?

15.103.5 What constitutes completion?

15.103.6 Who determines completion?

15.103.7 Can beneficiaries challenge closure?

15.103.8 What happens if institutional ownership changes?

15.103.9 What happens if leadership changes?

15.103.10 What happens to commitments if funding disappears?

15.103.11 What happens to records when a programme ends?

15.103.12 Can concluded decisions be reopened on new evidence?

15.104 Questions for Each Participating Institution

Each participating institution is respectfully asked to identify:

15.104.1 the duration of its reparative commitments;

15.104.2 the governing review cycle;

15.104.3 the body responsible for review;

15.104.4 the completion criteria;

15.104.5 the body authorised to declare completion;

15.104.6 succession arrangements;

15.104.7 long-term funding arrangements;

15.104.8 stewardship arrangements;

15.104.9 closure procedures;

15.104.10 archival arrangements;

15.104.11 reopening procedures;

and

15.104.12 any obligation intended to survive formal programme completion.

15.105 No Presumption That Obligations Must Continue Forever

The questions in this section do not presume that reparations obligations are perpetual.

A finite obligation may be entirely appropriate where:

the harm is identified;

the remedy is defined;

implementation occurs;

the outcome is verified;

and the obligation is properly discharged.

The purpose is to identify that pathway.

15.106 No Presumption That Payment Ends Responsibility

Conversely, a financial payment should not automatically be treated as extinguishing every possible reparative responsibility.

The relevant question is:

What was the payment intended to settle or repair?

15.107 No Presumption That Programme Closure Equals Repair

Administrative closure may mean only that a project has ended.

It should be distinguished from an evidential conclusion that the underlying harm has been repaired.

15.108 Core Future Obligation and Completion Test

Thursday, 10 September 2026 10/09/2026 10:44:33

For future international reference, Reparation Nation Limited proposes the following sequence:

WHAT OBLIGATION WAS ACCEPTED?

↓

WHAT HARM WAS IT INTENDED TO REPAIR?

↓

HOW LONG WAS THE OBLIGATION INTENDED TO LAST?

↓

WHO IS RESPONSIBLE FOR PERFORMANCE?

↓

WHAT HAPPENS IF THAT INSTITUTION CHANGES OR DISAPPEARS?

↓

WHO INHERITS THE OBLIGATION?

↓

WHAT REVIEW OCCURS?

↓

WHAT EVIDENCE DEMONSTRATES PROGRESS?

↓

WHAT CRITERIA DEFINE COMPLETION?

↓

WHO INDEPENDENTLY VERIFIES COMPLETION?

↓

WHO HAS AUTHORITY TO ACCEPT DISCHARGE?

↓

WHAT OBLIGATIONS SURVIVE COMPLETION?

↓

WHAT RECORD REMAINS FOR FUTURE GENERATIONS?

15.109 International Reference Principle

For future worldwide discussion, Reparation Nation Limited proposes the following principle:

REPARATIVE RESPONSIBILITY SHOULD NEITHER BE ASSUMED TO CONTINUE FOREVER NOR BE TREATED AS DISCHARGED MERELY BECAUSE TIME HAS PASSED, MONEY HAS BEEN SPENT OR A PROGRAMME HAS CLOSED. THE DURATION AND DISCHARGE OF ANY OBLIGATION SHOULD BE CONNECTED TO THE IDENTIFIED HARM, THE AGREED REMEDY, THE EVIDENCE OF IMPLEMENTATION, THE ACTUAL OUTCOME, THE AUTHORITY OF THOSE ACCEPTING COMPLETION AND THE CONTINUING NEED FOR NON-REPETITION AND RECORD PRESERVATION.

15.110 Concluding Position

The central future-obligation questions are therefore:

What obligation exists?

When did it begin?

How long should it continue?

Who performs it?

Who inherits it if institutions change?

How is it funded over time?

Who protects the assets?

Who reviews progress?

What happens when circumstances change?

What happens if the programme fails?

What constitutes partial discharge?

What constitutes final discharge?

Who possesses authority to accept that discharge?

Can future generations be bound?

Can concluded matters be reopened on serious new evidence?

What duties survive closure?

And what documentary record will allow future generations to determine whether the obligation was genuinely fulfilled?

These questions lead directly to the next necessary examination: **the event itself as a test of process — advance circulation of questions, agenda-setting, participation, moderation, recording, post-event responses and how the forthcoming "Part 2: Reckoning and Repair" discussion can create a durable evidential starting point rather than a one-hour conversation that disappears when the event ends**.

SECTION 16

THE FORTHCOMING EVENT AS A TEST OF PROCESS: ADVANCE QUESTIONS, AGENDA-SETTING, MODERATION, PARTICIPATION, RECORDING, POST-EVENT RESPONSES AND THE CREATION OF A DURABLE EVIDENTIAL STARTING POINT

16.1 Purpose of This Section

The forthcoming event, **Part 2: Reckoning and Repair**, is not only an opportunity to discuss reparations.

It is also an opportunity to demonstrate, in practice, whether the principles examined throughout this document can be applied to the conduct of a public reparations discussion itself.

The event notification identifies the session as **Part 2: Reckoning and Repair**, scheduled for **Thursday, 21 January 2027, from 16:00 to 17:00 United Kingdom Time**.

The same notification identifies the event as being from **The Wilberforce Institute**.

Accordingly, Reparation Nation Limited considers that the event itself can provide a practical test of:

transparency;

advance notice;

institutional preparedness;

agenda-setting;

representation;

moderation;

documentary accountability;

and the treatment of unanswered questions.

The central question is:

CAN A ONE-HOUR PUBLIC DISCUSSION BE USED AS THE BEGINNING OF A DURABLE EVIDENTIAL PROCESS RATHER THAN AS AN END IN ITSELF?

16.2 The Event Should Not Be Treated as the Entire Process

The event lasts approximately one hour.

It would therefore be unrealistic to expect every issue in this document to be explored fully during the live session.

The purpose of providing questions in advance is to allow:

preparation;

identification of existing documents;

prior consideration by institutions;

selection of suitable live questions;

and preservation of more detailed matters for written response.

The event should therefore be capable of operating within a wider process:

ADVANCE QUESTIONS

↓

INSTITUTIONAL PREPARATION

↓

LIVE DISCUSSION

↓

UNANSWERED QUESTIONS IDENTIFIED

↓

DOCUMENTARY RESPONSES

↓

FOLLOW-UP

↓

DURABLE RECORD

16.3 Advance Circulation

Reparation Nation Limited respectfully requests that this document be circulated, so far as practicable, to:

the organiser;

the moderator;

the participating institutions;

the individual participants;

and any institutional representatives responsible for reparations policy, research or governance.

Recipients are asked to confirm whether circulation occurred.

16.4 Sufficient Time for Consideration

Advance circulation should occur sufficiently early to permit meaningful review.

Recipients are asked:

When did each participant receive the document?

Was adequate time available?

Were participants able to consult their institution?

Were legal, historical, financial or governance teams able to assist where required?

A complex question answered without preparation may produce unnecessary ambiguity.

16.5 Acknowledgement of Receipt

Reparation Nation Limited requests written acknowledgement that the document has been received.

The acknowledgement need not constitute agreement with any question or proposition.

It should simply confirm:

date received;

recipient;

and whether the material has been forwarded to relevant participants.

16.6 Identification of Correct Institutional Recipients

Where a question has been sent to the wrong department or legal entity, recipients are respectfully asked to identify the appropriate body.

This is particularly important where a public institutional name covers several legally distinct entities.

A correction of recipient is useful information.

16.7 Advance Documentary Material

Before the event, participating institutions are invited to provide links or references to existing material answering substantial parts of the questions.

This may include:

historical reports;

governance documents;

annual reports;

reparations policies;

programme descriptions;

financial commitments;

evaluation reports;

equality policies;

racial safeguards;

or published research.

There is no need to rewrite information already properly documented.

16.8 Event Agenda

The organiser is respectfully asked to identify:

Who sets the final agenda?

When is it finalised?

Can advance submissions influence it?

Can participants propose topics?

Can audience questions influence sequencing?

Can material issues raised in advance be excluded?

If so, by whom and on what basis?

16.9 Agenda Transparency

Where practicable, Reparation Nation Limited requests publication of the event agenda in advance.

The agenda could identify broad themes such as:

definitions;

historical responsibility;

institutional benefit;

governance;

financial reparations;

non-financial repair;

representation;

racial safeguards;

and evidence of outcomes.

16.10 Agenda-Setting Power

The question of who controls the agenda is itself relevant.

A public discussion may appear open while major areas are effectively excluded by:

topic selection;

time allocation;

moderation;

or question filtering.

Reparation Nation Limited therefore asks that agenda-setting power be visible.

16.11 Priority Questions

It may not be possible to ask every question.

The organiser and participants are therefore invited to identify which questions they consider:

most important;

most answerable;

most directly connected to their own institutional work;

or most appropriate for live discussion.

That prioritisation may itself provide useful evidence of institutional focus.

16.12 Questions That Require Written Answers

Some questions may require:

financial data;

legal interpretation;

historical archives;

governance records;

or internal verification.

Participants should be free to say:

“This requires a written response.”

Such a response is preferable to speculation.

16.13 Questions Outside a Participant’s Authority

Participants should also be free to state:

“I am not authorised to answer that question on behalf of the institution.”

Where possible, the correct person or body should then be identified.

This protects both the speaker and the institutional record.

16.14 Personal and Institutional Answers

The moderator should, where relevant, distinguish between:

a personal view

and

an institutional position.

A participant may possess expertise without authority to bind their institution.

A future reader of the event record should be able to tell the difference.

16.15 Moderator

The organiser is asked to identify:

Who will moderate?

Who selected the moderator?

What is the moderator's role?

Does the moderator have discretion to reject questions?

Does the moderator control time allocation?

Can the moderator request clarification from speakers?

Can the moderator distinguish answered from unanswered questions?

16.16 Moderator Independence

Where the moderator has a relationship with:

the organiser;

a participating institution;

a funder;

or a reparations programme,

that relationship may appropriately be disclosed.

This does not imply a conflict.

It allows the audience to understand the institutional context.

16.17 Moderation Standards

Reparation Nation Limited invites consideration of basic moderation principles:

questions should be represented accurately;

speakers should be given reasonable opportunity to answer;

participants should not be misquoted;

disagreement should be permitted;

and time constraints should be distinguished from refusal to answer.

16.18 Question Reframing

Where the moderator shortens or reframes a submitted question, the substantive meaning should be preserved.

If a materially different question is asked, the record should not suggest that the original question was answered.

16.19 Combining Questions

Several questions may properly be combined where they concern the same subject.

However, combining should not remove important distinctions such as:

historical responsibility versus legal liability;

representation versus participation;

expenditure versus repair;

or general equality policy versus specific anti-Black-racism safeguards.

16.20 Question Selection Criteria

The organiser is asked whether question selection is based upon:

relevance;

time;

duplication;

speaker expertise;

audience interest;

or another criterion.

Where possible, the criteria should be stated.

16.21 No Requirement to Accept Every Question

Reparation Nation Limited does not suggest that every submitted question must be asked during the live event.

The request is instead that questions not selected for live discussion should remain part of the documentary record where appropriate.

16.22 Excluded Questions

Where a material question is excluded, it would be useful to distinguish:

excluded because of time;

outside scope;

duplicate;

requires written answer;

or declined.

These categories should not be conflated.

16.23 Unanswered Live Questions

A question may be asked but not substantively answered.

The event record should therefore distinguish:

question asked;

answer given;

partial answer;

no answer;

referred for follow-up.

16.24 Audience Participation

The organiser is asked:

How can audience members submit questions?

Before the event?

During the event?

In writing?

Through an online platform?

Can remote participants submit questions?

Is registration required?

16.25 Equality of Access to Questions

Where question opportunities are limited, recipients are asked how fair access is maintained.

Does institutional status affect whose questions are selected?

Can independent individuals ask questions?

Can grassroots organisations participate?

Can people without academic or professional status contribute?

16.26 Black Community Participation

Given the subject matter, the organiser is respectfully asked how Black and descendant communities are included within the event.

Questions include:

Who was consulted?

Who is participating?

Who can ask questions?

Who possesses decision-making power over the agenda?

The presence of individual Black participants should not be assumed automatically to establish wider community representation.

16.27 Diaspora Participation

Where the event concerns reparations with international implications, recipients are asked whether diaspora participation is possible.

Can persons outside the United Kingdom participate remotely?

Can written questions be submitted internationally?

Can responses be accessed afterward?

16.28 Participant Mandate

Each participant is respectfully invited to identify whether they are speaking:

for themselves;

for their professional role;

for their institution;

for a research centre;

for a descendant organisation;

or for another constituency.

Where representation is claimed, the source of mandate should be identifiable.

16.29 Institutional Preparation

Participants speaking institutionally should, where practicable, have access before the event to relevant:

policies;

research;

financial information;

governance documentation;

and institutional positions.

This may reduce reliance upon memory or generalised answers.

16.30 "I Do Not Know" as a Legitimate Answer

A participant should be free to say:

"I do not know."

This is an evidentially responsible answer where the information is not known.

It is preferable to filling a gap with assumption.

16.31 "I Need to Check" as a Legitimate Answer

Similarly:

"I need to verify that before answering."

should be treated as a legitimate response.

Where possible, the matter can then be placed on the follow-up list.

16.32 “No Policy Exists”

Where a question reveals that no formal institutional policy exists, that fact should be capable of being stated plainly.

The absence of policy is itself relevant information.

16.33 Event Recording

The organiser is respectfully asked whether the session will be:

audio recorded;

video recorded;

or otherwise preserved.

If recorded:

Who owns the recording?

Where will it be available?

For how long?

Can it be cited?

16.34 Transcript

Reparation Nation Limited requests consideration of a transcript or equivalent written record.

A transcript could provide:

accurate wording;

institutional accountability;

future research material;

and protection against later disagreement about what was said.

16.35 Transcript Accuracy

Where a transcript is produced, participants should be permitted to identify obvious transcription errors.

However, substantive statements should not subsequently be rewritten merely to improve the institutional position.

Corrections and later clarifications should be distinguishable from the original statement.

16.36 Edited Video

Where an edited recording is published, recipients are asked whether the complete recording will also be preserved.

Editing may be necessary for presentation.

It should not inadvertently remove context from substantive institutional answers.

16.37 Event Summary

If no transcript is available, the organiser is asked whether a written summary will be produced.

The summary should distinguish:

questions raised;

positions expressed;

commitments;

disagreements;

and matters left unresolved.

16.38 Speaker Materials

Where speakers use:

slides;

reports;

statistics;

charts;

or documentary references,

recipients are asked whether those materials can be made accessible after the event.

16.39 Citations

Where participants make significant historical or quantitative claims, they are invited to identify supporting sources where practicable.

The purpose is not to interrupt discussion with excessive citation.

It is to permit later verification.

16.40 Institutional Claims

Where a participant says:

“our institution found…”;

“our programme achieved…”;

“we have committed…”;

or similar,

the supporting institutional record should, where available, be identifiable afterward.

16.41 Factual Disagreement During the Event

Where participants disagree about a factual matter, the disagreement should be preserved rather than artificially resolved during a short discussion.

A useful follow-up category may be:

FACTUAL DISPUTE — DOCUMENTARY VERIFICATION REQUIRED

16.42 Legal Disagreement

Where participants disagree about law, the event should distinguish legal interpretation from established fact.

Where appropriate, relevant legal authorities can be identified in the written follow-up.

16.43 Historical Disagreement

Historical interpretation may legitimately differ.

The record should distinguish:

undisputed primary evidence;

institutional findings;

academic interpretation;

and contested conclusions.

16.44 Disagreement About Reparations Policy

Reparation Nation Limited does not consider disagreement inherently problematic.

A useful public discussion may reveal genuine differences concerning:

who should pay;

who should receive;

what form repair should take;

how much is sufficient;

and who has authority.

Such differences should be exposed clearly rather than concealed under broad agreement with the word “reparations.”

16.45 Follow-Up Record

Following the event, Reparation Nation Limited proposes that outstanding questions be recorded.

A simple table could identify:

Question

Institution

Answered live

Partially answered

Written response promised

Document referred to

Outstanding

Follow-up date

16.46 Written Responses After the Event

Participating institutions are respectfully invited to provide written responses after the event where necessary.

The response need not reproduce existing published material.

Specific references are sufficient.

16.47 Reasonable Response Period

Where a written response is promised, recipients are asked to provide either:

the response;

or

a reasonable estimated timescale.

No adverse conclusion should automatically arise merely because a complex answer requires time.

16.48 Continuing Correspondence

Where written responses raise further factual questions, subsequent correspondence may be necessary.

This should be regarded as development of the evidential record rather than repetition of the original event.

16.49 Correction After the Event

Participating institutions should be able to correct:

incorrect factual statements;

misidentified legal entities;

incorrect figures;

or inaccurate documentary references.

The original record should nevertheless remain preserved.

16.50 Clarification After the Event

A clarification should be distinguished from a correction.

For example:

the original statement may have been accurate but incomplete;

or ambiguous;

or limited to the speaker's knowledge.

The subsequent clarification should be linked to the original statement.

16.51 Retraction

Where a participant determines that a material statement was wrong and should not be relied upon, recipients are asked whether a formal retraction can be issued.

The retraction should identify the statement being withdrawn.

16.52 Commitments Made During the Event

Where a participant says:

“I will provide that document”;

“we will investigate”;

“we will respond”;

or

“we will review that matter,”

the commitment should be capable of being recorded.

16.53 Commitment Register

A post-event commitment register could record:

Commitment

Person or institution

Date

Expected action

Expected date

Status

Evidence of completion

This protects against commitments disappearing into the memory of the event.

16.54 No Assumption That a Statement Is a Commitment

Care should be taken to distinguish:

an intention;

a possibility;

an aspiration;

a recommendation;

and a formal commitment.

Only the actual wording should determine classification.

16.55 Questions Not Reached Due to Time

Questions not reached because the event ends should be recorded as:

NOT REACHED — TIME LIMIT

They should not be recorded as refused or answered.

16.56 Questions Declined

Where an institution expressly declines to answer, the record should state:

DECLINED

together with any reason given.

No further inference should automatically be drawn.

16.57 Questions Outside Institutional Competence

Where an institution states that another entity is responsible, the record should identify:

REFERRED TO [ENTITY]

where the entity is known.

16.58 Questions Requiring Research

Where an answer requires further investigation:

FURTHER RESEARCH REQUIRED

may be an appropriate status.

This may itself identify gaps in institutional knowledge.

16.59 Event Record as Evidence

The event record may later provide evidence of:

institutional positions;

definitions;

commitments;

uncertainties;

disagreements;

and unanswered questions.

It should therefore be preserved with reasonable care.

16.60 Event Record Is Not Necessarily Final Institutional Policy

At the same time, statements made in discussion should not automatically be treated as final formal institutional policy unless the speaker had authority to state that policy.

The distinction must remain visible.

16.61 Public Accessibility After the Event

The organiser is asked whether:

the recording;

transcript;

summary;

speaker materials;

and follow-up documents

will remain publicly accessible after the event.

16.62 Duration of Access

Recipients are asked whether event materials will remain available permanently or only temporarily.

Where temporary hosting is used, long-term preservation should be considered.

16.63 Archiving

Important event materials could potentially be deposited in:

an institutional archive;

university repository;

public library;

or another suitable long-term repository.

The purpose is continuity.

16.64 Searchability

Where substantial records are created, recipients are asked whether they can be searchable by:

institution;

speaker;

topic;

question;

date;

and document.

This may greatly improve future research.

16.65 Event Reference Number

For durable reference, Reparation Nation Limited considers that the event and subsequent correspondence should have a stable identifying reference.

This would allow:

questions;

responses;

documents;

and follow-up

to remain connected.

16.66 Question Numbering

The numbered structure of this document is deliberate.

Recipients can answer by reference to specific question numbers without reproducing the entire document.

For example:

Response to Question 9.23

Response to Question 12.95.4

Response to Question 16.45

This facilitates precise future reference.

16.67 Partial Responses

Recipients need not wait until every question is answerable before responding.

Partial responses can be provided by section.

This may reduce unnecessary delay.

16.68 Institutional Response Schedule

For substantial responses, institutions may find it useful to provide:

Question number

Response

Supporting document

Responsible department

Status

Further action

This could form part of the future international reference framework.

16.69 Cross-Institutional Answers

Where several institutions share responsibility for an issue, a joint answer may be appropriate.

However, the answer should identify:

which institution accepts which part;

who authorised the joint response;

and whether any institution dissents.

16.70 Conflicting Institutional Answers

Where organisations provide materially different answers to the same factual question, the difference should be preserved.

The next step should be evidential examination, not automatic selection of one account.

16.71 Absence of Consensus

The absence of consensus may itself be important.

A public event does not have to manufacture agreement.

It may be more useful to establish precisely where disagreement remains.

16.72 Questions From Reparation Nation Limited

The questions supplied by Reparation Nation Limited are intended to:

assist preparation;

encourage documentary answers;

identify gaps;

and establish a continuing record.

They are not submitted on the basis that the event must adopt Reparation Nation Limited's interpretation.

16.73 No Allegation From Asking Difficult Questions

For avoidance of doubt, a difficult or detailed question does not amount to an allegation.

It remains a request for:

information;

evidence;

definition;

authority;

or explanation.

The answer should determine what can properly be concluded.

16.74 Event Conduct and Anti-Black Racism Safeguards

The organiser is respectfully asked what safeguards exist to prevent anti-Black racism from affecting:

speaker selection;

question selection;

moderation;

audience participation;

or treatment of contributors.

This question does not presume that such racism is present.

It asks what safeguards exist.

16.75 Event Conduct and Institutional Racism

Recipients are similarly asked whether event design has been examined for systemic barriers.

For example:

Are only established institutions invited?

Are grassroots organisations structurally disadvantaged?

Does academic status determine authority?

Are community participants given comparable speaking opportunities?

These are questions of process.

16.76 Behaviour and Civility

Public discussion should permit serious disagreement without personal abuse.

Reparation Nation Limited considers that participants should be able to challenge:

evidence;

methodology;

authority;

governance;

or policy

without being treated as personally hostile merely because the questions are difficult.

16.77 Evidential Challenge Is Not Personal Attack

A request such as:

“Where is the evidence?”

or

“Who authorised that?”

or

“What safeguard exists?”

should be understood as an institutional question.

This is especially important in a subject involving significant historical, political and moral disagreement.

16.78 Answering the Question Asked

Where possible, participants should answer the specific question before expanding into wider commentary.

This reduces ambiguity.

Where the answer is:

yes;

no;

unknown;

not applicable;

or no formal policy exists,

that answer can be stated first.

16.79 Distinguishing Fact From Advocacy

Participants are invited to distinguish:

historical fact;

institutional finding;

policy;

personal opinion;

and desired future outcome.

This will improve the evidential value of the event.

16.80 Distinguishing Existing Policy From Proposed Policy

Where a participant says an institution **should** do something, this should be distinguished from saying the institution **does** do it.

A proposal is not evidence of existing policy.

16.81 Distinguishing Commitment From Recommendation

Similarly:

“we recommend”

is different from

“we have formally committed.”

The record should preserve that distinction.

16.82 Distinguishing Money Announced From Money Spent

Where financial figures arise, participants are invited to state whether they represent:

announcement;

commitment;

allocation;

transfer;

expenditure;

or final beneficiary receipt.

This is critical to accurate public understanding.

16.83 Distinguishing Representation From Participation

Where an individual or organisation is described as representing a population, the basis should be identified.

Participation in the event alone should not be treated as proof of representative mandate.

16.84 Distinguishing Research From Institutional Acceptance

Research commissioned by an institution does not necessarily mean every conclusion has been formally adopted by the institution.

Participants are asked to distinguish those positions.

16.85 Distinguishing Apology From Liability

Where apology is discussed, participants are invited to clarify whether it constitutes:

moral acknowledgement;

institutional responsibility;

legal admission;

or another category.

This prevents later overstatement.

16.86 Distinguishing Repair From Activity

The event should repeatedly preserve the core distinction:

WHAT WAS DONE?

is not the same question as:

WHAT WAS REPAIRED?

16.87 Post-Event Institutional Self-Review

Participating institutions may wish to review the event internally.

Questions might include:

What did we answer?

What could we not answer?

What documents were missing?

What policy gaps were exposed?

What needs correction?

What requires further research?

This could make the event practically useful beyond public discussion.

16.88 Post-Event Public Review

The organiser could also consider a brief public follow-up identifying:

major themes;

areas of agreement;

areas of disagreement;

documents promised;

and outstanding questions.

16.89 Follow-Up Event

If substantial matters remain unresolved, a future session could address them.

A second or subsequent event should build upon the documentary record rather than restart the discussion from the beginning.

16.90 Subject-Specific Future Sessions

Future discussion could be divided by subject, for example:

financial reparations;

institutional responsibility;

representation;

CARICOM and international governance;

anti-Black racism safeguards;

or evidence of outcomes.

This may permit deeper examination than a single general panel.

16.91 Institutional Written Forum

An alternative or complementary mechanism could be a written institutional forum in which participating organisations answer the same numbered questions.

This would permit direct comparison.

16.92 International Expansion

Because this document is intended for wider international reference, the event may provide the first practical test of a framework that could later be used with:

governments;

regional bodies;

universities;

churches;

companies;

financial institutions;

descendant organisations;

and international reparations authorities.

16.93 Lessons From the Event

After the event, Reparation Nation Limited intends that the framework itself should remain open to improvement.

Questions include:

Which questions were useful?

Which were unclear?

Which duplicated others?

Which important matters were missing?

Which institutions could answer readily?

Which areas lacked documentary infrastructure?

The framework should evolve on evidence.

16.94 Corrections to the Framework

Recipients are therefore expressly invited to identify:

errors;

ambiguities;

missing distinctions;

or better questions.

A durable international reference document should improve through challenge rather than resist it.

16.95 Record of Amendments

Where the framework is amended materially, future versions should identify:

date;

section changed;

reason;

and source of correction or improvement.

16.96 The Event as Baseline

The forthcoming session may therefore serve as a baseline.

It can establish:

what participating institutions understood in January 2027;

what policies existed;

what safeguards existed;

what evidence was available;

what commitments were made;

and what questions remained unanswered.

Future developments can then be compared with that baseline.

16.97 Future Comparison

At a later date, it should be possible to ask:

What changed after the event?

Were documents provided?

Were policies created?

Were safeguards improved?

Were commitments implemented?

Were unanswered questions answered?

That is how a public discussion can become part of institutional accountability.

16.98 Core Event Process Test

For future international reference, Reparation Nation Limited proposes the following sequence:

WERE THE QUESTIONS PROVIDED IN ADVANCE?

↓

DID THE RELEVANT INSTITUTIONS RECEIVE THEM?

↓

DID THEY HAVE TIME TO PREPARE?

↓

WERE EXISTING DOCUMENTS IDENTIFIED?

↓

WHO SET THE AGENDA?

↓

HOW WERE QUESTIONS SELECTED?

↓

WHO WAS PERMITTED TO PARTICIPATE?

↓

WERE SPEAKERS' MANDATES CLEAR?

↓

WERE QUESTIONS ANSWERED DIRECTLY?

↓

WERE UNANSWERED QUESTIONS RECORDED?

↓

WAS THE EVENT PRESERVED?

↓

WERE WRITTEN RESPONSES PROVIDED AFTERWARD?

↓

WERE COMMITMENTS TRACKED?

↓

CAN FUTURE PARTICIPANTS DETERMINE WHAT CHANGED AS A RESULT?

16.99 International Reference Principle

For future worldwide discussion, Reparation Nation Limited proposes the following principle:

A PUBLIC REPARATIONS EVENT SHOULD NOT BE MEASURED SOLELY BY THE QUALITY OF THE CONVERSATION DURING THE TIME ALLOCATED. ITS LONGER-TERM VALUE MAY DEPEND UPON WHETHER QUESTIONS WERE PREPARED, ANSWERS WERE EVIDENCED, DISAGREEMENTS WERE RECORDED, DOCUMENTS WERE IDENTIFIED, COMMITMENTS WERE PRESERVED AND UNRESOLVED MATTERS REMAINED CAPABLE OF FOLLOW-UP.

16.100 Concluding Position

The central event-process questions are therefore:

Who received the questions?

When?

Who prepared the answers?

Who set the agenda?

Who selected the speakers?

What authority did they possess?

Who selected the questions?

What questions were not selected?

Which questions were answered?

Which were partially answered?

Which required written follow-up?

What documents were identified?

What commitments were made?

Was the event recorded?

Will the record remain publicly accessible?

What happened afterward?

And will the event leave behind a body of evidence that can be examined long after the one-hour discussion has ended?

These questions lead directly to the next necessary examination: **a consolidated institutional response protocol — how recipients should answer this document, how responses should be structured, how documentary references should be provided, how unanswered matters should be recorded and how a comparable international response matrix can be created.**

SECTION 17

CONSOLIDATED INSTITUTIONAL RESPONSE PROTOCOL, DOCUMENTARY REFERENCING, RESPONSE MATRICES, STATUS CATEGORIES AND A COMPARABLE INTERNATIONAL METHOD FOR ANSWERING THIS DOCUMENT

17.1 Purpose of This Section

This document contains a large number of questions.

It is not intended that every recipient must reproduce the entire document in order to respond.

Reparation Nation Limited therefore proposes a structured response protocol so that:

answers can be matched precisely to questions;

documents can be identified efficiently;

different institutions can respond in comparable form;

unanswered matters remain visible;

and future researchers can distinguish between:

answers;

documents;

referrals;

non-applicable matters;

and unresolved questions.

The central question is:

HOW SHOULD INSTITUTIONS RESPOND SO THAT THEIR ANSWERS CAN BE VERIFIED, COMPARED, PRESERVED AND USED IN FUTURE INTERNATIONAL DISCUSSION?

17.2 Numbered Questions Should Remain the Primary Reference System

Recipients are invited to answer by reference to the existing section and question numbers.

For example:

Question 5.23 — Response

Question 8.61 — Response

Question 13.88.4 — Response

This avoids ambiguity as to which question is being answered.

17.3 No Need to Reproduce the Entire Question

Where the question number is clear, recipients need not reproduce the full wording.

A response may simply state:

Response to Question 7.34

followed by the answer.

This reduces unnecessary duplication.

17.4 One Response May Answer Several Questions

Where one document or explanation answers several related questions, recipients may state:

This response addresses Questions 4.18–4.23.

The scope should nevertheless be clear.

17.5 One Question May Require Several Responses

Where a question involves several legal entities, departments or jurisdictions, recipients may provide separate answers.

For example:

Institution A — Response

Institution B — Response

Department C — Response

This is preferable to combining distinct institutional positions.

17.6 Institutional Identity Should Be Clear

Every substantive response should identify:

full institutional name;

legal entity where relevant;

department or unit;

person responding;

capacity in which they respond;

date;

and contact details where appropriate.

This allows the evidential status of the response to be understood.

17.7 Personal Versus Institutional Capacity

Recipients are asked to state whether the response is:

personal;

academic;

professional;

administrative;

or formal institutional.

This distinction should not be left uncertain.

17.8 Authority to Respond

Where a response is stated to represent the institution, recipients are asked, where appropriate, to identify:

the office;

committee;

board;

department;

or other authority

under which the response is given.

17.9 Response Date

Every response should be dated.

This is important because institutional positions, policies and evidence may change over time.

The date establishes the relevant temporal baseline.

17.10 Version Number

For substantial or updated responses, recipients are invited to use version numbers.

For example:

Version 1.0 — 12 December 2026

Version 1.1 — 4 January 2027

Version 2.0 — 20 February 2027

This allows corrections and updates to be traced.

17.11 Response Status Categories

Reparation Nation Limited proposes the following standard status categories:

ANSWERED

PARTIALLY ANSWERED

DOCUMENT PROVIDED

DOCUMENT REFERENCED

REFERRED TO ANOTHER BODY

NOT APPLICABLE

NO INFORMATION HELD

NO POLICY EXISTS

FURTHER RESEARCH REQUIRED

RESPONSE DEFERRED

DECLINED

UNANSWERED

These categories are intended to improve clarity, not to imply criticism.

17.12 Meaning of "Answered"

A question should be marked **ANSWERED** where the response addresses the substance of the question sufficiently for the institutional position to be understood.

17.13 Meaning of "Partially Answered"

A question should be marked **PARTIALLY ANSWERED** where:

some elements are answered;

some remain outstanding;

or the available information is incomplete.

The outstanding part should be identified.

17.14 Meaning of "Document Provided"

Use **DOCUMENT PROVIDED** where the response includes or encloses the relevant material.

The document should be identified by:

title;

date;

author;

and, where appropriate, page or section.

17.15 Meaning of "Document Referenced"

Use **DOCUMENT REFERENCED** where the answer already exists in a publicly accessible document.

Recipients are invited to provide:

title;

date;

URL or repository location;

page;

section;

or paragraph where practical.

17.16 Meaning of "Referred to Another Body"

Use **REFERRED TO ANOTHER BODY** where the recipient is not responsible but can identify the proper institution.

The response should include:

name of body;

department if known;

and reason for referral.

17.17 Meaning of "Not Applicable"

Use **NOT APPLICABLE** where the question genuinely does not apply.

Where useful, a short explanation should be provided.

17.18 Meaning of "No Information Held"

Use **NO INFORMATION HELD** where the institution does not possess the requested information.

This should not be replaced with speculation.

17.19 Meaning of "No Policy Exists"

Use **NO POLICY EXISTS** where no specific policy presently exists on the matter asked.

This may itself be important information.

17.20 Meaning of "Further Research Required"

Use **FURTHER RESEARCH REQUIRED** where an answer cannot responsibly be given without additional investigation.

Where possible, recipients are asked to identify:

what research is required;

who will undertake it;

and whether a likely timescale exists.

17.21 Meaning of "Response Deferred"

Use **RESPONSE DEFERRED** where the institution intends to answer later but cannot yet do so.

The reason and expected date should, where possible, be given.

17.22 Meaning of "Declined"

Use **DECLINED** where the institution has considered the question and chooses not to answer.

Where possible, the reason should be stated.

17.23 Meaning of "Unanswered"

Use **UNANSWERED** where no substantive response has been provided and no other status accurately describes the position.

17.24 Response Matrix

For future international use, Reparation Nation Limited proposes the following basic matrix:

Question Number	Institution Status Response	Supporting Document	Responsible Department	Further Action	Date

This can be adapted to different institutions and jurisdictions.

17.25 Documentary Reference Format

Where a document is relied upon, recipients are invited to identify it in a consistent form:

Document title

Author or institution

Date

Version

Page or section

Public access location

Relevant question numbers

This allows documents to be located without unnecessary correspondence.

17.26 Direct Links

Where public online material exists, a direct link is preferable to a general institutional homepage.

If a document later moves, a title and date should still allow it to be located.

17.27 Page References

For lengthy reports, page references are requested where practicable.

A response such as:

“See pages 47–53 of the 2025 Institutional Review”

is substantially more useful than:

“See our website.”

17.28 Section and Paragraph References

Where documents use numbered sections or paragraphs, those references may be even more precise than page numbers.

17.29 Multiple Supporting Documents

Where several documents support an answer, recipients may list them separately.

The response should indicate what each document establishes.

17.30 Primary and Secondary Sources

Recipients are asked, where possible, to distinguish:

primary evidence;

secondary research;

institutional interpretation;

and public communication.

This allows evidential weight to be assessed properly.

17.31 Evidence Not Publicly Available

Where a response relies upon material that cannot be publicly disclosed, recipients are asked to identify:

the category of document;

the reason for restriction;

and whether any summary or redacted version can be provided.

17.32 Confidential Material

Where confidentiality applies, recipients need not disclose material contrary to lawful obligations.

However, where possible, the existence and general nature of the material may be identified.

17.33 Legal Privilege

Legally privileged material need not be disclosed.

Recipients are nevertheless invited to distinguish:

privileged legal advice

from

non-privileged underlying facts or decisions.

17.34 Personal Data

Where personal information prevents full disclosure, recipients are asked whether:

redaction;

anonymisation;

aggregation;

or summary

would permit a useful response.

17.35 Material That Does Not Exist

Recipients should not create the appearance that a formal policy, study or safeguard exists where none does.

A clear statement that the material does not exist is preferable.

17.36 Material Under Development

Where a policy or document is being developed, recipients may state:

“A formal policy is presently under development.”

Where possible:

expected completion date;

responsible body;

and consultation process

may be identified.

17.37 Draft Policies

Draft status should be stated clearly.

A draft should not be presented as operative policy.

17.38 Expired Policies

Where a policy has expired, recipients are asked to identify:

date of expiry;

replacement policy if any;

and whether the earlier policy remains relevant to historical decisions.

17.39 Historical Policies

Where questions concern earlier periods, recipients are invited to provide the policy in force at that time rather than only the current policy.

17.40 Policy Changes

Where the policy changed materially, the response should identify:

former position;

new position;

date of change;

and reason where recorded.

17.41 Corrections to Previous Responses

Where an institution later identifies an error, it should be able to issue:

CORRECTION TO RESPONSE [QUESTION NUMBER]

The correction should identify:

original wording;

corrected wording;

reason;

date;

and supporting evidence.

17.42 Supplemental Responses

Where new information becomes available without invalidating the original answer, recipients may issue:

SUPPLEMENTAL RESPONSE

This preserves the distinction between correction and addition.

17.43 Withdrawal of Response

Where an institution no longer stands by a previous response, it should be possible to mark it:

WITHDRAWN

The reason should, where possible, be recorded.

17.44 Institutional Change of Position

Where policy changes, the earlier position should remain part of the historical record.

The new response might state:

"The institutional position changed on [date]."

This is not necessarily a correction.

It is a change in policy.

17.45 Responding "Yes" or "No"

Where a question permits a clear yes/no answer, recipients are invited to state that answer first.

For example:

YES. A written policy exists.

See [document].

or

NO. No specific written policy presently exists.

This significantly improves clarity.

17.46 Avoiding Ambiguous Answers

Recipients are respectfully asked, where practical, to avoid responses that discuss the wider subject without resolving the question asked.

If the answer is unknown, that may simply be stated.

17.47 Separating Facts From Opinion

A response should, where relevant, distinguish:

fact;

institutional policy;

historical interpretation;

legal interpretation;

personal opinion;

and

future aspiration.

17.48 Separating Existing Practice From Recommendation

Where the response says what an institution **should** do, this should not be confused with what it **currently does**.

Recipients are asked to distinguish:

current practice;

planned practice;

and recommendation.

17.49 Separating Formal Policy From Practice

A policy may exist but not be implemented consistently.

Recipients are therefore invited to identify both:

the written policy;

and evidence of implementation.

17.50 Separating Commitment From Expenditure

Where money is discussed, recipients are asked to distinguish:

announced;

committed;

allocated;

contracted;

transferred;

spent;

and received by final beneficiary.

17.51 Separating Gross and Net Figures

Where administrative or intermediary costs exist, recipients are invited to distinguish:

gross programme value

from

net value reaching intended beneficiaries.

17.52 Separating Historical Benefit From Present Asset

Where institutional wealth is discussed, recipients are asked to distinguish:

historical benefit;

present asset;

traced continuity;

estimated connection;

and unsupported inference.

17.53 Separating Participation From Representation

Where a person participated in a consultation or event, that fact should not automatically be described as evidence that they represented a wider population.

The response should state the basis of any representative mandate.

17.54 Separating Consultation From Consent

Recipients are asked to distinguish:

being consulted;

expressing support;

giving consent;

and granting authority to negotiate.

These are materially different.

17.55 Separating Acknowledgement From Liability

Where institutions acknowledge historical connections, recipients are asked to clarify whether this constitutes:

historical acknowledgement;

moral responsibility;

political responsibility;

reparative responsibility;

or legal liability.

17.56 Separating Legal and Non-Legal Positions

Where responses discuss responsibility, recipients are invited to identify whether the position is based upon:

law;

policy;

ethics;

history;

religion;

politics;

or voluntary institutional choice.

17.57 Separating Evidence From Inference

Where a conclusion requires inference, recipients are asked to identify:

the underlying evidence;

the inference drawn;

and any material uncertainty.

17.58 Separating Absence of Evidence From Evidence of Absence

Where historical records are incomplete, recipients should avoid treating missing records as conclusive unless there is a sound basis for doing so.

17.59 Separating Estimate From Exact Figure

Where figures are estimated, recipients should state:

that they are estimates;

method used;

date;

and range where appropriate.

17.60 Separating Objective From Achievement

A programme objective is not evidence that the objective was achieved.

Recipients are invited to provide:

objective;

indicator;

result;

and evaluation.

17.61 Separating Institutional Statement From Independent Verification

Where an institution reports its own success, recipients are asked whether the outcome has been independently verified.

If not, the result should be identified as institutional self-reporting.

17.62 Cross-Referencing Responses

Where a response is already provided elsewhere, recipients may cross-reference it.

For example:

“See response to Question 7.21.”

This avoids unnecessary duplication.

17.63 Cross-Referencing External Documents

Where the answer lies entirely in an external report, recipients are asked to identify the precise section rather than rely upon the document title alone.

17.64 Institution-Wide Response

A large organisation may wish to provide one consolidated response.

If so, the response should identify which department is responsible for each subject.

17.65 Departmental Responses

Alternatively, departments may answer separately.

If so, the institution should, where possible, provide a covering index showing how the responses fit together.

17.66 Joint Institutional Responses

Where several institutions provide a joint response, the response should identify:

all participating entities;

who authorised the response;

which parts are jointly agreed;

and any areas of disagreement.

17.67 Divergent Responses Within One Institution

Where different units hold different interpretations, recipients are invited to preserve that distinction rather than artificially combine them.

17.68 Response Ownership

Recipients are asked who is responsible for maintaining the institutional response over time.

Who updates it?

Who corrects it?

Who answers future questions?

17.69 Response Archive

Institutions are encouraged to retain:

original submission;

initial response;

supplements;

corrections;

supporting documents;

and subsequent correspondence.

17.70 Public Response Repository

Where appropriate, substantial responses could be placed in a public repository.

This would reduce repeated requests for the same information.

17.71 Searchable Repository

A useful repository could permit searching by:

institution;

question number;

topic;

date;

country;

and document type.

17.72 International Comparability

A standardised response structure may permit comparison between:

governments;

universities;

churches;

media organisations;

companies;

regional bodies;

and reparations organisations.

Comparability does not mean assuming that institutions are equivalent.

17.73 Comparability Without False Uniformity

Different institutions have different:

legal structures;

mandates;

histories;

resources;

and jurisdictions.

The response framework should therefore standardise the questions while allowing different substantive answers.

17.74 Minimum Response Dataset

For future international use, Reparation Nation Limited proposes that each material answer include, where applicable:

Question number

Institution

Response status

Answer

Evidence

Document reference

Authority

Responsible department

Date

Further action

This is the minimum response dataset.

17.75 Enhanced Response Dataset

For major institutions, an enhanced dataset could additionally include:

Legal entity

Jurisdiction

Policy status

Financial value

Beneficiary group

Governance mechanism

Safeguards

Evaluation

Complaint route

Review date

17.76 Response Quality Test

A response may be assessed by asking:

Does it answer the actual question?

Does it identify the institution?

Does it distinguish fact from opinion?

Does it provide supporting evidence?

Does it identify uncertainty?

Does it say what remains unanswered?

Can another person verify it?

17.77 Documentary Sufficiency Test

Where a document is supplied, recipients are asked:

Does the document actually answer the question?

Is it current?

Does it apply to the relevant legal entity?

Does it describe policy or practice?

Is implementation evidenced?

17.78 Formal Policy Test

For any claimed safeguard or policy, the following questions may be applied:

WHAT IS THE POLICY CALLED?

WHERE IS IT WRITTEN?

WHO APPROVED IT?

WHEN DID IT TAKE EFFECT?

WHO MUST FOLLOW IT?

HOW IS COMPLIANCE TESTED?

WHAT HAPPENS IF IT IS BREACHED?

This is particularly relevant to questions concerning anti-Black racism and institutional racism.

17.79 Financial Commitment Test

For any financial commitment:

HOW MUCH?

COMMITTED BY WHOM?

ON WHAT DATE?

FROM WHAT SOURCE?

OVER WHAT PERIOD?

WHO CONTROLS IT?

WHO RECEIVES IT?

HOW MUCH HAS ACTUALLY BEEN SPENT?

WHAT RESULT HAS BEEN ACHIEVED?

17.80 Representative Authority Test

For any claimed mandate:

WHO IS BEING REPRESENTED?

WHO AUTHORISED THE REPRESENTATIVE?

HOW?

FOR WHAT PURPOSE?

FOR HOW LONG?

CAN THE MANDATE BE WITHDRAWN?

HOW IS ACCOUNTABILITY MAINTAINED?

17.81 Historical Claim Test

For any material historical claim:

WHAT IS THE CLAIM?

WHAT IS THE PRIMARY EVIDENCE?

WHAT SECONDARY RESEARCH SUPPORTS IT?

WHAT UNCERTAINTY EXISTS?

IS THE CLAIM CONTESTED?

WHO HAS ADOPTED THE CONCLUSION?

17.82 Outcome Claim Test

For any claim that repair occurred:

WHAT WAS THE BASELINE?

WHAT INTERVENTION OCCURRED?

WHAT CHANGED?

HOW WAS IT MEASURED?

WHO BENEFITED?

WHO VERIFIED IT?

WHAT REMAINS UNREPAIRED?

17.83 Response to Questions Concerning Anti-Black Racism

Where asked about safeguards against anti-Black racism, recipients are invited to provide:

policy name;

definition used;

decision stage covered;

responsible officer or body;

monitoring mechanism;

complaint route;

review process;

evidence of implementation;

and consequences for failure.

A generic reference to equality may not answer all of these questions.

17.84 Response to Questions Concerning Institutional Racism

Where asked about institutional racism, recipients are invited to clarify:

definition;

whether systemic outcomes are monitored;

what data are used;

who investigates patterns;

what corrective mechanisms exist;

and how effectiveness is assessed.

17.85 Response to Questions Concerning Governance

Where governance is asked about, recipients are invited to provide:

organogram;

terms of reference;

appointment mechanism;

voting rights;

delegated authority;

conflict rules;

minutes;

and review arrangements.

17.86 Response to Questions Concerning Funding

Where funding is asked about, recipients are invited to identify:

funder;

recipient;

amount;

purpose;

conditions;

decision-maker;

duration;

administration;

and outcome.

17.87 Response to Questions Concerning Beneficiaries

Where beneficiaries are asked about, recipients are invited to state:

eligibility;

verification;

geography;

numbers;

selection mechanism;

appeal route;

and whether actual recipients matched the intended group.

17.88 Response to Questions Concerning Consultation

Where consultation is relied upon, recipients are asked to state:

who was consulted;

how selected;

what question was asked;

what responses were received;

how dissent was handled;

and what effect consultation had upon the decision.

17.89 Response to Questions Concerning Research

Where research supports the answer, recipients are asked to identify:

commissioning body;

researchers;

funding;

method;

data;

limitations;

peer review;

publication;

and institutional adoption.

17.90 Response to Questions Concerning Legal Authority

Where a legal basis is asserted, recipients are asked to identify:

statute;

regulation;

contract;

constitutional provision;

trust instrument;

case law;

treaty;

or other legal authority

with sufficient specificity to permit verification.

17.91 Response to Questions Concerning International Authority

Where an international body or regional institution is relied upon, recipients are asked to identify:

founding instrument;

mandate;

membership;

decision-making authority;

binding status;

and relationship to national law.

17.92 Response to Questions Concerning CARICOM

Where CARICOM is relied upon, recipients are asked to identify precisely:

which CARICOM body;

which decision;

which mandate;

which Member States;

which national structures;

which documentary authority;

and what legal or political effect is claimed.

17.93 Response to Questions Concerning Future Obligations

Where an obligation continues, recipients are asked to identify:

duration;

review date;

successor responsibility;

funding;

completion criterion;

and archival arrangements.

17.94 Response to Questions Concerning Complaints and Failure

Where accountability is asked about, recipients are invited to identify:

complaint procedure;

investigator;

appeal;

external review;

remedy;

sanction;

and enforcement.

17.95 Response to Questions Concerning the Event

For the forthcoming event, the organisers may wish to provide a short process response identifying:

receipt of this document;

circulation;

question-selection method;

recording arrangements;

post-event follow-up;

and documentary access.

17.96 No Requirement to Agree With the Framework

Recipients are not required to agree with:

the structure;

terminology;

questions;

or proposed tests.

Where a recipient considers a question wrongly framed, they are invited to explain why.

That disagreement becomes part of the evidential record.

17.97 Alternative Definitions

Where an institution uses a different definition, it should provide its own definition.

This is preferable to answering a question under an unstated alternative meaning.

17.98 Challenging Premises

Where a question contains a premise the institution rejects, recipients may state:

“We do not accept the premise of this question for the following reasons…”

and provide supporting evidence.

The question should not force agreement with its premise.

17.99 Correcting Factual Assumptions

Where the document identifies an institution, programme or relationship incorrectly, recipients are expressly invited to correct it.

17.100 Questions That Cannot Be Answered Definitively

Some questions may not admit a definitive answer.

Recipients are invited to state:

what is known;

what is disputed;

what is estimated;

and what remains unknown.

17.101 No Penalty for Uncertainty

Responsible uncertainty is preferable to false precision.

An answer may legitimately state:

“The evidence presently available does not permit a firm conclusion.”

17.102 No Penalty for Institutional Disagreement

Different institutions may reach different conclusions from the same evidence.

The purpose of the framework is to make the basis of those differences visible.

17.103 No Assumption From Non-Response

Where no response is received, Reparation Nation Limited intends only to record:

NO RESPONSE RECEIVED AS AT [DATE].

No automatic allegation, accusation, assertion, assumption or conclusion should arise from silence alone.

17.104 No Assumption From Partial Response

A partial answer should not automatically be treated as deliberate avoidance.

The unresolved component should simply remain recorded.

17.105 No Assumption From Referral

Referral to another institution should not be treated as evasion where responsibility genuinely lies elsewhere.

The referral should be tested against the institutional structure.

17.106 Response Completeness Register

For complex institutional submissions, a completion register could show:

Total questions relevant

Answered

Partially answered

Documents referenced

Referred

Not applicable

No information held

No policy

Deferred

Declined

Outstanding

This allows progress to be monitored without reducing substantive answers to a numerical score.

17.107 No Numerical Ranking of Institutional Morality

The proposed framework is not intended to create a simplistic ranking of institutions as morally "good" or "bad."

Its purpose is evidential comparison.

An institution may perform strongly in one area and poorly in another.

17.108 Institutional Response Record

For each institution, the complete response record could ultimately contain:

1. Institutional profile;
2. Mandate;
3. Historical connection;
4. Evidence;
5. Responsibility position;
6. Reparative activity;

7. Financial commitments;
8. Beneficiaries;
9. Governance;
10. Representation;
11. Anti-Black-racism safeguards;
12. Institutional-racism safeguards;
13. Transparency;
14. Outcomes;
15. Complaints and remedies;
16. Future obligations;
17. Outstanding questions.

This creates a comparable institutional dossier.

17.109 International Response Dossier

For future worldwide application, each institution could therefore have a standardised **International Reparations Response Dossier**.

The dossier would not determine guilt or liability.

It would record what the institution itself says, what evidence it relies upon and what remains unresolved.

17.110 Evidence Attached to the Dossier

Supporting material should remain linked to specific responses rather than collected as an unstructured mass of documents.

Each document should answer:

Why is this document relevant?

Which question does it address?

What does it establish?

17.111 Change Over Time

The dossier should be capable of showing change.

For example:

2027 position

2030 review

2035 outcome

2040 correction

This would allow future researchers to examine institutional development.

17.112 Comparable International Dataset

If adopted by multiple bodies, the framework could eventually permit a structured international dataset concerning:

responsibility;

wealth;

funding;

representation;

safeguards;

remedies;

and outcomes.

Any such dataset would require careful governance and verification.

17.113 Data Should Not Replace Documents

Structured data may improve comparison.

However, the underlying documentary evidence should remain accessible.

A database entry is not a substitute for source material.

17.114 Human-Readable Responses

Responses should remain readable by affected communities and the general public.

Technical data structures should supplement, not replace, ordinary written explanations.

17.115 Machine-Readable Responses

Where institutions possess sufficient capacity, responses could also be made machine-readable.

This may facilitate:

search;

comparison;

long-term archiving;

and independent research.

17.116 Digital Identifiers

A stable identifier could be assigned to:

institutions;

questions;

responses;

documents;

commitments;

and corrections.

This would reduce confusion where names change.

17.117 International Question Identifier

For example:

RN-REP-5.23

could identify a specific question permanently.

If future versions alter wording, versioning could preserve historical continuity.

17.118 Response Integrity

Where digital responses are relied upon, institutions may wish to use:

official publication systems;

digital signatures;

secure repositories;

or other integrity measures.

This reduces uncertainty concerning authenticity.

17.119 Preservation of Original Submission

The original response should remain preserved even where later versions supersede it.

Historical comparison requires both.

17.120 International Response Protocol — Core Sequence

For future worldwide reference, Reparation Nation Limited proposes the following sequence:

IDENTIFY THE QUESTION

↓

IDENTIFY THE RESPONDING INSTITUTION

↓

IDENTIFY THE RESPONDER'S AUTHORITY

↓

STATE THE RESPONSE STATUS

↓

ANSWER THE QUESTION DIRECTLY

↓

IDENTIFY SUPPORTING EVIDENCE

↓

IDENTIFY THE DOCUMENT AND PRECISE LOCATION

↓

STATE ANY UNCERTAINTY

↓

IDENTIFY WHAT REMAINS OUTSTANDING

↓

IDENTIFY WHO IS RESPONSIBLE FOR FURTHER ACTION

↓

DATE AND VERSION THE RESPONSE

↓

PRESERVE THE ORIGINAL

↓

RECORD ANY FUTURE CORRECTION OR UPDATE

17.121 International Reference Principle

For future worldwide discussion, Reparation Nation Limited proposes the following principle:

THE QUALITY OF A REPARATIONS RESPONSE SHOULD DEPEND NOT UPON ITS LENGTH, RHETORICAL FORCE OR INSTITUTIONAL PRESTIGE, BUT UPON WHETHER IT ANSWERS THE QUESTION ASKED, IDENTIFIES ITS AUTHORITY, PROVIDES THE EVIDENCE RELIED UPON, DISTINGUISHES FACT FROM INTERPRETATION, STATES UNCERTAINTY WHERE NECESSARY AND LEAVES A RECORD THAT CAN BE VERIFIED LATER.

17.122 Evidential Neutrality Principle

Reparation Nation Limited further proposes:

THE SAME RESPONSE STANDARD SHOULD, SO FAR AS PRACTICABLE, APPLY TO CLAIMANTS, GOVERNMENTS, UNIVERSITIES, CHURCHES, COMPANIES, DESCENDANT ORGANISATIONS, RESEARCHERS, FUNDERS AND REPARATIONS BODIES. NO PARTY SHOULD BE TREATED AS EXEMPT FROM QUESTIONS OF EVIDENCE, AUTHORITY, GOVERNANCE OR ACCOUNTABILITY MERELY BECAUSE OF THE SIDE OF THE REPARATIONS DISCUSSION ON WHICH IT STANDS.

17.123 No Conclusions in Advance

This response protocol is designed to prevent premature conclusions.

The proper sequence is:

question;

response;

evidence;

verification;

comparison;

follow-up;

and only then, where justified, conclusion.

17.124 Concluding Position

The central response questions are therefore:

Which question is being answered?

Who is answering it?

In what capacity?

With what institutional authority?

What is the direct answer?

What evidence supports it?

Where is that evidence located?

Is the material current?

Is the answer complete?

What remains uncertain?

What remains unanswered?

Who is responsible for the outstanding matter?

When will it be reviewed?

Has the response later changed?

Can the original still be recovered?

And can a person unfamiliar with the institution verify the answer without having to rely upon trust alone?

These questions lead directly to the next necessary examination: **a consolidated schedule of principal questions to be placed expressly before the organisers and participating institutions, drawing together the most important issues from the preceding sections into a manageable formal questionnaire for advance consideration and future written response.**

SECTION 18

CONSOLIDATED SCHEDULE OF PRINCIPAL QUESTIONS FOR THE ORGANISERS, PARTICIPATING INSTITUTIONS AND RELATED BODIES

18.1 Purpose of This Section

The preceding sections contain a comprehensive framework for examining:

reparations;

reparative justice;

institutional responsibility;

historical benefit;

financial and non-financial repair;

representation;

governance;

anti-Black racism;

institutional racism;

transparency;

evidence;

accountability;

future obligations;

and the conduct of the forthcoming event itself.

This section draws together the principal questions into a single formal schedule.

Its purpose is to provide the organisers, participating institutions and related bodies with a manageable consolidated questionnaire that can be considered in advance of the event and used afterward for written response.

The questions below do not replace the detailed questions contained in earlier sections.

They are a principal-question schedule.

18.2 Status of This Schedule

This schedule should be read together with the full document.

Where a question requires clarification, the detailed sections should be consulted.

Recipients may answer:

directly;

by reference to an existing document;

by reference to an earlier institutional response;

or by identifying the correct body responsible.

18.3 Institutional Identity

Each recipient is respectfully asked:

18.3.1 What is the full legal name of the institution?

18.3.2 What is its legal status?

18.3.3 In which jurisdiction is it established?

18.3.4 What part of the institution is participating in reparations or reparative-justice work?

18.3.5 Who has formal responsibility for that work?

18.3.6 Who has authority to speak institutionally on the matters raised in this document?

18.4 Role in Reparations

18.4.1 What role does the institution consider itself to have?

Is it:

a responsible institution;

a funder;

a researcher;

a facilitator;

a representative body;

a claimant;

a beneficiary;

an adviser;

a public educator;

a programme administrator;

or another type of participant?

18.4.2 Is that role formally documented?

18.4.3 What is the source of authority for that role?

18.5 Definition of Reparations

18.5.1 How does the institution define **reparations**?

18.5.2 How does it define **reparative justice**?

18.5.3 How does it distinguish:

reparation;

repair;

restorative justice;

compensation;

restitution;

acknowledgement;

and development?

18.5.4 Where are these definitions formally recorded?

18.6 Definition of the Harm

18.6.1 What specific historical harm does the institution say requires repair?

18.6.2 What continuing harm, if any, does it identify?

18.6.3 What evidence establishes the harm?

18.6.4 What causal connection is claimed between historical events and present conditions?

18.6.5 What uncertainty or disagreement exists?

18.7 Historical Responsibility

18.7.1 Does the institution accept any historical connection to slavery, colonialism or related systems?

18.7.2 If yes, what precisely is that connection?

18.7.3 What primary evidence supports it?

18.7.4 Has the institution formally investigated its own history?

18.7.5 Who commissioned the investigation?

18.7.6 Who conducted it?

18.7.7 Was the research independently reviewed?

18.8 Historical Benefit

18.8.1 Has the institution examined whether it or any predecessor benefited financially or institutionally from slavery or colonialism?

18.8.2 What form did any benefit take?

18.8.3 Can the benefit be quantified?

18.8.4 Can any present assets be traced to historical benefit?

18.8.5 What methodology was used?

18.8.6 What limitations remain?

18.9 Institutional Continuity

18.9.1 What relationship exists between the present institution and any historically implicated predecessor?

18.9.2 Is there:

legal continuity;

asset continuity;

name continuity;

governance continuity;

institutional-purpose continuity;

or another form of succession?

18.9.3 What consequences does the institution consider that continuity to have for present responsibility?

18.10 Responsibility

18.10.1 Does the institution accept:

historical responsibility;

moral responsibility;

political responsibility;

institutional responsibility;

reparative responsibility;

legal liability;

or none of these?

18.10.2 What is the basis of its position?

18.10.3 Has that position been formally adopted?

18.10.4 By whom?

18.11 Reparative Objective

18.11.1 What exactly is the institution seeking to repair?

18.11.2 What would successful repair look like?

18.11.3 What measurable endpoint exists?

18.11.4 Who determines whether the objective has been achieved?

18.12 Financial Reparations

18.12.1 Does the institution support financial reparations?

18.12.2 If yes, in what form?

18.12.3 How should value be calculated?

18.12.4 What methodology is relied upon?

18.12.5 Who should pay?

18.12.6 Who should receive?

18.12.7 Who should control the funds?

18.12.8 What safeguards should apply?

18.13 Existing Financial Commitments

Where the institution has already announced or implemented financial measures:

18.13.1 What amount has been announced?

18.13.2 What amount has been formally committed?

18.13.3 What amount has been allocated?

18.13.4 What amount has actually been transferred?

18.13.5 What amount has actually reached final beneficiaries?

18.13.6 What proportion has been used for administration?

18.13.7 What outcomes have resulted?

18.14 Source of Reparations Funding

18.14.1 What is the source of funds?

18.14.2 Are funds drawn from:

current income;

reserves;

endowments;

investments;

public taxation;

donations;

borrowing;

or another source?

18.14.3 Are the funds additional to existing expenditure?

18.14.4 Have ordinary programmes been redesignated as reparations?

18.15 Valuation

18.15.1 What valuation method is used?

18.15.2 Does it account for:

historical profits;

lost income;

lost property;

compound growth;

interest;

inflation;

or other factors?

18.15.3 What alternative valuations were considered?

18.15.4 Why was the chosen model preferred?

18.16 Beneficiaries

18.16.1 Who qualifies as a beneficiary?

18.16.2 What evidence establishes eligibility?

18.16.3 Is descent required?

18.16.4 Is race relevant?

18.16.5 Is nationality relevant?

18.16.6 Is present-day need relevant?

18.16.7 Is present-day harm relevant?

18.16.8 Who makes eligibility decisions?

18.16.9 Can decisions be appealed?

18.17 Descendants

18.17.1 How is **descendant** defined?

18.17.2 How many generations are recognised?

18.17.3 What happens where documentary genealogy is incomplete?

18.17.4 Is DNA evidence accepted?

18.17.5 Is self-identification sufficient?

18.17.6 Who verifies claims?

18.18 Individual Versus Collective Beneficiaries

18.18.1 Should reparations go to individuals?

18.18.2 Communities?

18.18.3 Governments?

18.18.4 Trusts?

18.18.5 Institutions?

18.18.6 A combination?

18.18.7 What principle determines allocation?

18.19 Representation

The following question is fundamental:

WHO AUTHORISED WHOM TO SPEAK FOR WHOM, CONCERNING WHAT, FOR HOW LONG, AND SUBJECT TO WHAT CONTINUING ACCOUNTABILITY?

Recipients are asked:

18.19.1 Who does the institution claim to represent?

18.19.2 What is the source of that mandate?

18.19.3 Is the mandate elected, appointed, contractual, governmental or self-declared?

18.19.4 Can it be withdrawn?

18.19.5 How are non-members treated?

18.20 Participation Versus Representation

18.20.1 Does participation in consultation constitute representation?

18.20.2 Does attendance at an event constitute mandate?

18.20.3 Does funding an organisation establish representative authority?

18.20.4 How are these distinctions preserved?

18.21 Africa

18.21.1 What role does Africa have within the institution's reparations framework?

18.21.2 Which African states, peoples, communities or institutions are being referred to?

18.21.3 Who represents them?

18.21.4 How are differences between African populations addressed?

18.21.5 How are historical African actors considered within the evidential framework?

18.22 Caribbean

18.22.1 What role is assigned to Caribbean states and peoples?

18.22.2 Are states treated as beneficiaries?

18.22.3 Are individual descendants treated separately?

18.22.4 How are non-independent territories treated?

18.23 CARICOM

Where CARICOM is relied upon:

18.23.1 Which CARICOM institution or body is being referred to?

18.23.2 What is its formal mandate?

18.23.3 What decisions has it taken?

18.23.4 What authority has been granted by Member States?

18.23.5 Is its role advisory, political, negotiating, financial, legal or another form?

18.23.6 What documentary authority establishes that role?

18.24 National Reparations Committees

18.24.1 How are national committees established?

18.24.2 Who appoints members?

18.24.3 What authority do they possess?

18.24.4 Who do they represent?

18.24.5 How are they funded?

18.24.6 Are minutes and decisions public?

18.24.7 Can the public challenge their representation?

18.25 Diaspora

18.25.1 How is the diaspora defined?

18.25.2 Which countries are included?

18.25.3 Who represents diaspora populations?

18.25.4 How are Black British populations treated?

18.25.5 How are descendants living outside claimant states represented?

18.26 International Authority

18.26.1 Which international legal, political or policy instruments are relied upon?

18.26.2 What is the legal status of each?

18.26.3 Are they binding?

18.26.4 Advisory?

18.26.5 Normative?

18.26.6 Political?

The precise authority should be identified.

18.27 Negotiations

18.27.1 Who has authority to negotiate reparations?

18.27.2 Who selects negotiators?

18.27.3 What mandate do they possess?

18.27.4 Are negotiations public or confidential?

18.27.5 Who approves any final agreement?

18.28 Settlement

18.28.1 Who can settle claims?

18.28.2 What claims can they settle?

18.28.3 Can a government settle claims belonging to individuals?

18.28.4 Can a representative body bind non-members?

18.28.5 Can current representatives bind future generations?

18.29 Non-Financial Reparations

18.29.1 What non-financial forms of repair does the institution support?

These may include:

restitution;

apology;

memorialisation;

education;

institutional reform;

land return;

cultural restoration;

citizenship;

or guarantees of non-repetition.

18.29.2 What harm does each measure address?

18.30 Restitution

18.30.1 What property, land, object, archive or right should be restored?

18.30.2 To whom?

18.30.3 What evidence establishes ownership or entitlement?

18.30.4 What happens where physical return is impossible?

18.31 Cultural Property

18.31.1 What provenance standards are used?

18.31.2 Who may claim cultural objects?

18.31.3 How are competing claims resolved?

18.31.4 Is digitisation treated as an alternative to physical return?

18.31.5 Are loans distinguished from restitution?

18.32 Apology

18.32.1 Has the institution apologised?

18.32.2 Who authorised the apology?

18.32.3 What specifically was acknowledged?

18.32.4 Does it accept responsibility?

18.32.5 Does it accept legal liability?

18.32.6 What action accompanied the apology?

18.33 Memorialisation

18.33.1 What memorial activity has occurred?

18.33.2 Who determined the narrative?

18.33.3 Were affected communities involved?

18.33.4 Who owns and maintains the memorial?

18.34 Education

18.34.1 What educational measures are considered reparative?

18.34.2 Who designs the curriculum?

18.34.3 What evidence is taught?

18.34.4 How are contested interpretations handled?

18.34.5 How is educational impact measured?

18.35 Scholarships and Academic Programmes

18.35.1 Are scholarships presented as reparations?

18.35.2 Are they additional to ordinary institutional provision?

18.35.3 Who qualifies?

18.35.4 What long-term outcomes are expected?

18.36 Institutional Reform

18.36.1 Has reparations work changed the institution itself?

18.36.2 What policies changed?

18.36.3 What governance changed?

18.36.4 What decision-making power changed?

18.36.5 What evidence demonstrates practical implementation?

18.37 Transfer of Power

18.37.1 Does the reparative programme transfer any durable decision-making power?

18.37.2 To whom?

18.37.3 Is the transfer:

advisory;

voting;

financial;

ownership-based;

or another form?

18.38 Transfer of Ownership

18.38.1 Does the programme create ownership of:

land;

property;

businesses;

funds;

intellectual property;

or institutions

for affected populations?

18.38.2 Is that ownership permanent?

18.39 Governance

18.39.1 Who actually makes reparations decisions?

18.39.2 What body holds final authority?

18.39.3 Who appoints members?

18.39.4 Who can remove them?

18.39.5 How are votes recorded?

18.39.6 Are minutes published?

18.40 Decision-Making Chain

Recipients are asked to provide, where practicable:

PROPOSAL → REVIEW → RECOMMENDATION → DECISION → FUNDING → IMPLEMENTATION → AUDIT → EVALUATION

and identify the responsible body at each stage.

18.41 Conflicts of Interest

18.41.1 What conflict-of-interest policy applies?

18.41.2 Are declarations published?

18.41.3 Is recusal required?

18.41.4 Are organisational conflicts considered?

18.41.5 Are funding relationships disclosed?

18.42 Funding Influence

18.42.1 Who funds the institution's reparations work?

18.42.2 Can funders influence:

research;

agenda;

appointments;

programme design;

or publication?

18.42.3 What safeguards preserve independence?

18.43 Consultants and Intermediaries

18.43.1 Which consultants or intermediaries are used?

18.43.2 How are they appointed?

18.43.3 How much are they paid?

18.43.4 What proportion of resources remains with intermediaries rather than final beneficiaries?

18.44 Procurement

18.44.1 What procurement rules apply?

18.44.2 Are contracts publicly disclosed?

18.44.3 Are Black-owned businesses or affected communities able to compete?

18.44.4 What safeguards prevent related-party benefit?

18.45 Anti-Black Racism

The institution is respectfully asked:

WHAT SPECIFIC SAFEGUARDS EXIST TO PREVENT ANTI-BLACK RACISM FROM AFFECTING REPARATIONS-RELATED DECISION-MAKING?

This question does not allege that anti-Black racism has affected the institution.

It asks what preventive safeguards exist.

18.46 Anti-Black Racism — Documentary Questions

18.46.1 What is the policy called?

18.46.2 Where is it written?

18.46.3 What definition is used?

18.46.4 Who approved it?

18.46.5 Which decisions does it cover?

18.46.6 How is compliance monitored?

18.46.7 What happens if it fails?

18.47 Institutional Racism

Recipients are asked:

WHAT SPECIFIC SAFEGUARDS EXIST TO PREVENT INSTITUTIONAL RACISM FROM AFFECTING THE REPARATIONS PROCESS?

Again, this is a safeguards question and not a predetermined conclusion.

18.48 Institutional Racism — Systemic Review

18.48.1 Does the institution monitor patterns rather than only individual misconduct?

18.48.2 What data are reviewed?

18.48.3 Who identifies systemic disparities?

18.48.4 Who investigates?

18.48.5 What corrective action can follow?

18.49 Equality Policy Versus Specific Safeguards

18.49.1 Does the institution rely upon a generic equality policy?

18.49.2 If so, how does that policy specifically address anti-Black racism?

18.49.3 How does it specifically address institutional racism?

18.49.4 What operational safeguards exist beyond general statements of principle?

18.50 Representation Within Decision-Making

18.50.1 How many Black people participate?

18.50.2 How many possess actual voting authority?

18.50.3 How many control funding?

18.50.4 How many hold senior executive or governance roles?

18.50.5 How is representation measured?

18.51 Black Leadership and Safeguards

Recipients are asked whether the presence of Black individuals is itself treated as sufficient evidence that anti-Black racism or institutional racism cannot operate.

If so, what is the evidential basis?

If not, what additional safeguards exist?

18.52 Community Consultation

18.52.1 Who is consulted?

18.52.2 How are consultees selected?

18.52.3 What information are they given?

18.52.4 What questions are asked?

18.52.5 How are dissenting views recorded?

18.52.6 What effect does consultation have upon the final decision?

18.53 Consent

18.53.1 Is consultation treated as consent?

18.53.2 What constitutes consent?

18.53.3 Who can give it?

18.53.4 Can it be withdrawn?

18.54 Dissent

18.54.1 How are dissenting voices treated?

18.54.2 Can organisations criticise reparations policy without losing funding or access?

18.54.3 Are minority views preserved in records?

18.55 Evidence

18.55.1 What evidence hierarchy is used?

18.55.2 How are historical claims verified?

18.55.3 How are conflicting sources treated?

18.55.4 How is uncertainty recorded?

18.56 Standards of Proof

18.56.1 What standard applies to historical findings?

18.56.2 What standard applies to eligibility?

18.56.3 What standard applies to legal liability?

18.56.4 What standard applies to public institutional statements?

18.57 Research Independence

18.57.1 Who commissions reparations research?

18.57.2 Who funds it?

18.57.3 Who determines scope?

18.57.4 Can negative findings be published?

18.57.5 Can the institution edit conclusions?

18.58 Research Ownership

18.58.1 Who owns research outputs?

18.58.2 Who owns collected community knowledge?

18.58.3 Who owns recordings and interviews?

18.58.4 Can affected communities access the material?

18.59 Measurement

18.59.1 What baseline is used?

18.59.2 What indicators are used?

18.59.3 What targets exist?

18.59.4 What outcome constitutes repair?

18.60 Activity Versus Repair

Recipients are asked to distinguish:

money spent;

events held;

people trained;

research published;

objects returned;

and policies adopted

from evidence that the identified harm has actually been repaired.

18.61 Independent Evaluation

18.61.1 Who evaluates outcomes?

18.61.2 Who appoints the evaluator?

18.61.3 Who pays?

18.61.4 Can the evaluator publish adverse conclusions?

18.61.5 Are full reports public?

18.62 Failure

18.62.1 Can a reparations programme formally be classified as unsuccessful?

18.62.2 What criteria constitute failure?

18.62.3 What happens after failure?

18.63 Unintended Consequences

18.63.1 Does the institution monitor:

elite capture;

community division;

dependency;

stigma;

displacement;

or other unintended effects?

18.63.2 What corrective action can follow?

18.64 Actual Beneficiaries

18.64.1 Who ultimately received material benefit?

18.64.2 How much reached:

individual descendants;

community organisations;

consultants;

research institutions;

professional advisers;

contractors;

and administrators?

18.65 Transparency

18.65.1 What reparations-related documents are public?

18.65.2 What are not public?

18.65.3 Why?

18.65.4 What publication policy applies?

18.66 Records

18.66.1 Are minutes preserved?

18.66.2 Are drafts preserved?

18.66.3 Are financial records preserved?

18.66.4 Are emails relating to material decisions preserved?

18.66.5 How long are records retained?

18.67 Public Registers

Recipients are asked whether they maintain or would consider maintaining registers of:

decisions;

grants;

contracts;

conflicts;

questions;

commitments;

complaints;

evaluations;

and corrections.

18.68 Unanswered Questions

18.68.1 How are unanswered questions recorded?

18.68.2 Who remains responsible for answering them?

18.68.3 Can unanswered matters remain open after an event or consultation closes?

18.69 Corrections

18.69.1 How can published errors be corrected?

18.69.2 Is the original preserved?

18.69.3 Are material corrections publicly visible?

18.70 Complaints

18.70.1 Who may complain?

18.70.2 About what?

18.70.3 Who investigates?

18.70.4 Is the investigator independent?

18.70.5 Is appeal available?

18.71 Complaints Concerning Anti-Black Racism

18.71.1 What specific procedure applies?

18.71.2 Can systemic issues be investigated?

18.71.3 What anti-retaliation protection exists?

18.72 Complaints Concerning Institutional Racism

18.72.1 Can a complaint concern institutional patterns rather than a named individual?

18.72.2 Who investigates such patterns?

18.72.3 What remedy can follow?

18.73 Remedies

18.73.1 What remedies are available where the reparations process itself causes harm?

Possible remedies may include:

correction;

reconsideration;

reinstatement;

compensation;

restitution;

policy change;

or independent review.

18.74 Sanctions

18.74.1 What sanctions exist for serious misconduct?

18.74.2 Who imposes them?

18.74.3 Can decisions be appealed?

18.75 Enforcement

18.75.1 Which reparations commitments are legally enforceable?

18.75.2 Which are political commitments?

18.75.3 Which are voluntary?

18.75.4 What happens if they are not fulfilled?

18.76 Duration

18.76.1 How long does the institution consider its reparative responsibility to continue?

18.76.2 Is there a fixed period?

18.76.3 Is the obligation outcome-based?

18.76.4 Is it subject to periodic review?

18.77 Completion

18.77.1 What constitutes completion?

18.77.2 Who decides?

18.77.3 What evidence must exist?

18.77.4 Can beneficiaries challenge a declaration of completion?

18.78 Partial Completion

18.78.1 Can one element be completed while other harms remain?

18.78.2 Is outstanding responsibility formally recorded?

18.79 Succession

18.79.1 What happens if the institution:

merges;

changes ownership;

restructures;

or closes?

18.79.2 Who inherits reparative obligations?

18.79.3 Who inherits the records?

18.80 Future Generations

18.80.1 Can agreements made today bind future generations?

18.80.2 If yes, what authority permits this?

18.80.3 Can future generations reopen decisions?

18.81 Long-Term Assets

18.81.1 Who owns reparative assets?

18.81.2 Who manages them?

18.81.3 Can they be sold?

18.81.4 Can their purpose be changed?

18.81.5 Who receives future appreciation or income?

18.82 The Forthcoming Event — Organiser

The organiser is respectfully asked:

18.82.1 Who formally organises the event?

18.82.2 Who funds it?

18.82.3 Who selects speakers?

18.82.4 Who selects the moderator?

18.82.5 Who determines the agenda?

18.83 Advance Questions

18.83.1 Will this document be circulated to all relevant participants?

18.83.2 When?

18.83.3 Will participants be permitted to identify existing documentary responses before the event?

18.84 Question Selection

18.84.1 How will live questions be selected?

18.84.2 Who decides?

18.84.3 What criteria apply?

18.84.4 What happens to questions not selected?

18.85 Recording

18.85.1 Will the event be recorded?

18.85.2 Will a transcript be available?

18.85.3 Will speaker materials be published?

18.85.4 How long will the record remain accessible?

18.86 Post-Event Questions

18.86.1 Will unanswered questions remain open?

18.86.2 Will institutions be invited to answer in writing?

18.86.3 Will commitments made during the event be recorded?

18.87 Institution-Specific Questions

Each participating institution is respectfully invited to provide, before or after the event, a short institutional profile addressing:

1. who it is;
2. its role;

3. its historical connection;
4. its evidence;
5. its responsibility position;
6. its reparative activity;
7. its financial commitments;
8. its beneficiaries;
9. its governance;
10. its representative mandate;
11. its anti-Black-racism safeguards;
12. its institutional-racism safeguards;
13. its transparency arrangements;
14. its outcome evidence;
15. its complaints mechanism;
16. its future obligations;
17. and its outstanding questions.

18.88 The Church of England

The relevant Church of England bodies are respectfully asked:

18.88.1 Which legal entities are directly involved?

18.88.2 What historical connections have been established?

18.88.3 What financial benefit has been identified?

18.88.4 How was it calculated?

18.88.5 What reparative financial commitment has been made?

18.88.6 Who controls those funds?

18.88.7 Who qualifies as beneficiary?

18.88.8 What governance applies?

18.88.9 What independent evaluation applies?

18.88.10 What safeguards exist against anti-Black racism and institutional racism within the programme itself?

18.89 The Guardian

The relevant Guardian entities are respectfully asked:

18.89.1 What precise institutional connection has been established between the organisation's history and slavery?

18.89.2 What evidence supports the finding?

18.89.3 How is founder history distinguished from present institutional responsibility?

18.89.4 What financial reparative commitment exists?

18.89.5 What is the source and value of that commitment?

18.89.6 Who controls allocation?

18.89.7 What outcomes are being measured?

18.89.8 How is editorial independence preserved when reporting upon the organisation's own reparations programme?

18.89.9 What safeguards exist against anti-Black racism and institutional racism within programme governance?

18.90 Heirs of Slavery

Heirs of Slavery is respectfully asked:

18.90.1 What is its legal and governance structure?

18.90.2 Who qualifies for membership?

18.90.3 What evidence of historical descent or inherited benefit is required?

18.90.4 What responsibility does membership imply?

18.90.5 What reparative actions are expected from members?

18.90.6 What financial contributions have been made?

18.90.7 Who determines recipient communities?

18.90.8 What relationship exists with descendants of enslaved people?

18.90.9 What representative authority, if any, is claimed?

18.90.10 What safeguards exist against paternalism, anti-Black racism and institutional racism?

18.91 Academic and Research Bodies

Relevant academic institutions and research centres are respectfully asked:

18.91.1 Who funds their reparations research?

18.91.2 Who selects the research questions?

18.91.3 Who owns the outputs?

18.91.4 How are conflicts disclosed?

18.91.5 What role do Black researchers and descendant communities have in research design?

18.91.6 What authority, if any, does academic expertise create to represent affected populations?

18.91.7 What safeguards exist against institutional bias within research itself?

18.92 Governments and Public Authorities

Any government or public authority engaging with this framework is respectfully asked:

18.92.1 What legal or constitutional authority does it possess?

18.92.2 Whom does it claim to represent?

18.92.3 What historical harm is being claimed?

18.92.4 What evidence supports the claim?

18.92.5 What remedy is sought?

18.92.6 Who will receive any funds?

18.92.7 How will funds be ring-fenced?

18.92.8 How will expenditure be audited?

18.92.9 How will diaspora populations be treated?

18.92.10 What safeguards exist against political capture?

18.93 Former Colonial Powers

Former colonial governments or institutions are respectfully asked:

18.93.1 What historical responsibility is accepted?

18.93.2 What responsibility is rejected?

18.93.3 What legal position is taken?

18.93.4 What moral or political position is taken?

18.93.5 What records have been examined?

18.93.6 What assets or benefits have been traced?

18.93.7 What reparative measures are considered appropriate?

18.93.8 With whom are negotiations considered legitimate?

18.94 Financial Institutions

Where banks, insurers, investment institutions or other financial bodies are historically or presently relevant, they are respectfully asked:

18.94.1 What historical connections have been investigated?

18.94.2 What records survive?

18.94.3 What historical profits or assets have been identified?

18.94.4 What successor entities exist?

18.94.5 What present reparative responsibility, if any, is accepted?

18.94.6 What financial safeguards prevent current racial disparities from affecting reparative credibility?

18.95 Museums, Archives and Heritage Bodies

Relevant bodies are respectfully asked:

18.95.1 What contested property is held?

18.95.2 What provenance research has occurred?

18.95.3 What claims have been received?

18.95.4 Who determines return?

18.95.5 Can decisions be appealed?

18.95.6 What material has been digitised?

18.95.7 What remains inaccessible?

18.96 Media and Public Communication

All institutions are respectfully asked:

18.96.1 How do they distinguish fact from institutional interpretation in public communication?

18.96.2 How do they correct errors?

18.96.3 Are large financial figures accompanied by methodology?

18.96.4 Are claims of success accompanied by outcome evidence?

18.97 Outstanding Questions

At the conclusion of any response, each institution is invited to provide:

QUESTIONS WE HAVE ANSWERED

QUESTIONS WE HAVE PARTIALLY ANSWERED

QUESTIONS REQUIRING FURTHER RESEARCH

QUESTIONS FOR WHICH NO POLICY OR INFORMATION EXISTS

QUESTIONS OUTSIDE OUR RESPONSIBILITY

QUESTIONS WE DECLINE TO ANSWER

QUESTIONS REMAINING OUTSTANDING

This will create a clear future record.

18.98 Invitation to Supply Existing Material

Recipients are not expected to reproduce material that already exists.

Where a question is answered by:

a report;

policy;

annual account;

research paper;

governance document;

archival source;

evaluation;

or other publication,

a precise reference will ordinarily be sufficient.

18.99 Invitation to Correct

Every recipient is expressly invited to correct any factual mistake concerning:

its identity;

legal status;

history;

governance;

finances;

programme;

or public position.

Supporting documentary material is requested where practicable.

18.100 No Allegation, Accusation, Assertion, Assumption or Conclusion

For avoidance of doubt:

REPARATION NATION LIMITED MAKES NO ALLEGATION, ACCUSATION, ASSERTION, ASSUMPTION OR CONCLUSION THAT ANY ORGANISATION OR INDIVIDUAL ADDRESSED BY THIS DOCUMENT HAS ACTED IMPROPERLY.

The questions exist precisely because Reparation Nation Limited seeks to establish the facts before conclusions are considered.

The proper process is:

QUESTION → ANSWER → EVIDENCE → VERIFICATION → FURTHER QUESTION WHERE NECESSARY → CONCLUSION ONLY IF JUSTIFIED

18.101 Principal International Test

For future worldwide application, the principal questions can ultimately be reduced to the following:

WHAT HAPPENED?

WHAT HARM RESULTED?

WHAT EVIDENCE ESTABLISHES IT?

WHO WAS RESPONSIBLE?

WHO BENEFITED?

WHO CONTINUES TO BENEFIT?

WHO IS ENTITLED TO REPAIR?

WHO REPRESENTS THEM?

WHO AUTHORISED THAT REPRESENTATION?

WHAT FORM SHOULD REPAIR TAKE?

HOW IS ITS VALUE DETERMINED?

WHO PAYS?

WHO CONTROLS THE RESOURCES?

WHO RECEIVES THEM?

WHAT SAFEGUARDS PREVENT ANTI-BLACK RACISM?

WHAT SAFEGUARDS PREVENT INSTITUTIONAL RACISM?

WHO SCRUTINISES THE PROCESS?

WHAT HAPPENS IF THE PROCESS FAILS?

HOW IS ACTUAL REPAIR MEASURED?

WHAT REMAINS UNREPAIRED?

AND WHO HAS AUTHORITY TO SAY THAT THE OBLIGATION IS COMPLETE?

18.102 International Reference Principle

For future worldwide discussion, Reparation Nation Limited proposes the following principle:

NO GOVERNMENT, INSTITUTION, CLAIMANT, FUNDER, REPRESENTATIVE, RESEARCHER OR REPARATIONS BODY SHOULD BE EXEMPT FROM THE BASIC

REQUIREMENT TO IDENTIFY ITS EVIDENCE, AUTHORITY, ROLE, FINANCIAL INTERESTS, GOVERNANCE, REPRESENTATIVE MANDATE, SAFEGUARDS, OUTCOMES AND ACCOUNTABILITY.

18.103 Concluding Position

This schedule provides a consolidated route into the much wider evidential framework established by this document.

Its purpose is not to require every institution to answer every question immediately.

Its purpose is to establish:

what can be answered now;

what already exists in documentary form;

what requires research;

what belongs to another body;

what remains genuinely disputed;

what policies do not exist;

what evidence is incomplete;

and what questions should remain open for future international discussion.

The next necessary section is therefore: **formal documentary requests, specific records sought from participating institutions, disclosure categories, preservation requests and the evidential materials that should accompany substantive institutional responses.**

SECTION 19

FORMAL DOCUMENTARY REQUESTS, SPECIFIC RECORDS SOUGHT, DISCLOSURE CATEGORIES, PRESERVATION REQUESTS AND THE EVIDENTIAL MATERIALS THAT SHOULD ACCOMPANY SUBSTANTIVE INSTITUTIONAL RESPONSES

19.1 Purpose of This Section

The preceding sections establish a framework for questions, answers, evidence, governance, safeguards, accountability and future review.

This section identifies the principal categories of documentary material that may be required to test, verify or understand the answers given.

The purpose is not to demand indiscriminate disclosure.

It is to identify, with sufficient precision, the records that may be relevant where an institution makes or relies upon a material statement concerning:

historical responsibility;

reparations;

financial commitment;

beneficiaries;

representation;

governance;

anti-Black racism;

institutional racism;

outcomes;

or institutional accountability.

The central question is:

WHAT DOCUMENTARY RECORD EXISTS BEHIND THE INSTITUTIONAL POSITION, AND CAN THAT RECORD BE IDENTIFIED, PRESERVED AND EXAMINED?

19.2 Documentary Requests Should Be Proportionate

Reparation Nation Limited does not suggest that every institution should disclose every internal record it possesses.

The relevant principle is proportionality.

The documents sought should relate to:

the question asked;

the position asserted;

the decision made;

the money committed;

the authority claimed;

or the outcome reported.

19.3 Existing Documents Should Be Used First

Where information already exists in a published document, recipients are invited to provide:

title;

date;

author or responsible body;

version;

page;

section;

paragraph;

and direct access location where available.

There is no need to recreate existing material.

19.4 No Document Exists

Where no specific document exists, recipients are invited to state:

“No specific written document is presently held.”

This is itself a complete and useful evidential answer.

19.5 Document Exists but Is Not Public

Where a document exists but is not public, recipients are asked to identify:

the document category;

date;

custodian;

reason for non-publication;

and whether a redacted or summary version can be supplied.

19.6 Document Cannot Be Located

This should be distinguished from non-existence.

Recipients are invited to state:

“The record may have existed, but it has not presently been located.”

Where possible, the search undertaken should be described.

19.7 Document Was Destroyed

Where records were destroyed, recipients are asked to identify:

what was destroyed;

when;

under what retention policy;

by whom or under whose authority;

and whether any copy survives elsewhere.

19.8 Document Was Transferred

Where records were transferred to:

another institution;

archive;

successor;

government department;

repository;

or contractor,

the present custodian should be identified where known.

PART A — INSTITUTIONAL IDENTITY AND AUTHORITY RECORDS

19.9 Constitutional Documents

Recipients are asked, where relevant, to identify or provide:

constitution;

articles of association;

charter;

statute;

trust deed;

founding instrument;

by-laws;

or equivalent governing document.

These records may establish the institution's legal identity and powers.

19.10 Organisational Structure

Recipients are asked to provide or identify a current organisational chart where one exists.

It should, where relevant, identify:

board;

executive;

committees;

departments;

reparations programme;

research units;

and reporting lines.

19.11 Delegations of Authority

Where decisions are delegated, recipients are asked to identify:

delegation instrument;

terms of delegation;

financial limits;

decision-making authority;

and review mechanism.

19.12 Terms of Reference

For committees or working groups involved in reparations, recipients are asked to identify:

terms of reference;

mandate;

membership rules;

powers;

reporting line;

and duration.

19.13 Appointment Records

Where appointments are relevant, recipients are asked to identify:

selection criteria;

appointment process;

appointing authority;

term length;

renewal;

and removal procedure.

19.14 Role Descriptions

Where individuals speak or act institutionally, recipients are asked whether formal role descriptions exist.

This may help clarify authority and responsibility.

PART B — HISTORICAL RESEARCH AND EVIDENTIAL MATERIAL

19.15 Historical Research Reports

Recipients are asked to identify all material reports commissioned or relied upon concerning:

slavery;

enslavement;

colonialism;

historic wealth;

institutional founders;

donations;

endowments;

property;

investments;

or related historical connections.

19.16 Research Commissioning Documents

Where major research was commissioned, recipients are asked to identify:

commissioning decision;

terms of reference;

research question;

scope;

budget;

researcher selection;

and publication arrangements.

19.17 Research Contracts

Where external researchers were engaged, recipients are asked to identify or provide relevant contractual terms concerning:

scope;

independence;

publication;

confidentiality;

ownership;

and conflicts.

19.18 Research Methodology

Recipients are asked to identify:

methodology;

archive sources;

sampling;

data limitations;

assumptions;

valuation methods;

and peer-review arrangements.

19.19 Primary Historical Sources

Where historical conclusions depend upon identifiable primary material, recipients are invited to provide references to:

ledgers;

account books;

correspondence;

shipping records;

plantation records;

property records;

company records;

trust records;

compensation records;

parliamentary records;

or other relevant sources.

19.20 Archival References

Where primary records cannot be reproduced, archival references may suffice.

Recipients are invited to identify:

archive;

collection;

reference number;

document title or description;

date;

and relevant pages or folios.

19.21 Genealogical Evidence

Where descent is relevant, recipients are asked to identify the evidential standards used.

Documents may include:

birth records;

marriage records;

death records;

family records;

census material;

probate records;

or other verified genealogical sources.

19.22 Oral History

Where oral testimony contributes materially to conclusions, recipients are asked to identify:

collection method;

consent process;

recording;

transcription;

verification;

and archival arrangements.

19.23 Contrary Historical Evidence

Recipients are asked whether material contrary to their published conclusions has been identified.

If so:

Was it considered?

Where?

What weight was given?

19.24 Uncertainty Records

Where research identifies uncertainty, recipients are asked whether that uncertainty is recorded in:

reports;

appendices;

methodological notes;

or internal assessments.

PART C — HISTORICAL BENEFIT, ASSET AND WEALTH RECORDS

19.25 Financial Ledgers

Where historical financial benefit is asserted, recipients are asked to identify relevant:

accounts;

ledgers;

balance sheets;

investment records;

property records;

trust records;

or equivalent material.

19.26 Endowment Records

Where institutional endowments are relevant, recipients are asked to identify:

original donations;

donors;

dates;

asset values;

subsequent transfers;

investment histories;

and current status where traceable.

19.27 Property Records

Relevant records may include:

title documents;

purchase records;

leases;

mortgages;

valuation records;

sale records;

and transfer documents.

19.28 Investment Records

Where investments are material to historical benefit, recipients are asked to identify:

investment category;

issuer;

period;

amount;

returns;

and disposition where known.

19.29 Compensation Records

Where compensation paid following abolition or related historical schemes is relevant, recipients are asked to identify:

claimant;

amount;

basis;

recipient;

date;

and any connection to present institutional assets.

19.30 Succession Records

Where historical institutions merged or changed form, recipients are asked to identify:

merger agreements;

transfer deeds;

incorporation records;

asset transfers;

or other succession evidence.

19.31 Current Asset Records

Where present-day asset continuity is asserted, recipients are asked to identify:

current ownership;

valuation;

legal entity;

and traceable historical connection.

19.32 Valuation Working Papers

Where institutions quantify historical benefit or reparative value, recipients are asked to identify:

calculation methodology;

assumptions;

discount rates;

interest rates;

inflation assumptions;

counterfactual models;

and sensitivity analysis.

PART D — REPARATIONS POLICY AND DECISION-MAKING RECORDS

19.33 Formal Reparations Policy

Recipients are asked whether a formal reparations policy exists.

If so, please identify:

title;

approval date;

approving body;

version;

scope;

and status.

19.34 Board or Committee Approval

Where major reparations decisions were formally approved, recipients are asked to identify:

meeting date;

agenda item;

decision;

resolution;

vote;

and minutes.

19.35 Decision Papers

Where decision-makers received briefing papers, recipients are asked to identify:

paper title;

author;

date;

recommendations;

options considered;

financial implications;

and risks.

19.36 Legal Advice

Reparation Nation Limited does not request disclosure of legally privileged advice merely because it exists.

However, recipients are asked to distinguish, where possible:

the fact that legal advice was obtained;

the decision ultimately taken;

and non-privileged factual material considered.

19.37 Risk Assessments

Recipients are asked whether risk assessments were undertaken concerning:

financial risk;

legal risk;

reputational risk;

governance risk;

racial equality;

institutional racism;

community impact;

or programme failure.

19.38 Options Appraisals

Where alternative reparative measures were considered, recipients are asked to identify:

options;

selection criteria;

reasons for rejection;

and final recommendation.

19.39 Equality Impact Assessments

Where equality impact assessments or equivalent reviews exist, recipients are asked to identify them.

Particular attention is requested to any analysis concerning Black populations.

19.40 Racial Impact Assessments

Where a more specific racial impact assessment has been undertaken, recipients are asked to identify:

scope;

methodology;

findings;

decision consequences;

and subsequent review.

PART E — ANTI-BLACK RACISM AND INSTITUTIONAL RACISM RECORDS

19.41 Specific Anti-Black-Racism Policies

Recipients are asked whether any policy specifically addressing anti-Black racism exists.

If so:

What is it called?

When was it adopted?

Who approved it?

Who must comply?

19.42 Institutional-Racism Policies

Recipients are asked whether institutional racism is expressly addressed in:

policy;

guidance;

risk management;

governance;

training;

or evaluation.

19.43 Definitions

Recipients are asked to identify the formal definitions used for:

race;

racial discrimination;

anti-Black racism;

institutional racism;

and any related terminology.

19.44 Safeguard Procedures

Where operational safeguards exist, recipients are asked to identify:

the procedure;

decision stage;

responsible officer;

monitoring;

escalation;

and remedy.

19.45 Training Materials

Where training is relied upon as a safeguard, recipients are asked to identify:

training title;

provider;

content;

frequency;

target participants;

attendance;

and evaluation.

19.46 Monitoring Data

Where racial outcomes are monitored, recipients are asked to identify:

variables;

period;

population;

method;

results;

and actions taken.

19.47 Complaint Data

Where complaints concerning race or anti-Black racism exist in aggregate form, recipients are asked whether anonymised statistics can be supplied.

Possible fields include:

number;

category;

outcome;

time to resolution;

and remedial action.

19.48 Systemic Reviews

Where institutional racism or racial disparity has been examined systemically, recipients are asked to identify:

review;

terms of reference;

reviewer;

findings;

recommendations;

and implementation status.

PART F — REPRESENTATION, CONSULTATION AND COMMUNITY MANDATE RECORDS

19.49 Representative Mandate

Where an organisation or individual is said to represent a population, recipients are asked to identify the documentary basis.

Possible records may include:

membership rules;

election results;

appointment instrument;

government mandate;

resolution;

agreement;

or consultation record.

19.50 Membership Records

Where membership is relevant, recipients are asked to identify:

membership criteria;

numbers;

geographic distribution;

voting rights;

and governance rights.

Personal data need not be disclosed unnecessarily.

19.51 Election Records

Where representation is elected, recipients are asked to identify:

electorate;

date;

candidate process;

result;

turnout;

term;

and challenge mechanism.

19.52 Appointment Records

Where representatives are appointed rather than elected, recipients are asked to identify:

appointing body;

criteria;

selection process;

term;

and accountability mechanism.

19.53 Consultation Plans

Recipients are asked to identify formal plans setting out:

purpose;

target population;

method;

timescale;

questions;

and decision-making use.

19.54 Consultation Responses

Where practicable, recipients are asked to identify:

number of respondents;

demographic or geographic breakdown;

support;

opposition;

major themes;

and dissent.

19.55 Consultation Reports

Where consultation results were summarised, the report should identify:

methodology;

limitations;

who analysed responses;

and how conclusions were reached.

19.56 Evidence That Consultation Affected the Decision

Recipients are asked to identify what changed as a result of consultation.

If nothing changed, why not?

19.57 Community Agreements

Where community organisations have formal partnership or mandate agreements, recipients are asked to identify them.

PART G — FINANCIAL REPARATIONS AND FUNDING RECORDS

19.58 Formal Financial Commitment

Recipients are asked to identify the document by which any reparations funding commitment was authorised.

This may include:

board resolution;

budget;

government decision;

grant agreement;

trust instrument;

or equivalent authority.

19.59 Funding Amount

Recipients are asked to identify:

total headline amount;

amount legally or institutionally committed;

amount funded to date;

and amount remaining.

19.60 Funding Source

Relevant records should identify:

source account;

fund;

endowment;

public budget;

donation;

or other source.

19.61 Budget

Recipients are asked to provide or identify programme budgets showing, where relevant:

direct beneficiary expenditure;

grants;

staff;

administration;

consultancy;

research;

communications;

evaluation;

and reserves.

19.62 Annual Expenditure

Recipients are asked to identify annual expenditure against the reparations commitment.

19.63 Actual Transfers

Where funds are transferred to organisations or beneficiaries, recipients are asked whether transaction-level or grant-level information can be provided, subject to legitimate privacy restrictions.

19.64 Administrative Costs

Recipients are asked to identify the proportion of reparations resources consumed by administration.

19.65 Consultancy Costs

Recipients are asked to identify:

consultant;

purpose;

contract value;

selection method;

and output

where material.

19.66 Legal and Professional Costs

Where professional fees are substantial, recipients are asked whether aggregate or contract-level figures are available.

19.67 Investment Management Costs

Where a reparations fund is invested, recipients are asked to identify:

investment manager;

fees;

performance;

risk policy;

and mandate.

19.68 Fund Governance

Recipients are asked to identify:

trustees;

directors;

investment committee;

beneficiary representatives;

and voting powers.

19.69 Ring-Fencing Records

Where funds are stated to be ring-fenced, recipients are asked to identify the legal or accounting mechanism establishing that protection.

19.70 Financial Statements

Recipients are asked to identify audited or independently examined financial statements relevant to the reparations programme.

19.71 Audit Reports

Where external audit occurred, recipients are asked to identify:

auditor;

period;

scope;

opinion;

and material findings.

19.72 Internal Audit

Where internal audits identified weaknesses or recommendations, recipients are asked whether relevant findings can be disclosed.

PART H — GRANT, CONTRACT AND PROCUREMENT RECORDS

19.73 Grant Criteria

Recipients are asked to identify:

eligibility;

selection criteria;

assessment method;

scoring;

decision-maker;

and appeal procedure.

19.74 Grant Applications

Individual applications may contain confidential material.

However, recipients are asked whether anonymised or aggregate information can demonstrate how decisions were made.

19.75 Grant Awards

Recipients are asked to identify:

recipient;

amount;

purpose;

duration;

conditions;

and outcome where disclosure is appropriate.

19.76 Procurement Policy

Recipients are asked to identify the procurement rules applying to reparations-related expenditure.

19.77 Tender Records

For substantial contracts, recipients are asked whether records exist showing:

advertisement;

bids;

criteria;

evaluation;

decision;

and contract award.

19.78 Single-Source Awards

Where competitive procurement was not used, recipients are asked to identify:

reason;

authority;

and conflict safeguards.

19.79 Related-Party Transactions

Recipients are asked whether reparations-related transactions with:

trustees;

directors;

staff;

members;

connected companies;

or family members

are disclosed and independently authorised.

19.80 Beneficial Ownership

Where substantial contractors or recipient companies are used, recipients are asked whether beneficial ownership is checked.

PART I — OUTCOME, EVALUATION AND IMPACT RECORDS

19.81 Theory of Change

Where one exists, recipients are asked to identify the programme's theory of change.

This should explain how the intervention is expected to produce repair.

19.82 Baseline Data

Recipients are asked to identify the baseline against which progress is measured.

19.83 Targets

What targets were established before implementation?

19.84 Indicators

Recipients are asked to identify:

output indicators;

outcome indicators;

and impact indicators.

19.85 Monitoring Reports

Where periodic monitoring occurs, recipients are asked to identify relevant reports.

19.86 Independent Evaluations

Recipients are asked to identify:

evaluator;

commissioning body;

terms of reference;

method;

findings;

and publication status.

19.87 Negative Findings

Where evaluation found:

failure;

underperformance;

unintended harm;

or limited evidence of impact,

recipients are asked whether the complete findings were published.

19.88 Corrective Action Plans

Where deficiencies were identified, recipients are asked to identify the corrective action plan.

19.89 Follow-Up Evaluation

Recipients are asked whether action taken after criticism was subsequently evaluated.

19.90 Beneficiary Feedback

Recipients are asked whether beneficiaries were asked:

whether they experienced repair;

what worked;

what failed;

and what remained unresolved.

PART J — COMPLAINTS, REVIEWS AND ACCOUNTABILITY RECORDS

19.91 Complaint Procedure

Recipients are asked to identify the current written complaint procedure.

19.92 Appeals Procedure

Recipients are asked to identify any appeal or review mechanism.

19.93 External Oversight

Recipients are asked to identify:

regulator;

ombudsman;

auditor;

court;

professional body;

or other external review route where applicable.

19.94 Complaint Outcomes

Where appropriate and anonymised, recipients are asked whether material complaint outcomes can be published.

19.95 Systemic Findings

Where individual complaints led to systemic findings, recipients are asked to identify subsequent institutional action.

19.96 Remediation Records

Recipients are asked whether there is documentary evidence of:

compensation;

reinstatement;

correction;

policy amendment;

or other remedies.

19.97 Sanctions

Where serious findings resulted in sanction, recipients are asked whether the category of action can be identified without breaching legitimate confidentiality.

19.98 Whistleblowing Policy

Recipients are asked to identify the relevant policy.

19.99 Anti-Retaliation Safeguards

Where complainants or whistleblowers are protected from retaliation, recipients are asked to identify the relevant rule.

PART K — EVENT-SPECIFIC DOCUMENTARY MATERIAL

19.100 Event Programme

The organiser is respectfully asked to preserve and, where appropriate, provide the final programme.

19.101 Speaker List

The final list should identify:

name;

institution;

role;

and capacity.

19.102 Speaker Invitations

Where relevant to understanding participant selection, the organiser is asked whether selection criteria or invitation rationale can be identified.

19.103 Moderator Details

The organiser is asked to identify:

moderator;

institutional relationship;

and role.

19.104 Event Agenda

The final agenda should be preserved.

19.105 Advance Questions

All material advance questions received should, subject to appropriate privacy safeguards, be preserved.

19.106 Question Selection Criteria

The organiser is asked whether written criteria or instructions exist for selection or moderation of questions.

19.107 Questions Asked Live

A record should identify which questions were actually asked.

19.108 Questions Not Reached

These should be capable of being distinguished from questions expressly declined.

19.109 Recording

Where audio or video exists, the organiser is asked to identify:

format;

custodian;

access location;

and retention period.

19.110 Transcript

Where a transcript is produced, it should be preserved alongside the recording where practicable.

19.111 Speaker Materials

Slides, reports or data cited should be preserved where copyright and permissions permit.

19.112 Event Commitments

Where participants promise documents, reviews or follow-up action, these commitments should be recorded.

19.113 Post-Event Responses

Written responses following the event should remain linked to the original question numbers.

PART L — PRESERVATION OF RECORDS

19.114 Preservation Request

Reparation Nation Limited respectfully requests that recipients consider preserving records materially relevant to the questions contained in this document.

This is a request for responsible record preservation.

It is not an assertion that litigation, wrongdoing or document destruction exists or is anticipated.

19.115 Categories Requested for Preservation

Relevant records may include:

emails;

letters;

minutes;

drafts;

research;

financial records;

contracts;

grant records;

consultation submissions;

recordings;

data;

audit material;

and policy documents.

19.116 Electronic Records

Recipients are asked to consider preservation of electronically stored material including:

email;

shared drives;

collaboration systems;

institutional messaging;

databases;

and relevant metadata.

19.117 Personal Devices

Where institutional decisions are conducted through authorised personal devices or accounts, recipients are asked whether institutional record policies capture material communications.

19.118 Drafts and Working Papers

Material drafts should be preserved where they substantially contributed to a decision or historical conclusion.

19.119 Deleted Material

Recipients are asked whether deleted records can be recovered from:

archives;

backup systems;

or records-management systems

where materially necessary.

19.120 Retention Schedules

Recipients are asked to identify the general retention policy applicable to the relevant records.

19.121 Temporary Records

Where records are scheduled for imminent routine deletion, recipients are invited to consider whether preservation is appropriate given the continuing international discussion.

19.122 Records Held by Contractors

Where researchers, consultants, event organisers, technology suppliers or other contractors hold relevant records, recipients are asked whether contractual arrangements ensure their preservation.

19.123 Successor Custody

Where responsibility or programme ownership changes, documentary custody should transfer clearly.

19.124 Integrity of Records

Recipients are asked whether systems exist to preserve:

original creation date;

authorship;

version;

and modification history

where these matters are evidentially significant.

PART M — DISCLOSURE LOG

19.125 Disclosure Log

For substantial responses, Reparation Nation Limited proposes a simple **Disclosure Log**.

Possible fields include:

Document Number

Question Number

Document Title

Date

Author

Institution

Description

Status

Public / Restricted

Access Location

Reason for Restriction

19.126 Document Numbering

Documents could be numbered:

DOC-001

DOC-002

DOC-003

and cross-referenced to questions.

19.127 Categories

Possible categories could include:

GOV — Governance

HIS — Historical evidence

FIN — Financial

REP — Representation

RAS — Racial safeguards

CON — Consultation

EVA — Evaluation

COM — Complaints

EVT — Event

This would assist future retrieval.

19.128 Restricted Documents

Where a document cannot be disclosed, the log could nevertheless record its existence.

For example:

Document held — withheld because of personal data

or

Document held — legally privileged

without disclosing protected content.

19.129 No-Document Entry

Where no material exists:

NO DOCUMENT HELD

could be entered against the relevant question.

This reduces ambiguity.

PART N — CORE DOCUMENTARY TESTS

19.130 Historical Evidence Test

WHAT IS THE HISTORICAL CLAIM?

WHAT DOCUMENT SUPPORTS IT?

WHERE IS THE ORIGINAL SOURCE?

WHO INTERPRETED IT?

WHAT LIMITATIONS EXIST?

19.131 Institutional Authority Test

WHAT DECISION WAS MADE?

WHO MADE IT?

WHAT DOCUMENT GAVE THEM AUTHORITY?

WHERE IS THE DECISION RECORDED?

19.132 Financial Test

WHAT SUM WAS ANNOUNCED?

WHAT SUM WAS AUTHORISED?

WHAT SUM WAS TRANSFERRED?

WHAT SUM WAS SPENT?

WHAT SUM REACHED FINAL BENEFICIARIES?

WHERE IS EACH STAGE DOCUMENTED?

19.133 Representation Test

WHO CLAIMS TO REPRESENT WHOM?

WHERE IS THE MANDATE?

WHO GRANTED IT?

CAN IT BE WITHDRAWN?

WHERE IS CONTINUING ACCOUNTABILITY RECORDED?

19.134 Racial Safeguard Test

WHAT SAFEGUARD EXISTS?

WHERE IS IT WRITTEN?

WHO APPROVED IT?

HOW IS IT APPLIED?

HOW IS FAILURE DETECTED?

WHAT HAPPENS IF IT FAILS?

19.135 Outcome Test

WHAT HARM WAS TO BE REPAIRED?

WHAT WAS DONE?

WHAT CHANGED?

WHERE IS THE EVIDENCE?

WHO VERIFIED IT?

19.136 Accountability Test

WHAT HAPPENS IF THE INSTITUTION IS WRONG?

WHERE IS THE COMPLAINT PROCEDURE?

WHO INVESTIGATES?

WHAT REMEDY EXISTS?

WHERE IS IMPLEMENTATION RECORDED?

PART O — EVENT-SPECIFIC FORMAL DOCUMENTARY REQUEST

19.137 Documents Requested From the Organiser

For the forthcoming event, Reparation Nation Limited respectfully requests, where available and appropriate:

19.137.1 final event programme;

19.137.2 final participant list;

19.137.3 moderator details;

19.137.4 final agenda;

19.137.5 question-submission procedure;

19.137.6 question-selection criteria;

19.137.7 recording arrangements;

19.137.8 transcript arrangements;

19.137.9 post-event follow-up arrangements;

and

19.137.10 details of where event materials will be archived.

19.138 Documents Requested From Participating Institutions

Each participating institution is respectfully invited to identify or provide, where applicable:

19.138.1 institutional reparations policy;

19.138.2 key historical research report;

19.138.3 governance structure;

19.138.4 formal responsibility statement;

19.138.5 financial commitment documentation;

19.138.6 beneficiary criteria;

19.138.7 conflict-of-interest policy;

19.138.8 anti-Black-racism safeguards;

19.138.9 institutional-racism safeguards;

19.138.10 relevant evaluation report;

19.138.11 complaint procedure;

19.138.12 review or completion framework;

and

19.138.13 any document the institution considers necessary to prevent misunderstanding of its position.

19.139 Prioritisation

Where the documentary request is too broad to answer immediately, recipients are invited to prioritise:

1. the formal institutional position;
2. the principal historical evidence;
3. the principal governance authority;
4. the principal financial commitment;
5. the principal racial safeguard;
6. the principal outcome evidence;
7. and the principal complaint or review mechanism.

Further documentation can follow later.

19.140 No Requirement to Create New Documents

This section does not require recipients to create policies, reports or records that do not presently exist.

Where no document exists, a statement to that effect is sufficient.

19.141 No Assumption From Absence of a Document

The absence of a written document does not automatically establish misconduct or institutional failure.

It may, however, be relevant to assessing whether a claimed process, safeguard, policy or authority is formally established.

19.142 No Assumption From Refusal

A refusal to disclose does not automatically establish wrongdoing.

The basis for refusal should simply be recorded and, where appropriate, examined.

19.143 No Assumption That Disclosure Establishes Truth

Producing a document establishes that the document exists.

It does not necessarily establish that every statement within it is correct.

Documents remain subject to evidential evaluation.

19.144 Source Provenance Principle

For future worldwide use, Reparation Nation Limited proposes:

MATERIAL REPARATIONS CLAIMS SHOULD, SO FAR AS REASONABLY PRACTICABLE, BE TRACEABLE BACK THROUGH THEIR DOCUMENTARY PROVENANCE TO THE SOURCE FROM WHICH THE CLAIM WAS DERIVED.

19.145 Preservation Principle

Reparation Nation Limited further proposes:

DOCUMENTS THAT MATERIALLY RECORD HISTORICAL EVIDENCE, REPARATIONS DECISIONS, FINANCIAL COMMITMENTS, REPRESENTATIVE AUTHORITY, RACIAL SAFEGUARDS, COMPLAINTS OR OUTCOMES SHOULD NOT DISAPPEAR MERELY BECAUSE PERSONNEL, WEBSITES, PROGRAMMES OR INSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURES CHANGE.

19.146 Documentary Neutrality Principle

The same documentary standard should apply to:

institutions alleged to bear historical responsibility;

claimant governments;

reparations organisations;

research centres;

descendant bodies;

funders;

and beneficiaries.

No participant should be exempt from evidential scrutiny merely because its stated objective is reparative.

19.147 Core Documentary Sequence

For international reference, Reparation Nation Limited proposes:

QUESTION

↓

ANSWER

↓

DOCUMENT

↓

SOURCE

↓

AUTHORITY

↓

VERIFICATION

↓

CONTRARY EVIDENCE

↓

CORRECTION WHERE NECESSARY

↓

PRESERVATION

↓

FUTURE ACCESS

19.148 International Reference Principle

For future worldwide discussion, Reparation Nation Limited proposes the following principle:

REPARATIONS SHOULD NOT DEPEND UPON INSTITUTIONAL MEMORY, REPUTATION OR ASSERTION WHERE RELEVANT DOCUMENTARY MATERIAL CAN REASONABLY BE IDENTIFIED. A DURABLE REPARATIONS PROCESS SHOULD ALLOW FUTURE GENERATIONS TO TRACE MATERIAL CLAIMS, DECISIONS, AUTHORITY, MONEY, REPRESENTATION, SAFEGUARDS AND OUTCOMES BACK TO AN EVIDENTIAL RECORD.

19.149 Concluding Position

The central documentary questions are therefore:

What document exists?

Who created it?

When?

Under what authority?

What question does it answer?

What evidence does it contain?

What source does it rely upon?

Is the source accessible?

What contrary evidence exists?

Has the document been superseded?

Has it been corrected?

Is it public?

If not, why not?

Who preserves it?

How long will it survive?

And can a future researcher independently reconstruct the evidential chain without being required simply to trust the institution's own summary of what occurred?

These questions lead directly to the next necessary examination: **institutional self-interest, economic incentives, reputational benefit, professional benefit, organisational expansion and the requirement to distinguish reparative benefit to affected communities from benefit accruing to the institutions and professionals administering reparations.**

SECTION 20

INSTITUTIONAL SELF-INTEREST, ECONOMIC INCENTIVES, REPUTATIONAL BENEFIT, PROFESSIONAL BENEFIT, ORGANISATIONAL EXPANSION AND THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN COMMUNITY REPAIR AND INSTITUTIONAL BENEFIT

20.1 Purpose of This Section

Reparations are commonly discussed in terms of the people and communities intended to benefit.

An equally important governance question concerns the institutions, organisations and professionals administering reparations programmes.

Every substantial reparations process creates economic activity.

That activity may include:

- research funding;
- employment;
- consultancy;
- legal services;
- academic publication;
- public events;
- media coverage;
- charitable administration;
- investment management;
- programme delivery;
- grant administration;
- heritage work;
- archive development;
- training;
- communications;
- and institutional expansion.

None of these activities is inherently improper.

The purpose of this section is not to suggest wrongdoing.

The purpose is to establish a transparent evidential framework capable of distinguishing between:

BENEFIT INTENDED FOR REPARATION

and

BENEFIT ARISING FROM THE ADMINISTRATION OF REPARATIONS.

These are not necessarily the same thing.

20.2 The Central Governance Question

The central international question is:

WHO BENEFITS FROM THE EXISTENCE OF THE REPARATIONS PROCESS ITSELF?

This question applies equally to:

- governments;
- universities;
- charities;
- churches;
- corporations;
- research institutes;
- consultants;
- legal professionals;
- media organisations;
- fund managers;
- programme administrators;
- and community organisations.

The existence of benefit does not establish impropriety.

It establishes the importance of transparency.

20.3 Reparations Create an Economic Ecosystem

A reparations programme may generate a substantial ecosystem surrounding the intended beneficiaries.

That ecosystem may include:

The purpose of governance is not to eliminate administration.

It is to ensure that administration remains proportionate, transparent and accountable.

20.4 Administration Is Not the Same as Repair

A programme may employ hundreds of people.

It may host conferences.

It may commission research.

It may generate books, documentaries and academic careers.

Those activities may all possess genuine value.

However, they answer a different question from:

WHAT HARM HAS ACTUALLY BEEN REPAIRED FOR THE INTENDED BENEFICIARIES?

Recipients are respectfully invited to distinguish these categories clearly.

20.5 Legitimate Institutional Benefit

Institutions may legitimately receive benefits from reparations work including:

- improved historical understanding;
- stronger archives;
- public trust;
- academic reputation;
- institutional legitimacy;
- increased research capability;
- international partnerships;
- educational value;
- improved governance;
- and enhanced public engagement.

These benefits should not automatically be regarded as problematic.

They should simply be visible.

20.6 Legitimate Professional Benefit

Individuals working within reparations may legitimately receive:

- salary;
- professional advancement;
- research opportunities;
- publication opportunities;
- speaking engagements;
- academic recognition;
- career development;
- consultancy income;
- and professional expertise.

Again, these benefits do not establish misconduct.

They establish the importance of identifying economic relationships transparently.

20.7 The Distinction Between Purpose and Incentive

A person may sincerely support reparations while also receiving professional benefit from working within the field.

Both facts may simultaneously be true.

Therefore the relevant governance question is not:

DOES BENEFIT EXIST?

It is:

HOW IS THAT BENEFIT DISCLOSED, GOVERNED AND KEPT DISTINCT FROM THE INTERESTS OF INTENDED BENEFICIARIES?

PART I — INSTITUTIONAL ECONOMIC INTERESTS

20.8 Employment Created by Reparations

Recipients are respectfully asked:

20.8.1 How many staff are employed specifically because of reparations programmes?

20.8.2 What proportion are permanent?

20.8.3 What proportion are temporary?

20.8.4 What proportion are externally funded?

20.8.5 What is the annual staffing expenditure?

20.8.6 How does staffing expenditure compare with direct beneficiary expenditure?

20.9 Administrative Infrastructure

Recipients are asked whether reparations has resulted in creation of:

- dedicated departments;
- institutes;
- research centres;
- charitable foundations;
- advisory boards;
- secretariats;
- archives;
- communications teams;
- grant teams;
- or programme offices.

For each, what is the purpose and annual operating cost?

20.10 Organisational Expansion

Where institutions expand through reparations activity, recipients are asked:

20.10.1 Has the institution created new permanent structures?

20.10.2 Were those structures expected to continue indefinitely?

20.10.3 Who authorised them?

20.10.4 What review mechanism applies?

20.11 Dependence Upon Reparations Funding

Recipients are respectfully asked whether any organisational unit depends substantially upon reparations-related funding for its continued existence.

If so:

- what proportion of its budget derives from such funding?
- what happens if funding ends?
- does financial dependence influence long-term programme design?
- what governance safeguards address that possibility?

This is a structural question.

It does not imply improper influence.

20.12 Reputational Benefit

Institutions may receive reputational benefit from public reparations initiatives.

Recipients are asked:

20.12.1 Does the institution evaluate reputational benefit?

20.12.2 Is reputational value discussed within decision papers?

20.12.3 Were public-relations considerations part of programme approval?

20.12.4 Are communications budgets separately identified?

20.13 International Prestige

Participation in international reparations discussions may increase:

- institutional visibility;
- diplomatic influence;
- academic standing;
- funding opportunities;
- global partnerships;
- and policy influence.

Recipients are respectfully asked whether these benefits are recognised within governance documentation.

20.14 Public Relations

Recipients are asked whether reparations communications are managed through:

- dedicated communications teams;
- external public-relations agencies;
- media consultants;
- branding specialists;
- or internal communications departments.

Where material expenditure exists, can it be identified separately from direct reparative expenditure?

PART II — PROFESSIONAL AND ECONOMIC BENEFIT

20.15 Consultancy

Recipients are respectfully asked:

20.15.1 What consultancy contracts relate to reparations?

20.15.2 What services were provided?

20.15.3 What was the procurement process?

20.15.4 What was the contract value?

20.15.5 Were conflicts of interest assessed?

20.16 Legal Professionals

Where legal professionals participate materially in reparations programmes, recipients are asked:

- what role do they perform?
- who appoints them?
- what remuneration structure applies?
- what aggregate legal expenditure exists?
- what proportion relates to direct beneficiary representation versus institutional advice?

20.17 Researchers

Academic and historical researchers may receive grants connected to reparations.

Recipients are asked:

20.17.1 Who funded the research?

20.17.2 What was the value?

20.17.3 Who owns the resulting intellectual property?

20.17.4 Can the research be independently criticised?

20.17.5 Are negative findings protected from suppression?

20.18 Authors and Publications

Reparations research may generate:

- books;
- journals;
- reports;

- documentaries;
- exhibitions;
- educational resources;
- podcasts;
- and digital archives.

Recipients are respectfully asked:

Who owns those outputs?

Who receives royalties where applicable?

Who controls licensing?

Do descendant communities possess any ownership rights?

20.19 Speaking Engagements

Public reparations discussions often involve:

- keynote speakers;
- panel members;
- moderators;
- facilitators;
- advisers;
- and expert witnesses.

Recipients are asked whether remuneration, travel and accommodation arrangements are governed by written policy.

20.20 Conferences and Events

Recipients are respectfully asked to distinguish expenditure upon:

- community participation;
- venue hire;
- technology;
- security;
- speaker costs;
- promotion;

- administration;
- recording;
- catering;
- and direct community benefit.

This enables the economics of public engagement to be understood separately from reparative expenditure.

PART III — BENEFIT TO COMMUNITY VERSUS BENEFIT TO INSTITUTION

20.21 Direct Beneficiary Expenditure

Recipients are asked to identify expenditure that reaches intended beneficiaries directly.

Possible categories include:

- grants;
- scholarships;
- land transfer;
- property restoration;
- cultural restitution;
- business investment;
- community infrastructure;
- healthcare initiatives where formally reparative;
- education initiatives;
- and trust distributions.

20.22 Indirect Expenditure

Indirect expenditure may include:

- administration;
- research;
- communications;
- evaluation;
- consultancy;
- legal advice;

- governance;
- technology;
- and investment management.

Recipients are invited to distinguish these categories transparently.

20.23 Proposed Transparency Ratio

For future international discussion, Reparation Nation Limited proposes consideration of a simple disclosure ratio.

This is not proposed as a universal performance measure.

Different programmes require different administrative structures.

The proposal is simply that the distinction should be visible.

20.24 Community Value Statement

Recipients are invited to prepare a short annual statement identifying:

Total programme expenditure

Direct beneficiary expenditure

Administration

Research

Consultancy

Legal

Communications

Evaluation

Assets transferred

Outstanding commitments

This would provide a clearer public understanding of where resources are being applied.

20.25 Money Reaching Communities

A fundamental question is:

HOW MUCH OF THE VALUE ANNOUNCED ACTUALLY REACHES THE PEOPLE OR COMMUNITIES FOR WHOM THE REPARATIONS PROGRAMME WAS CREATED?

Recipients are invited to answer this using documentary evidence rather than general description.

PART IV — CONFLICTS OF INTEREST

20.26 Personal Financial Interests

Recipients are respectfully asked whether persons involved in decision-making must declare:

- consultancy interests;
- company ownership;
- charitable trusteeships;
- research funding;
- family interests;
- contractual relationships;
- or other relevant financial interests.

20.27 Organisational Financial Interests

Conflicts may also arise between organisations.

Recipients are asked whether governance considers relationships involving:

- funders;
- contractors;
- partner universities;
- charities;
- government departments;
- investment managers;
- and media organisations.

20.28 Related-Party Transactions

Recipients are asked whether related-party transactions are:

recorded;

independently approved;

published where appropriate;

and audited.

20.29 Procurement Safeguards

Where significant contracts arise from reparations programmes, recipients are asked:

What procurement rules apply?

Who evaluates bids?

How are conflicts managed?

Are unsuccessful decisions reviewable?

20.30 Appointment Safeguards

Recipients are asked whether appointments to reparations boards or committees consider conflicts arising from:

financial interests;

professional relationships;

political affiliations;

institutional dependency;

or family relationships.

The purpose is governance integrity.

PART V — INCENTIVES THAT MAY OPERATE IN DIFFERENT DIRECTIONS

20.31 Incentive to Expand

Recipients are respectfully invited to consider whether institutions may possess incentives to expand reparations programmes because expansion may generate:

- employment;
- funding;
- institutional influence;
- academic prestige;
- political relevance;
- or organisational permanence.

The question is not whether such incentives determine decisions.

It is whether governance recognises and manages them.

20.32 Incentive to Preserve Existing Structures

A programme may become associated with departments, careers and budgets.

Recipients are asked:

What independent mechanism ensures that programmes are periodically reviewed on their merits rather than simply preserved because they already exist?

20.33 Incentive to Declare Success

Institutions may also possess incentives to declare programmes successful because success may generate:

- positive publicity;
- donor confidence;
- political support;
- future funding;
- and reputational benefit.

Recipients are asked what independent evaluation safeguards exist.

20.34 Incentive to Avoid Failure

Recipients are asked whether institutional reporting systems encourage disclosure of:

underperformance;

mistakes;

unintended consequences;

or failed interventions.

Can failure be reported without threatening the continued existence of the programme?

20.35 Incentive Within Claimant Organisations

The same governance questions apply to claimant and descendant organisations.

Recipients are invited to consider:

- funding dependence;
- leadership incentives;
- organisational expansion;
- consultancy;
- political influence;
- and internal accountability.

The proposed evidential standard is universal.

20.36 Incentive Within Academic Institutions

Academic institutions may receive:

research grants;

publication opportunities;

international prestige;

student recruitment;

and institutional recognition.

Recipients are asked how research independence is protected despite these legitimate incentives.

PART VI — MEDIA AND NARRATIVE VALUE

20.37 Media Benefit

Public reparations debates generate substantial media attention.

Recipients are respectfully asked whether communications strategies distinguish between:

public education;

institutional reputation;

campaign advocacy;

and documentary reporting.

20.38 Documentary Production

Where documentaries or media productions arise from reparations work, recipients are asked:

Who funds production?

Who owns the finished work?

Who receives commercial revenue?

How are community contributors recognised?

20.39 Narrative Ownership

A significant cultural question is:

WHO OWNS THE STORY OF REPARATION?

Recipients are invited to identify whether descendant communities possess meaningful participation in determining:

historical narrative;

public exhibitions;

educational material;

documentaries;

and archival interpretation.

PART VII — INTELLECTUAL PROPERTY AND KNOWLEDGE

20.40 Community Knowledge

Where communities contribute:

oral history;

family archives;

cultural knowledge;

genealogical evidence;

or traditional knowledge,

recipients are asked what ownership and consent framework applies.

20.41 Intellectual Property Generated by Reparations

Recipients are respectfully asked whether intellectual property created through reparations funding belongs to:

the institution;

the researcher;

the funder;

the community;

or another entity.

The answer should identify the governing legal framework.

20.42 Digital Archives

Where archives are digitised, recipients are asked:

Who owns the digital copies?

Who controls access?

Can communities download and preserve their own heritage?

Are commercial licences granted?

PART VIII — INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC TRANSPARENCY

20.43 Cross-Border Funding

Where reparations funding crosses national borders, recipients are asked to identify:

origin;

intermediary;

recipient;

currency;

legal mechanism;

and reporting arrangements.

20.44 International Fund Management

Recipients are asked whether international reparations funds are managed by:

governments;

trusts;

banks;

charities;

multilateral institutions;

or independent bodies.

What fiduciary safeguards apply?

20.45 Currency and Value Preservation

Where long-term reparative funds exist, recipients are asked:

How is purchasing power preserved?

What investment policy applies?

Who bears investment risk?

Who benefits from investment returns?

PART IX — MEASURING THE TRUE BENEFIT OF REPARATIONS

20.46 Gross Value Versus Community Value

Recipients are respectfully invited to distinguish:

Category	Meaning
Headline value	Publicly announced programme value
Committed value	Formally authorised resources
Allocated value	Resources assigned to programmes
Administrative value	Cost of running programmes
Professional value	Consultancy, legal and research expenditure
Direct beneficiary value	Value reaching intended beneficiaries
Outcome value	Evidence of actual repair achieved

These categories should not be conflated.

20.47 Community Outcome Versus Institutional Output

A programme may produce substantial outputs.

Examples include:

- conferences;
- publications;
- reports;
- exhibitions;
- databases;
- training;
- and websites.

Recipients are asked to distinguish these outputs from evidence that communities experienced actual repair.

20.48 Beneficiary Experience

Recipients are respectfully asked whether beneficiaries themselves are asked:

- Did this programme improve your circumstances?
- Did it address the identified harm?
- What remains unresolved?

- Would you design the programme differently?
- Do you consider it reparative?

Their answers may provide evidence unavailable through financial accounts alone.

PART X — INSTITUTIONAL SELF-AUDIT

20.49 Annual Institutional Self-Audit

For future international discussion, Reparation Nation Limited proposes that institutions consider publishing an annual self-audit containing:

- historical work undertaken;
- reparative commitments;
- expenditure;
- administration;
- consultancy;
- governance;
- conflicts declared;
- beneficiary participation;
- racial safeguards;
- outcome evidence;
- complaints;
- corrections;
- outstanding obligations.

This would permit year-on-year comparison.

20.50 Independent Audit

Recipients are asked whether major reparations programmes should periodically undergo independent review examining both:

financial integrity

and

community reparative effectiveness.

The two questions are related but distinct.

20.51 Community Audit

An additional possibility is a community-based review.

Recipients are invited to consider whether intended beneficiaries should periodically evaluate:

representation;

fairness;

transparency;

accessibility;

and actual benefit.

This would supplement rather than replace financial audit.

PART XI — PRINCIPAL QUESTIONS FOR ALL PARTICIPATING INSTITUTIONS

20.52 Institutional Self-Interest Questionnaire

Each institution is respectfully invited to answer:

20.52.1 What economic activity exists because of your reparations programme?

20.52.2 How many staff are employed?

20.52.3 What is the annual staffing cost?

20.52.4 What consultancy expenditure exists?

20.52.5 What legal expenditure exists?

20.52.6 What research expenditure exists?

20.52.7 What communications expenditure exists?

20.52.8 What event expenditure exists?

20.52.9 What proportion of expenditure reaches intended beneficiaries directly?

20.52.10 What independent evidence demonstrates actual community benefit?

20.52.11 What conflicts of interest must decision-makers declare?

20.52.12 What procurement safeguards apply?

20.52.13 What mechanism prevents institutional self-preservation from influencing programme duration?

20.52.14 What mechanism prevents premature declarations of success?

20.52.15 How are beneficiaries involved in evaluating whether repair has occurred?

PART XII — PROFESSIONAL BENEFIT REGISTER

20.53 Proposed Professional Benefit Register

For substantial programmes, Reparation Nation Limited proposes consideration of a transparent register identifying categories rather than unnecessary personal information.

Possible categories include:

Category	Annual Value
Staff employment	£
Consultancy	£
Legal services	£
Historical research	£
Communications	£
Events	£
Technology	£
Evaluation	£
Investment management	£
Direct community benefit	£

The purpose is visibility.

20.54 Institutional Benefit Statement

Institutions may also consider publishing a narrative statement answering:

WHAT BENEFITS HAS THE INSTITUTION ITSELF RECEIVED THROUGH ITS PARTICIPATION IN REPARATIONS WORK?

Possible answers may include:

- improved archives;
- new research capacity;
- strengthened public engagement;
- international partnerships;
- educational value;

- institutional learning;
- reputational development.

Transparency strengthens credibility.

PART XIII — THE UNIVERSAL GOVERNANCE PRINCIPLE

20.55 Equal Evidential Standard

Reparation Nation Limited proposes that the same questions apply equally to:

- institutions regarded as historically responsible;
- claimant governments;
- descendant organisations;
- charities;
- universities;
- corporations;
- churches;
- financial institutions;
- research centres;
- funders;
- and reparations administrators.

No participant should be exempt from evidential scrutiny merely because its objectives are regarded as beneficial.

20.56 No Presumption of Impropriety

For avoidance of doubt:

The existence of:

- salaries;
- consultancy;
- research funding;
- legal fees;
- public relations;
- institutional prestige;

- media attention;
- organisational growth;
- or professional advancement

does not constitute evidence of misconduct.

These are ordinary features that may arise within substantial public programmes.

The purpose of this section is disclosure and governance rather than accusation.

20.57 No Presumption of Purity

Conversely, the existence of a reparative objective should not automatically exempt institutions from ordinary questions concerning:

- governance;
- financial transparency;
- conflicts of interest;
- procurement;
- evaluation;
- accountability;
- and institutional incentives.

Good intentions and evidential accountability are complementary rather than contradictory.

PART XIV — THE COMMUNITY-FIRST TEST

20.58 Core Question

For every substantial reparations programme, Reparation Nation Limited proposes that the following question should remain visible:

IF ALL ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURES, PROFESSIONAL INTERESTS, CONFERENCES, REPORTS, PUBLICATIONS, CONSULTANCIES AND INSTITUTIONAL BENEFITS WERE REMOVED FROM THE ANALYSIS, WHAT MEASURABLE VALUE HAS ACTUALLY REACHED THE PEOPLE OR COMMUNITIES WHOSE HARM THE PROGRAMME EXISTS TO REPAIR?

That question should be answered through evidence.

20.59 Community-First Evaluation Sequence

This sequence focuses attention upon actual repair rather than institutional activity alone.

20.60 International Reference Principle

For future worldwide discussion, Reparation Nation Limited proposes the following principle:

THE EXISTENCE OF A REPARATIONS PROGRAMME, HOWEVER WELL INTENTIONED, SHOULD NOT PREVENT TRANSPARENT EXAMINATION OF THE ECONOMIC, PROFESSIONAL, ORGANISATIONAL AND REPUTATIONAL BENEFITS CREATED BY THE PROGRAMME ITSELF. THOSE BENEFITS SHOULD BE IDENTIFIED, GOVERNED AND DISTINGUISHED FROM THE MEASURABLE VALUE DELIVERED TO THE PEOPLE AND COMMUNITIES FOR WHOM REPARATION IS INTENDED.

20.61 Concluding Position

The principal questions arising from this section are therefore:

Who benefits economically from administering reparations?

How many institutions depend upon reparations funding?

How much is spent on administration?

How much is spent on consultancy?

How much is spent on legal and professional services?

How much is spent on research and communications?

How much reaches intended beneficiaries directly?

What institutional benefits arise beyond community repair?

What professional benefits arise?

What conflicts of interest are declared?

What procurement safeguards exist?

What independent evaluation prevents institutional self-interest from determining success?

What role do beneficiaries have in judging whether repair has actually occurred?

And can future generations clearly distinguish between the economics of administering reparations and the evidence that reparative justice has genuinely been delivered?

The next section should examine global governance, international coordination, competing reparations models, comparative institutional frameworks and whether a

universal evidential standard can coexist with different legal systems, cultures and historical experiences across the world.

BACK MATTER

FORMAL CLOSING STATEMENT, CONTINUING QUESTIONS, INVITATION TO RESPOND, CORRECTION OF THE RECORD AND SUPPORTING PUBLICATIONS

PURPOSE OF THIS CLOSING SECTION

This document has been prepared by **Reparation Nation Limited** as a formal advance notice, institutional questionnaire and international reference document concerning:

reparations;

reparative justice;

reckoning and repair;

historical and present institutional responsibility;

financial and non-financial reparations;

representation and mandate;

governance;

anti-Black racism;

institutional racism;

racial safeguards;

evidence;

transparency;

accountability;

measurement;

and demonstrable repair.

Although the forthcoming **Part 2: Reckoning and Repair** event provides the immediate context for circulation of this document, the questions contained within it are intended to survive beyond that event.

They form part of a continuing evidential inquiry.

THE QUESTIONS STAND INDEPENDENTLY

The questions contained in this document stand independently and require answers, where applicable, based upon the relevant institutions' own:

policies;

documents;

definitions;

records;

research;

governance arrangements;

financial information;

decision-making processes;

published positions;

and evidence.

The supporting publications identified below provide wider context.

They are **not** substitutes for institutional answers.

No recipient is asked to accept the analysis contained within those publications as a condition of responding to this document.

NO ALLEGATIONS, ACCUSATIONS, ASSERTIONS, ASSUMPTIONS OR CONCLUSIONS

For the avoidance of doubt:

REPARATION NATION LIMITED MAKES NO ALLEGATIONS, NO ACCUSATIONS, NO ASSERTIONS, NO ASSUMPTIONS AND NO CONCLUSIONS THAT ANY PERSON, ORGANISATION, GOVERNMENT, INSTITUTION OR OTHER BODY REFERRED TO IN THIS DOCUMENT HAS ACTED IMPROPERLY.

Questions have deliberately been asked rather than conclusions reached.

The purpose is to establish facts before determining what conclusions, if any, the evidence may properly support.

THE EVIDENTIAL PRINCIPLE

The fundamental approach of this document is:

Thursday, 10 September 2026 10/09/2026 10:44:33

QUESTION

↓

ANSWER

↓

EVIDENCE

↓

DOCUMENTARY AUTHORITY

↓

VERIFICATION

↓

FURTHER QUESTION OR CORRECTION WHERE NECESSARY

↓

CONCLUSION ONLY WHERE JUSTIFIED

This principle should apply irrespective of whether the institution under examination is:

a government;

a former colonial institution;

a claimant;

a university;

a church;

a company;

a media organisation;

a charity;

a financial institution;

a reparations commission;

a research organisation;

a descendant organisation;

a funder;

or a community organisation.

INVITATION TO RESPOND

All recipients are respectfully invited to respond to those questions falling within their:

knowledge;

responsibility;

authority;

institutional remit;

or documentary possession.

There is no requirement to reproduce information that already exists.

Where an answer can be found within an existing document, recipients are invited to identify that document precisely.

Where the recipient does not hold the information, that may simply be stated.

Where no relevant policy exists, that may simply be stated.

Where the matter remains under investigation, that may simply be stated.

Where the evidence is disputed or uncertain, that uncertainty should be identified.

Where another institution is responsible, referral to that institution is invited.

QUESTIONS THAT CANNOT IMMEDIATELY BE ANSWERED

The inability to answer a question immediately should not require the question to disappear.

Questions may properly remain recorded as:

ANSWERED

PARTIALLY ANSWERED

DOCUMENT REFERENCED

REFERRED TO ANOTHER BODY

NOT APPLICABLE

NO INFORMATION HELD

NO SPECIFIC POLICY EXISTS

FURTHER RESEARCH REQUIRED

RESPONSE DEFERRED

DECLINED

or

UNANSWERED

This permits future discussion to begin from the existing record rather than repeatedly starting again.

INVITATION TO CORRECT THE RECORD

Every person and institution referred to within this document is expressly invited to identify any factual error.

Where something is:

incorrect;

incomplete;

outdated;

misattributed;

wrongly described;

or capable of material clarification,

Reparation Nation Limited invites correction.

Where possible, documentary evidence supporting the correction should be provided.

A substantiated correction should become part of the continuing evidential record.

NO ADVERSE CONCLUSION FROM SILENCE ALONE

Where no response is received, the appropriate record should ordinarily state:

NO RESPONSE RECEIVED AS AT [DATE].

Silence alone should not automatically be converted into evidence of wrongdoing, agreement, admission or acceptance of any proposition contained within this document.

CONTINUING INTERNATIONAL REFERENCE FUNCTION

This document is intended to provide a framework capable of future application beyond the immediate event.

The same underlying questions may be asked wherever reparations are being:

proposed;

negotiated;

funded;

administered;

researched;

reported;

implemented;

evaluated;

or declared complete.

The jurisdictions, histories and institutions may differ.

The evidential questions remain capable of comparison.

CENTRAL QUESTIONS FOR FUTURE DISCUSSION

The continuing international inquiry may therefore be summarised as follows:

What happened?

What evidence establishes it?

What harm resulted?

What harm continues?

Who was responsible?

Who benefited?

What historical benefit survives into the present?

Who is entitled to repair?

Who determines entitlement?

Who claims to represent affected people?

What is the documentary basis of that mandate?

Who determines the form of repair?

Who pays?

Who controls the resources?

Who ultimately receives the resources?

How much is consumed by administration and professional activity?

What safeguards exist against conflicts of interest?

What safeguards exist against anti-Black racism?

What safeguards exist against institutional racism?

Who independently scrutinises the process?

How are mistakes corrected?

What remedy exists where the reparations process itself causes harm?

How is actual repair measured?

What remains unrepaired?

Who determines completion?

What happens to continuing obligations?

And will future generations possess sufficient evidence to determine what was promised, what was done, who benefited and what remained outstanding?

SUPPORTING PUBLICATIONS

The following two publications are provided as supporting contextual material.

They demonstrate that the questions raised within this document form part of wider continuing work and should not be understood merely as questions created in response to one forthcoming event.

The questions contained within the present document nevertheless **stand independently**.

Recipients are respectfully requested to answer from their own institutional evidence, records, policies, definitions, governance arrangements and decisions.

BOOK 1

AMAZON UK

Book 1 — Amazon UK

Direct Amazon reference:
B0HJ4Y6QH7

BOOK 2

AMAZON UK

Book 2 — Amazon UK

Direct Amazon reference:
B0H8BCMZLV

PURPOSE OF PROVIDING THE PUBLICATIONS

The publications are provided because the present correspondence should not be misunderstood as an isolated objection or inquiry arising only because of the forthcoming conference.

They provide additional context concerning the wider examination being undertaken.

However:

THE BOOKS DO NOT DETERMINE THE ANSWERS TO THE QUESTIONS IN THIS DOCUMENT.

THE QUESTIONS STAND INDEPENDENTLY.

THE RELEVANT INSTITUTIONS ARE INVITED TO PROVIDE THEIR OWN EVIDENCE.

DOCUMENTARY MATERIAL IS PREFERRED

Where relevant institutional material already exists, there is no need to recreate it specifically for Reparation Nation Limited.

A reference to an identifiable:

policy;

report;

research paper;

financial statement;

annual report;

governance document;

meeting record;

official decision;

archival record;

evaluation;

published dataset;

or other authoritative source

will ordinarily be sufficient where it answers the question.

PRESERVATION OF THE RECORD

Reparation Nation Limited respectfully encourages preservation of material records concerning the matters raised within this document.

The purpose is to ensure that future examination does not depend entirely upon:

memory;

institutional narrative;

changing personnel;

expired websites;

or unavailable documents.

A durable reparations process requires a durable evidential record.

FUTURE VERSIONS

This document may develop as:

responses are received;

documents are identified;

errors are corrected;

new evidence emerges;

institutional policies change;

commitments are implemented;

evaluations are published;

and previously unanswered questions are addressed.

Where material amendments are made, future versions should preserve the distinction between:

the original question;

the original response;

subsequent evidence;

correction;

and later institutional position.

FINAL INTERNATIONAL PRINCIPLE

Reparation Nation Limited proposes the following principle for continuing worldwide discussion:

REPARATIONS SHOULD BE CAPABLE OF EVIDENTIAL EXAMINATION FROM BEGINNING TO END.

THE HISTORICAL CLAIM SHOULD BE EVIDENCED.

THE HARM SHOULD BE IDENTIFIED.

THE RESPONSIBILITY SHOULD BE EXPLAINED.

THE REPRESENTATIVE MANDATE SHOULD BE IDENTIFIABLE.

THE MONEY AND ASSETS SHOULD BE TRACEABLE.

THE GOVERNANCE SHOULD BE VISIBLE.

THE SAFEGUARDS SHOULD BE LOCATABLE.

THE BENEFICIARIES SHOULD BE IDENTIFIABLE.

THE OUTCOME SHOULD BE MEASURABLE WHERE REASONABLY POSSIBLE.

FAILURE SHOULD BE CORRECTABLE.

AND CLAIMS THAT REPAIR HAS OCCURRED SHOULD ULTIMATELY BE TESTABLE AGAINST EVIDENCE OF WHAT ACTUALLY CHANGED.

FINAL STATEMENT

This document does not ask recipients to begin with agreement.

It asks them to begin with evidence.

It does not ask that disagreement be suppressed.

It asks that disagreement be particularised.

It does not ask institutions to create documents that do not exist.

It asks them to identify what does and does not exist.

It does not presume that anti-Black racism or institutional racism has affected any particular decision.

It asks what safeguards exist to prevent those matters from affecting decision-making.

It does not presume that expenditure constitutes repair.

It asks what evidence demonstrates actual repair.

It does not presume that participation constitutes representation.

It asks for the source of representative authority.

It does not presume that a reparations programme is either successful or unsuccessful merely because it exists.

It asks for the evidence.

The continuing principle is therefore:

ASK.

ANSWER.

EVIDENCE.

VERIFY.

CORRECT.

PRESERVE.

AND CONCLUDE ONLY WHERE THE EVIDENCE JUSTIFIES THE CONCLUSION.

REPARATION NATION LIMITED

Formal Advance Notice, Institutional Questionnaire and International Reference Document

Thursday, 10 September 2026 10/09/2026 10:44:33

Issued: 10 September 2026

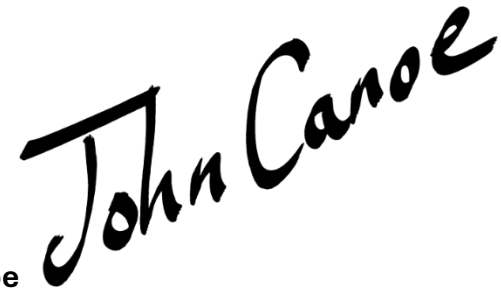
Supporting Publications

Amazon UK — Book 1 (B0HJ4Y6QH7)

Amazon UK — Book 2 (B0H8BCMZLV)



Prepared by Derrick Lynch,



also known as John Canoe
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