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Definitions

Definitions- Beyond Repayment

Reparations are not limited to repayment and cash.

Nehusi; 2000 (Kimani; “The meaning of reparation”; Caribnet; Issue 3; September)

For the African people a full and correct understanding of the term ‘reparation’ demands that this notion be applied to the specific historical experience and the related contemporary condition of the great majority of our people across this planet. It will then be seen clearly that the meaning of this term transcends repayment for past and continuing wrong, to embrace self-rehabilitation through education, organisation and mobilisation.

Etymology proves reparations mean repairing harm, and can include compensation.

Nehusi; 2000 (Kimani; “The meaning of reparation”; Caribnet; Issue 3; September)

The term ‘reparation’ has its origin in Latin, but reached the English language through Old French. There are a number of meanings or shades of meaning associated with this concept. Its line of development is through one of the meanings of Modern English ‘repair’: to restore to good condition, after damage or wear; to set right, or make amends for (loss, wrong, error). This has come from the Latin reparare via Old French reparer. The Late Latin noun reparatio, from the verb reparare, gives rise, via Old French réparation, to Modern English ‘reparation’: the act, or instance of making amends; compensation.

Not limited to repayment.

Nehusi; 2000 (Kimani; “The meaning of reparation”; Caribnet; Issue 3; September)

It must be emphasised here that reparations mean more than ‘repayment’ and compensation for the wholesale theft, destruction and falsification visited upon Africa and all Africans. We have seen that the law dictionaries define reparation to mean the recovery of rights to a country as though one was born in that country. This is a very important aspect of reparation which should also be well understood by all Africans. For many generations the notion of ‘Back to Africa’, especially as articulated in the doctrine and practice of Rastafari, has sought to concretise this very meaning of reparation.



Definitions- Beyond Repayment

Reparations can involve restitution, rehabilitation and measures of satisfaction – public apologies, public memorials, guarantees of non-repetition or changes to laws

YAMAMOTO, et al., 2007 (ERIC K. YAMAMOTO - Professor of Law, William S. Richardson School of Law, University of Hawai'i. SANDRA HYE YUN KIM & ABIGAIL M. HOLDEN – Univ of Hawaii School of Law, "AMERICAN REPARATIONS THEORY AND PRACTICE AT THE CROSSROADS", CALIFORNIA WESTERN LAW REVIEW - VOLUME 44 FALL 2007 NUMBER 1, <http://scholarlycommons.law.cwsl.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1081&context=cwlr>)

Human rights law is shaped by conventions and covenants agreed upon by international bodies, treaties among countries, and judicial declarations of customary international law norms. For instance, the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights delineates the right to freedom from involuntary servitude and torture.²⁵ The 1966 International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights guarantees that anyone whose human rights have been violated "shall have an effective remedy., ²⁵² Reparations as a remedy for human rights violations "can involve restitution, rehabilitation, and measures of satisfaction, such as public apologies, public memorials, guarantees of non-repetition, and changes to relevant laws and practices., ²⁵³

UN says reparations include restitution, compensations, rehabilitation and guarantees of non-repetition

YAMAMOTO, et al., 2007 (ERIC K. YAMAMOTO - Professor of Law, William S. Richardson School of Law, University of Hawai'i. SANDRA HYE YUN KIM & ABIGAIL M. HOLDEN – Univ of Hawaii School of Law, "AMERICAN REPARATIONS THEORY AND PRACTICE AT THE CROSSROADS", CALIFORNIA WESTERN LAW REVIEW - VOLUME 44 FALL 2007 NUMBER 1, <http://scholarlycommons.law.cwsl.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1081&context=cwlr>)

Most recently, in 2005, the United Nations Human Rights Commission approved the "Basic Principles and Guidelines on the Right to a Remedy and Reparations for Victims of Gross Violations of Human Rights Law and Serious Violations of International Humanitarian Law." ²⁵⁴ These basic principles specify forms of reparation for victims of gross human rights violations, including restitution, compensation, rehabilitation, and guarantees of non-repetition.



Definitions- Cash & Programs

An empirical framework exists for reparations that include cash grants and programs.

Rogers, Masters Public Policy @ UC-Berkeley; 2003 (Annie; A study conducted for Marie Davis, President San Mateo County NAACP; “Federal reparations policy: A cost benefit framework”; Spring)

Once we have agreed to talk about these policies, we need methods for comparing them. There is definitely a wide range of substantive ways to make comparisons, but necessary to the analysis is an empirical framework for comparing these policies. Legislative opponents argue that reparation policies are not economically feasible because there is no way to measure how much is owed, if anything is owed at all. There is no way to delineate who owes, and no way to determine who should benefit. Well, we can continue to talk about reparations in this very theoretical and even amorphous sense, but at the end of the day, it is still a policy just like any other policy. It will cost us something. And we can figure out what that something is. We do it all the time. This analysis demonstrates this point by providing an empirical framework for analyzing two reparation policies— cash grants and programs.



Definitions- Giving Due

Reparations is defined as giving due. The value and justifications are a separate question.

Angelo; 2010 (Corlett; Heirs of Oppression: Racism and Reparations; “Reparations- The Problems of definition, valuation, and justification”; P. 19)

Just as “there is no single ‘problem of punishment,’” there is no single problem of reparations. Among the problems of reparations are those of definition, valuation, and justification. The definition of “reparations” concerns the nature of reparations, which differs from the value of reparations, and its justification. While the nature of reparations involves the giving to a group its due, questions of valuation and justification are more complex. The reason for this is that reparations might have an economic, legal, political, or otherwise social or moral value, and the same might be said of their justification.



Definitions- Payment

Reparations include repayment and return of lost property.

Angelo; 2010 (Corlett; Heirs of Oppression: Racism and Reparations; “Reparations- The Nature of Reparations”; P. 21-22)

Reparations, according to the seventh edition of *Black's Law Dictionary*, involve “payment for an injury; redress for a wrong done.” They are payments “made by one country to another for damages done during war.” Reparations involve restitution, which is the “act of restoring... anything to its rightful owner; the act of making good or giving equivalent for any loss, damage or injury; and indemnification... A person who has been unjustly enriched at the expense of another is required to make restitution to the other.” Reparations involve restitution, which is the act of restoring something to its rightful owner, the act of making good or giving equivalent for a loss, damage, or injury. One who is unjustly enriched at the expense of another owes reparations to the injured party. As Joel Feinberg states, “Reparations ‘set things straight’ or ‘gives satisfaction’... for redress or injury.” By this understanding of the nature of reparations, they might amount to monetary payments normally paid in one lump sum or over time by way of general tax revenues by the wrongful party, or return or repair of property unjustly taken, acquired, or damaged to its rightful owner. In this way, reparations are a kind of compensation to victims of harmful wrongdoing, where the “harm” caused to another is the wrongful setting back of another’s valid interest. The harm-based account of reparations is that the harm inflicted on a group by an offender constitutes the violation of the victim group’s rights and oftentimes its sovereignty and oversteps the bounds of the offender’s own sovereignty (if the offender is a state). Generally, “the aim of compensation is to create a certain sort of ‘equality’ (or ‘equivalence’) such that a harmed party is brought as close as possible to her level of well-being just prior to the harm. As a form of compensatory justice to groups, reparations appear to constitute a species of what Aristotle, in the *Nicomachean Ethics*, refers to as “corrective justice.”

Financial resources that include appropriations by Congress are the most common definition of reparations.

Carcieri, Prof Political Science @ San Francisco State Univ; 2010 (Martin; Michigan Journal of Race & Law; 15:2; “Rawls and reparations”)

Three aspects of this passage yield points of departure for a working definition of reparations for purposes of this Article. First, Norgle notes that “reparations” are most commonly understood as financial resources. Therefore, beyond apologies, monuments, commissions, and holidays, my working definition of reparations will include appropriations by Congress. At the same time, the financial resources to be identified in this Article in no way consist of cash payments to individuals.¹³¹ They will instead be resources targeted at the community level.¹³²



Framework



Framework- Democracy

Justifications for reparations should concentrate on issues of democracy not justice. A framework of justice is debilitating because it gets caught up in questions of what is owed and to whom, or fast divisions because past and current harm.

Balfour, Prof Politics Univ Virginia; 2014 (Lawrie; Du Bois Review; 11:1; “Unthinking racial realism: A future for reparations?”)

For the language of reparations to do the work I suggest, the concept of reparations needs to be approached as a political, and, more specifically, democratic idea. I contend that understanding reparations in this way offers an opportunity to approach the unasked questions of what it would mean to reform the United States as a democratic polity in the aftermath of slavery and segregation, and to make an overdue, explicit commitment to African American citizens. In this regard, my argument departs from most recent academic treatments of Black reparations, which have concentrated on questions of justice. Such an approach is not surprising, but it has been debilitating. Because debates about reparations typically revolve around questions of what is owed to victims and by whom, and they have flourished in law schools and philosophy departments, a preoccupation with justice is to be expected. My approach, like Pablo de Greiff’s (2007), conceives of reparations as “a political and not a juridical [or moral] project” (pp. 156–157). The aim is twofold—to explore reparations as a vehicle for redressing the historic denial and denigration of Black citizenship, on the one hand, and for rethinking the norms and attendant responsibilities of all citizens and the democratic state, on the other. In this sense, reparations are fundamental to democratic reconstruction.

What difference might such a reorientation make? First, shifting the focus of concern from justice to democracy would help to avoid the morass of technical questions—of standing, sovereign immunity, statutes of limitations, and so on—that have tied up legal inquiries in reparations. It would, furthermore, provide an alternative to interminable debates about how to identify appropriate perpetrators and victims or to distinguish between backward- and forward-looking remedies that have animated much of the philosophical literature. Let me offer just one example. In philosophical treatments of reparations, arguments frequently hinge on a distinction between corrective and distributive justice; and reparations advocates have been accused of confusing or conflating the two. Tommie Shelby (2011), for instance, maintains that “the concept of reparations is fundamentally about rectifying past wrongs. In particular, it is about repairing the damage done by past injustice, restoring the victims to their condition prior to the injustice or, if this isn’t possible, compensating the victims for their losses. Whether such restitution or compensation would help bring about material equality or democratic inclusion is irrelevant” (p. 395). Yet insisting on this neat division between “past injustice,” with its idea of a status quo ante to which the victims might be restored, and current forms of economic inequality obscures the legacies of slavery and segregation, while hobbling efforts to develop creative responses to them. Instead, I echo Trouillot’s (2000) caution against a notion of historical responsibility that treats past crimes as discrete events—an original sin—and that ties reparations to a “linear relation between time and responsibility which assumes that the effects of past wrongs are necessarily more concrete when the actual victims are still on the ground” (p. 183).



Framework- Ethics 1st

The framing of reparations should be in terms of ethics. Ethical questions come first.

Karenga, CSU-Long Beach; 2001 (Maulana; “THE ETHICS OF REPARATIONS: ENGAGING THE HOLOCAUST OF ENSLAVEMENT”; National Coalition of Blacks for Reparations in America Convention; June 22-23)

But this struggle, like all our struggles, begins with the need for a clear conception of what we want, how we define the issue and explain it to the world and what is to be done to achieve it. There are several ways to frame and approach this important issue or rather different aspects to one larger project: (1) the legislative dimension as with the Conyers Bill, H.R. 40 and local and state bills and resolutions; (2) the legal as N^oCOBRA and the Harvard group are doing; (3) the political by which there is mass organization to support the project; (4) the economic which is the major focus of all the above efforts; and (5) the ethical initiative which I wish to engage in this paper. Our contention in the Organization Us is that the ethical dimension is the first and most fundamental dimension of the reparations issue and that unless that is engaged and successfully pursued, the issue of reparations will appear to lack moral grounding in the court of national and world opinion, and thus, will be cast as a claim unworthy of support on any other level.

In consideration of the issue of reparations as essentially and foremost an ethical issue, it must above all be framed in ethical terms. Therefore, the struggle for reparations begins with the definition of the horrendous injury to African people which demands repair. In other words, to talk of reparations is first to identify and define the injury, to say what it is and is not, to define its nature and its impact on the one(s) injured. Unless this is done first and maintained throughout the process, there is no case for reparations only an incoherent set of claims without basis in ethics or law.



Framework- Justifications

Reparations have economic, political, social, and moral justifications.

Angelo; 2010 (Corlett; Heirs of Oppression: Racism and Reparations; “Reparations- The Problems of definition, valuation, and justification”; P. 20)

For example, the economic value of reparations is that groups that have been wrongfully and seriously harmed are restored (however approximately) to their previous economic status so as to suffer them no undue financial burden. The political value of reparations is that the wrongfully harmed group retains or justifiably enhances its political power within a larger society, which in turn can have an effect on how the law functions in that society. The social value of reparations is that it respects the compensatory rights of groups so that they suffer no further undue social disadvantage. And the moral value of reparations is that they support a system of rights that protects individual and collective autonomy, and allows groups and their respective members to be able to predict when they ought to suffer conflict with legal, social, or political authorities. In other words, reparations provides a means to effect peace between parties one of which has been unduly harmed by the other. In so doing, reparations can serve to support morally just political and legal institutions.



Pro Contentions- Economic



1PC- Economy Contention

A. Slavery and Jim Crow left a legacy of lost wealth. 25% of African Americans are in poverty.

Brophy, Prof Law @ UNC- Chapel Hill; 2014 (Alfred; New York Times; “Who would pay for reparations, and why?”; <http://www.nytimes.com/roomfordebate/2014/06/08/are-reparations-due-to-african-americans/who-would-pay-for-reparations-and-why>)

The moral claim persists because the brutality and stolen labor of slavery, and the grim years of Jim Crow segregation that followed, have left a legacy of lost wealth and opportunity. Such legacy continues to burden African-Americans today. A quarter of our nation’s African-Americans live in poverty. The tough part of making the case for reparations is not showing that past racial crimes burden the present. No fair-minded person denies this.

B. The history of slavery and racism is one of the main causes African American poverty.

Ogletree, Prof Harvard Law; 2003 (Charles; Harvard Civil Rights Civil Liberties Law Review; June; 38:2; “Repairing the past: New Efforts in the Reparations Debate”)

More recently, two events have spurred on claims for reparations for African Americans. First, the publication of Randall Robinson’s book *The Debt* powerfully indicted society’s failure to acknowledge slavery and reignited the reparations debate. Robinson wrote:

No race, no ethnic or religious group, has suffered so much over so long a span as blacks have, and do still, at the hands of those who benefited, with the connivance of the United States government, from slavery and the century of legalized American racial hostility that followed it.⁴⁵

Robinson forcefully argued that, while the causes of African American poverty are complex, they are based in part on a history of racism and discrimination that politically, culturally, socially, and psychologically disenfranchised African Americans.⁴⁶ It is worth quoting a large block of Robinson’s argument, since he has so often been misrepresented:

Race is and is not the problem. Certainly racism caused the gap we see now. The discriminatory attitudes spawned to justify slavery ultimately guaranteed that, even after emancipation, blacks would be concentrated at the bottom of American society indefinitely. . . . [However], the use of race by itself as a general category for comparison is a dangerously misleading decoy . . . [African American children] fail [educationally and socially] for the same reasons that Appalachian white children fail. Grinding, disabling poverty. Unfortunately, blacks are heavily overrepresented among the ranks of America’s desperately poor. Owing to race and only race, it was American slavery that created this bottom-rung disproportion.⁴⁷

C. A disproportionate amount of white wealth comes from unpaid black labor. White privilege and black inequality continues.

Marable, Former Professor & Director African American Studies @ Columbia Univ; 2001 (Manning; Newsweek; “An idea whose time has come...Whites have an obligation to recognize slavery’s legacy”; August 27)

The disproportionate wealth that most whites enjoy today was first constructed from centuries of unpaid black labor. Many white institutions, including Ivy League universities, insurance companies and banks, profited from slavery. This pattern of white privilege and black inequality continues today.



1PC- Economy Contention

D. Reparations could close the socioeconomic gap between blacks and whites, and eliminate unfairness in capital markets that perpetuate poverty. Expansion of black homeownership, employment and health care would benefit the economy.

Marable, Former Professor & Director African American Studies @ Columbia Univ; 2001
(Manning; Newsweek; “An idea whose time has come...Whites have an obligation to recognize slavery’s legacy”; August 27)

White Americans today aren’t guilty of carrying out slavery and segregation. But whites have a moral and political responsibility to acknowledge the continuing burden of history’s structural racism.

A reparations trust fund could be established, with the goal of closing the socioeconomic gaps between blacks and whites. Funds would be targeted specifically toward poor, disadvantaged communities with the greatest need, not to individuals.

Let’s eliminate the racial unfairness in capital markets that perpetuates black poverty. A national commitment to expand black homeownership, full employment and quality health care would benefit all Americans, regardless of race.

Reparations could begin America’s Third Reconstruction, the final chapter in the 400-year struggle to abolish slavery and its destructive consequences. As Malcolm X said in 1961, hundreds of years of racism and labor exploitation are “worth more than a cup of coffee at a white cafe. We are here to collect back wages.”

E. Reparations are a much needed economic stimulus.

Maiello, 6/4/2014 (Micheal; Reuters; “Why reparations for slavery could help boost the economy”;
<http://blogs.reuters.com/great-debate/2014/06/04/why-reparations-for-slavery-could-help-boost-the-economy/>)

In the May 21 issue of The Atlantic, Ta-Nehisi Coates re-opened the question of whether the United States government should pay reparations to African-Americans for the crimes of two and a half centuries of slavery, 60 years of Jim Crow-style segregation and decades more of racist housing policies, zoning and community development. His conclusion — that a great accounting of wrongs must take place, as well as a decision about how to make amends for them— has inevitably sparked disagreement. But set that aside. Imagine we have decided yes, as a society we must pay a price for these injustices, and it must be large. Those payments could well constitute the stimulus that the U.S. economy needs to take it into the next century.



2nd Pro- Labor Internal Links

Unpaid labor can be measured and paid to descendants.

Robinson, Founder of TransAfrica; 2014 (Randall; New York Times; June 8; “Horrific injustice of slavery must be repaid”; <http://www.nytimes.com/roomfordebate/2014/06/08/are-reparations-due-to-african-americans/horrific-injustice-of-slavery-must-be-repaired>)

The people who largely constructed the early foundations of the American economy were paid not so much as a cent for their unremitting labor. That they had constructed the White House and the Capitol meant little to the nation’s rulers. That American public and private fortunes were rested upon their unremunerated toil meant nothing at all. That Harvard Law School had originally been endowed from the sale of slaves by its founder, Isaac Royall, for example, remains largely unknown to many who have gone there. Labor has an economic value whose balance-sheet measure does not disappear behind the shadows of time. The enslaved’s still yet uncompensated labor has a fair market value that, once measured, should be paid to the descendents of those who built much of America.

Estimates of the worth of black labor stolen through slavery, Jim Crow and discrimination are in the range of \$6 to \$24 trillion.

Feagin, Prof Sociology @ Texas A&M; 2014 (Joe; Time; May 28; “A legal and moral basis for reparations”; <http://time.com/132034/a-legal-and-moral-basis-for-reparations/>)

Implicit in the idea of unjust enrichment is the counterpart idea of unjust impoverishment, the condition of those suffering at the hands of those unfairly enriched. From the 1700s to the mid-1800s, white families and communities were enriched directly, or by means of economic multiplier effects, by slave plantations and related economic enterprises. Economist James Marketti once estimated that the labor stolen from enslaved African Americans from 1790 to 1860 was worth in the range of \$2.1 to \$4.7 trillion (in 1983 dollars), after taking into account lost interest. Those who have attacked the idea of owing back wages to African Americans, arguing those are too-distant debts, ignore the huge damages done to African Americans during the century of near-slavery during Jim Crow segregation. Millions alive today suffered severe losses under Jim Crow and can actually name who did much of that discrimination and unjust impoverishing. The current worth of all black labor stolen by whites through the means of slavery, Jim Crow, and discrimination (plus interest) is estimated by some economists in the range of \$6 to \$24 trillion. And this figure doesn’t include compensation for great physical and mental suffering and millions of untimely deaths.



2nd Pro- Poverty Internal Links

Racism and reparations must be put into the context of economic dissociation of Blacks.

Balfour, Prof Politics Univ Virginia; 2014 (Lawrie; Du Bois Review; 11:1; “Unthinking racial realism: A future for reparations?”)

Reparations talk also raises questions about why White citizens are incredulous about Black entitlement to the basic benefits of citizenship and suggests that race-blind narratives of capitalist development and individual merit deserve closer scrutiny. To that end, Adrienne Davis (2007) remarks, “Putting racism into economic language is important. A significant effect of racism is its dissociation of Blacks from markets and economics. Part of the reason so many Americans are skeptical of awarding reparations is the absence of a compelling discourse of Black economic personality and desert of wealth” (p. 378). Dave Chappelle’s 2003 spoof of societal fantasies about what Black Americans would do with a reparations check (think diamonds, fried chicken, and Cadillac Escalades) illustrates the force of Davis’s concern (*Chappelle’s Show* 2003). To be sure, it is possible that a language of reparations could do more harm than good, if it were reducible to a single transaction. Melissa Nobles’ (2008) conclusion that “apologies potentially ‘open the books,’ whereas reparations close them,” registers such a danger (p. 139). Yet neither the language of reparations nor the historical claims of Black reparations activists require such closure.

Jim Crow and discrimination played a key role in wealth differences between Blacks and Whites. Labor discrimination is another justification for reparations.

Darity, Prof Economics @ UNC- Chapel Hill, & Frank, Harvard Univ; 2003 (William & Dania; *The American Economic Review*; 93:2; “The economics of reparations”)

Today, while the black-white per capita income ratio is in the 50-percentrange, the black-white wealth disparity is far wider. The highest estimates of the racial wealth ratio run in the 15-25 percent range (Ngina Chitegi, 1999). Since the major source of wealth for most persons today is inheritance (Francine Blau and John Graham, 1990), the reduction of black wealth during the Jim Crow era has to have played a key role in producing contemporary racial wealth differentials.

American apartheid also subjected three successive generations of African-Americans to separate schools with inferior facilities and resources. Patterns of systematic residential segregation in both North and South restricted black access to neighborhood amenities, quality housing, and hospital services. Differential sentencing and punishment of blacks extending from slavery times to the present has imposed immense costs on individual blacks and on communities of black persons (Charles Betsey, 2001).

Employment discrimination further has constrained the opportunity of blacks to transform their skills and credentials into incomes comparable with whites with similar levels of attainment. Moreover, a recent study using IPUMS Census data (Darity et al., 2001) showed that both labor-market discrimination and imposed schooling deficits faced by blacks in the interval 1880-1910 significantly weigh down the occupational attainment of their descendants in 1980 and 1990, a century later. Furthermore, current labor-market discrimination continues to penalize black earners (Darity et al., 2001), affording a further justification for reparations.



2nd Pro- Poverty Internal Links

Slavery's lasting effects are linked to African American poverty- over-policing and criminalization, denial of economic resources, employment discrimination, and cultural denigration.

Franklin; 2012 (VP; *The Journal of African American History*; Vol. 97; "AFRICAN AMERICANS AND MOVEMENTS FOR REPARATIONS: FROM EX-SLAVE PENSIONS TO THE REPARATIONS SUPERFUND")

In *The Price of Racial Reconciliation*, Ronald W. Walters offered a lengthy and well-documented "Grand Narrative of Black American Oppression," focusing on the impact of slavery and "the legacy of modern subordination" on "social progress."¹⁵ In the essay he wrote for this JAAH Special Issue, Prof. Walters chose to focus specifically on "The Impact of Slavery on 20th and 21st Century Black Progress," and investigated "the linkages of slavery to the socioeconomic condition of African Americans in poverty." The "badges and disabilities of slavery" that burdened black southerners in the post-emancipation era in the economic and political realms included the "over-policing and criminalization of African Americans"; the denial of economic resources to black public schools and other state-sponsored institutions; employment discrimination and the targeting for various types of exploitative labor regimes; and overt denigration in popular culture. Walters goes into detail on all these topics, particularly "the criminalization of the black population." And specifically with regard to reparations demands for slavery, Walters's analysis increases our understanding of "the character of one of the injustices that has provided the powerful argument for reparations for the descendants of U.S. slavery."¹⁶

Huge racial disparities exist in wealth.

Holland, Senior Digital Producer Bill Moyers & writer for the Nation; 2014 (Joshua; Bill Moyers; "The past isn't past: The economic case for reparations"; June 4; <http://billmoyers.com/2014/06/04/the-past-isnt-past-the-economic-case-for-reparations/>)

"The average black family has about one-tenth of the wealth of the typical white family — that's ten cents on the dollar," says NYU sociologist Dalton Conley, author of *Being Black, Living in the Red: Race, Wealth and Social Class in America*. "Income doesn't explain the gap," he adds. "African-Americans make about 77 cents on the white dollar, on average — the gap in income is much smaller than the gap in net worth."

Even poor white households — those hovering around the poverty line — have \$10,000 or \$15,000 in accumulated wealth, according to Conley. But "the typical black family at that income level will have zero net worth, or even negative net worth, which means they're paying interest on top of all their other bills."



2nd Pro- Poverty Impacts

Poverty is the equivalent of an ongoing nuclear war or genocide.

Abu-Jamal, prominent social activist and author, 1998 [A Quiet and Deadly Violence; Sept 19; <http://www.flashpoints.net/mQuietDeadlyViolence.html>]

The deadliest form of violence is poverty. --Ghandi It has often been observed that America is a truly violent nation, as shown by the thousands of cases of social and communal violence that occurs daily in the nation. Every year, some 20,000 people are killed by others, and additional 20,000 folks kill themselves. Add to this the nonlethal violence that Americans daily inflict on each other, and we begin to see the tracings of a nation immersed in a fever of violence. But, as remarkable, and harrowing as this level and degree of violence is, it is, by far, not the most violent features of living in the midst of the American empire. We live, equally immersed, and to a deeper degree, in a nation that condones and ignores wide-ranging "structural" violence, of a kind that destroys human life with a breathtaking ruthlessness. Former Massachusetts prison official and writer, Dr. James Gilligan observes; By "structural violence" I mean the increased rates of death and disability suffered by those who occupy the bottom rungs of society, as contrasted by those who are above them. Those excess deaths (or at least a demonstrably large proportion of them) are a function of the class structure; and that structure is itself a product of society's collective human choices, concerning how to distribute the collective wealth of the society. These are not acts of God. I am contrasting "structural" with "behavioral violence" by which I mean the non-natural deaths and injuries that are caused by specific behavioral actions of individuals against individuals, such as the deaths we attribute to homicide, suicide, soldiers in warfare, capital punishment, and so on. --(Gilligan, J., MD, Violence: Reflections On a National Epidemic (New York: Vintage, 1996), 192.) This form of violence, not covered by any of the majoritarian, corporate, ruling-class protected media, is invisible to us and because of its invisibility, all the more insidious. How dangerous is it--really? Gilligan notes: [E]very fifteen years, on the average, as many people die because of relative poverty as would be killed in a nuclear war that caused 232 million deaths; and every single year, two to three times as many people die from poverty throughout the world as were killed by the Nazi genocide of the Jews over a six-year period. This is, in effect, the equivalent of an ongoing, unending, in fact accelerating, thermonuclear war, or genocide on the weak and poor every year of every decade, throughout the world. [Gilligan, p. 196] Worse still, in a thoroughly capitalist society, much of that violence became internalized, turned back on the Self, because, in a society based on the priority of wealth, those who own nothing are taught to loathe themselves, as if something is inherently wrong with themselves, instead of the social order that promotes this self-loathing. This intense self-hatred was often manifested in familial violence as when the husband beats the wife, the wife smacks the son, and the kids fight each other.

Poverty eliminates cushions against economic shocks and leaves little intergenerational assistance.

Holland, Senior Digital Producer Bill Moyers & writer for the Nation; 2014 (Joshua; Bill Moyers; "The past isn't past: The economic case for reparations"; June 4; <http://billmoyers.com/2014/06/04/the-past-isnt-past-the-economic-case-for-reparations/>)

Having some net worth impacts families in several important ways.

Wealth provides a cushion against economic shocks. "It's a risky economy, and everybody needs a buffer," says Rachel Black, an expert in asset-building at the New America Foundation. "That's especially true for those living on the financial margins, where a small dip in their income or an unexpected expense could leave them either making material sacrifices — like skipping meals — or not being able to repair the car that they need to get to work." About one-third of all welfare recipients are African-Americans, a fact that helps perpetuate vicious and bigoted stereotypes about blacks being lazy and "dependent." But the reality is that hundreds of years of structural discrimination have left black families without the same cushion that even poor white households tend to have, so when things go wrong they're less likely to be able to get by without turning to public assistance.

But the most important way that a family's wealth affects kids' chances of getting ahead is through what's known as "intergenerational assistance."



2nd Pro- Economic Stimulus Solvency

Reparations stimulate consumer spending and savings, as well as entrepreneurship and investment. Poverty could be reduced by 27% in the African American community.

Maiello, 6/4/2014 (Micheal; Reuters; “Why reparations for slavery could help boost the economy”;
<http://blogs.reuters.com/great-debate/2014/06/04/why-reparations-for-slavery-could-help-boost-the-economy/>)

Vaughan’s vision is too simplistic to apply to modern times. Today reparations would affect 44.5 million Americans, most of whom are in a position, or could eventually be in a position, to do far more than spend. The stimulus would lead to both entrepreneurship and investment and potential direct poverty alleviation for 3.2 percent of the total population, assuming that cash-based reparations payments would be large enough to lift even the poorest recipient above the poverty line. This would affect the roughly 27 percent of African-Americans who were below the poverty line in 2012.

Put those elements together and there is a prime case for stimulus that would both alleviate poverty directly, and provide payments to people who can either grow their investments or start or expand businesses.

Cash payments would reduce consumer debt and enrollment in TANF, food stamps, and other programs, which would increase state budgets.

Maiello, 6/4/2014 (Micheal; Reuters; “Why reparations for slavery could help boost the economy”;
<http://blogs.reuters.com/great-debate/2014/06/04/why-reparations-for-slavery-could-help-boost-the-economy/>)

Any reasonable program would start with direct cash payments of sufficient largess that it should be able to eliminate any reasonable consumer debts and allow the recipient access to retail banking services (the poor are notoriously under served by financial institutions). This assistance could immediately affect more than 30 percent of the participants in the Temporary Assistance for Needy Families program, boosting them in such a way that they no longer need to receive benefits, according to figures from the Urban Institute. The payments would be a huge boon for the states who administer the block grants behind these programs. Imagine similar reductions in the number of users of food stamps and medical programs.

Reparations could spearhead economic development in African American neighborhoods that need modernization.

Maiello, 6/4/2014 (Micheal; Reuters; “Why reparations for slavery could help boost the economy”;
<http://blogs.reuters.com/great-debate/2014/06/04/why-reparations-for-slavery-could-help-boost-the-economy/>)

The drawback is that one-time payments are temporary and we do not want to find ourselves, one or two years down the line, back where we started. Coates spends a good part of his essay talking about the development of major cities and how African-American communities developed within them. This is where reparations can have a more lasting effect. All of these historically blighted neighborhoods need to be modernized. Universal broadband and Wi-Fi Internet access is a great start, and should be combined with transferable tax credits to encourage new business formation, particularly if new businesses start with local ownership. By making the tax credits transferable, with some limitations, these programs would encourage outside investment so that these new businesses can expand and more easily access capital markets.



2nd Pro- Economic Stimulus Solvency

A reparations superfund would help the people who suffer the most damaging effects of economic and social system. The 1% have benefited from targeted financial programs that try to exploit African Americans.

Franklin; 2012 (VP; *The Journal of African American History*; Vol. 97; "AFRICAN AMERICANS AND MOVEMENTS FOR REPARATIONS: FROM EX-SLAVE PENSIONS TO THE REPARATIONS SUPERFUND")

Unlike the BP Superfund, however, the claimants would not have to bring specific evidence of the damage done to African American and other children of color by the operations of multinational corporate capitalists who prey upon the poor and working class through pay-day loans, car title loans, sub-prime mortgages and other "products" seeking to shift the meager funds that the workers possess into the bank accounts of wealthy financiers and their clients in "Poverty Inc." Gary Rivlin's *Broke, USA*, Jacob S. Hacker and Paul Pierson's *Winner-Take-All Politics*, and other investigations have revealed how African Americans and other minority groups are targeted for financial transactions that enriched "the one percent." The Reparations Superfund would be used to support programs to protect African American children and young people from the most damaging effects of an economic and social system that profits from man-made and natural disasters.⁵

Reparations would generate a large return for the government.

Sweet & Gary, Attorneys; 2002 (Willie & Dennis; *The Enduring Debate* (3rd Edition); "Making the case for racial reparations"; P. 255)

Sweet: I think a small part of it is going to be the money and the remedies. But the message that will be sent is so important. By having the whole country come forward and say, "This situation has gone on too long," that's a huge step.

Gary: And for every dollar paid the government would get a \$100 return.



2nd Pro- Housing Solvency

Reparations could help level the playing field in wealth, housing, and education.

Holland, Senior Digital Producer Bill Moyers & writer for the Nation; 2014 (Joshua; Bill Moyers; “The past isn’t past: The economic case for reparations”; June 4; <http://billmoyers.com/2014/06/04/the-past-isnt-past-the-economic-case-for-reparations/>)

The wealth gap holds down entire neighborhoods. Ta-Nehisi Coates told Bill Moyers that a black family “that has an income of \$100,000 a year, on average, actually lives in a neighborhood that’s comparable to a white family that makes \$30,000 a year.”

That’s another manifestation of the black-white wealth gap. Even after the crash in the housing market, most American families hold the lion’s share of their wealth in housing.

What’s more, home values are a good indicator of the quality of the local schools. That’s a result of a virtuous cycle — neighborhoods with more expensive real estate have healthier tax bases to fund their schools. Excellent schools then attract buyers and drive up home values.

The fact that poorer neighborhoods tend to have worse schools is yet another way that the black-white wealth gap creates an uneven playing field. A modern reparations scheme could help level it.



2nd Pro- Poverty Solvency

Reparations could provide money to buy food or get housing and immediate relief for people in need.

Rogers, Masters Public Policy @ UC-Berkeley; 2003 (Annie; A study conducted for Marie Davis, President San Mateo County NAACP; “Federal reparations policy: A cost benefit framework”; Spring)

Similarly, this analysis does not intend to pit these policies against each other in the larger dialogue, even though the impetus in a cost benefit framework is to do just that. There may be reasons for choosing one policy or both or all that have little or nothing to do with a quantitative analysis. This framework is not presented as a denial of the impact that redistributive policies, whether they produce a net benefit or not, can have on our society. For example, even if a cost benefit analysis says that programs are empirically, the better reparation policy, that recommendation should not be offered in a vacuum that does not recognize the number of people living in such extreme and abject states of poverty that a cash grant would immediately make those people better off, i.e. they will eat tomorrow, which they are not doing today, or they will move into decent housing tomorrow, whereas today they live outside or in their car or in a building that has been declared condemned. This analysis is presented as a “necessary but not sufficient” method of evaluation. Realistically, we operate under constraints that make it necessary for us to do this type of thinking when contemplating major policies. Reparation policies will be no different. This type of thinking can be a common ground for beginning to discuss policies on which we thought we disagreed. In the end, however, the empirical analysis cannot dominate the conversation in the same way that it is not practical to have the conversation without it.



Pro Contentions- Health

1PC- Health Contention

A. African American health disadvantages stem from economic inequality and residential segregation. Reparations can help build the economic base of disadvantaged communities. Williams, Univ Michigan, & Collins, UT-Austin; 2004 (David & Chiquita; The American Behavioral Scientist; 47:7; March; “Reparations: A viable Strategy to Address the Enigma of African American Health”)

We use the term *reparations* in the technical sense of its singular form, *reparation*, that emphasizes restitution and compensation to the victim because of the unjust behavior of the aggressor (Osabu-Kle, 2000). Allen (1998) indicated that very early on consideration was given to paying reparations to former slaves. The first call for Blacks in the United States to receive reparations to redress “the unparalleled wrongs” and “unmitigated oppression” of slavery came in 1954. In 1865, the Freedman’s Bureau Act passed by the U.S. Congress recognized the justice of reparations and allocated 40 acres of land at nominal rent to every former male slave. After this was vetoed by President Andrew Jackson, an alternative proposal in 1867 to provide 40 acres and \$50 to all former slaves was also rejected by Congress. However, reparations were never paid to the former male slaves, and discrimination supported by law and/or custom has prevented their descendants from closing the Black-White SES gap in the past 140 years. This long-term economic inequality, rooted in residential segregation, is the central determinant of the current African American health disadvantage. Accordingly, this article argues that reparations in the form of compensatory social and economic development programs are a needed intervention for eliminating racial differences in economic status and health. These financial reparations would not be paid to individuals but would be targeted at enhancing human capital and building the economic base of disadvantaged communities (Robinson, 2000). * SES = Socioeconomic status

B. Blacks are at an elevated risk of illness and death for almost every indicator of health. Williams, Univ Michigan, & Collins, UT-Austin; 2004 (David & Chiquita; The American Behavioral Scientist; 47:7; March; “Reparations: A viable Strategy to Address the Enigma of African American Health”)

For almost 200 years, research has documented that Blacks report poorer health than Whites for a broad range of indicators of health status (Krieger, 1987). In 1999, the life expectancy at birth of 77 years for Whites was 6 years longer than that of African Americans (National Center for Health Statistics [NCHS], 2002). Contributing to this life expectancy difference is an elevated rate of illness and death for African Americans compared to Whites for almost every indicator of physical health. Higher mortality rates for Blacks than Whites are especially marked for heart disease, cancer, stroke, diabetes, kidney disease, homicide, hypertension, and AIDS (NCHS, 2002).

C. The health gap is due to the lasting effects of slavery and segregation. Over a million African Americans prematurely died as a result. Williams, Univ Michigan, & Collins, UT-Austin; 2004 (David & Chiquita; The American Behavioral Scientist; 47:7; March; “Reparations: A viable Strategy to Address the Enigma of African American Health”)

A large gap in health exists between Blacks and Whites, and it is inextricably linked to the history of race and racism in the United States. Racial differences in SES and health are the predictable results of the successful implementation of residential segregation, a policy that was deliberately set up to create separate and unequal living conditions for Blacks. It and other aspects of racism remain central determinants of racial differences in health. Thus, the legacy of slavery and legal discrimination still matters for African Americans in the 21st century. According to government estimates, conditions linked to race were responsible for the premature deaths of more than 1 million African Americans in the past two decades. Reparations can break the cycle of racial economic inequality for the health of the African American population. A Marshall Plan type of economic investment funded by a reparations initiative or some similar mechanism is indispensable for any effective effort that would markedly improve the economic well-being and the health of the African American population.



1PC- Health Contention

D. African American health problems could be treated and prevented with increased access to health care funded by reparations.

Price, Prof Africana Studies @ Rutgers Univ; 2014 (Melanye; New York Times; “Reparations can and should be done in a powerful way”; <http://www.nytimes.com/roomfordebate/2014/06/08/are-reparations-due-to-african-americans/reparations-can-and-should-be-done-in-a-powerful-way>)

Implementing health initiatives in black communities would diminish well-documented health inequities. Problems like hypertension, heart disease asthma and obesity, which adversely impacts blacks at higher rates, could be effectively treated and prevented with greater health care access. My research on black attitudes on diversity suggests that blacks are firmly committed to personal responsibility, but they are also keenly aware of how institutionalized racism constricts their life choices. These are steps towards reparative justice for past laws, policies and customs that created current disparities. There is no doubt it can be done. All that’s missing is the will to do it.



2nd Pro- Health Internal Links

African Americans face a number of health related problems.

Dr. Hood, President National Medical Association; 2001 (Rodney; Journal of the National Medical Association; 93:1; January; “The ‘slave health deficit’: The case for reparations to bring health parity to African Americans”)

Since 1980 African Americans have experienced the highest death rates in 14 of 16 leading causes of death. Blacks suffer one of the highest infant mortality rates in the U.S. and the black men have the shortest life expectancy rates.

African American health problem are a result of the slave health deficit.

Dr. Hood, President National Medical Association; 2001 (Rodney; Journal of the National Medical Association; 93:1; January; “The ‘slave health deficit’: The case for reparations to bring health parity to African Americans”)

A review of numerous publications, including *An American Health Dilemma: Volume I, A Medical History of African Americans and the Problem of Race: Beginnings to 1900*, by Byrd and Clayton, have been extremely helpful in providing insights to explaining the circumstances that resulted in the “slave health deficit,” a term coined by Byrd and Clayton in 1991 to describe current African-Americans is not a biological act of nature nor an accident, but can be directly attributed to the institutions of slavery and racism- circumstances under which African Americans have continuously suffered from for nearly four centuries.

The Black-White economic gap is associated with the Black-White health gap.

Williams, Univ Michigan, & Collins, UT-Austin; 2004 (David & Chiquita; The American Behavioral Scientist; 47:7; March; “Reparations: A viable Strategy to Address the Enigma of African American Health”)

Analysis of economic and health data during the past 50 years reveals that the narrowing and widening of the Black-White gap in economic status has been associated with a parallel narrowing or widening of the Black-White gap in health (Williams, 2001). The expansion of the Black middle class and the narrowing of the Black-White gap in income were greatest in the 1960s, and the economic progress of Blacks relative to Whites halted in the mid 1970s (Economic Report of the President, 1998). Between 1968 and 1978, the period of narrowing racial economic inequality, Black men and women experienced a larger decline for multiple causes of death both on a percentage and an absolute basis than their White counterparts (Cooper, Steinhauer, Schatzkin, & Miller, 1981). Life expectancy data during this period showed larger gains for Blacks than Whites on both a relative and an absolute basis.



2nd Pro- Health Internal Links

Poverty and racial segregation negatively affect health- multiple reasons.

Williams, Univ Michigan, & Collins, UT-Austin; 2004 (David & Chiquita; The American Behavioral Scientist; 47:7; March; “Reparations: A viable Strategy to Address the Enigma of African American Health”)

Research reveals that residential segregation is related to elevated risk of adult and infant mortality and tuberculosis (Williams & Collins, 2001). There are multiple mechanisms by which the concentrated poverty created by segregation could adversely affect health (Schulz, Williams, Israel, & Lempert, 2002; Williams & Collins, 2001). First, the conditions created by poverty and segregation make it more difficult for residents of those areas to practice desirable health behaviors. The higher cost and poorer quality of grocery items in economically disadvantaged neighborhoods can lead to poorer nutrition. Both the tobacco and alcohol industries heavily bombard poor minority communities with advertising for their products. The lack of recreation facilities and concerns about personal safety can also discourage leisure-time physical exercise.

Second, access to high-quality medical care is often a challenge in many segregated neighborhoods. Health care facilities are more likely to close in poor and minority communities than in other areas (Whiteis, 1992), and pharmacies in minority neighborhoods may be less likely to be adequately stocked with medication (Morrison, Wallenstein, Natale, Senzel, & Huang, 2000). Third, given the strong association between SES and the distribution of stress, the concentration of poverty leads to exposure to higher levels of economic hardship as well as other types of chronic and acute stress at the individual, household, and neighborhood levels. For example, African Americans are much more likely than Whites to be victims of all types of crime (Council of Economic Advisors, 1998). The weakened community and neighborhood infrastructure in segregated areas can also adversely affect interpersonal relationships and trust among neighbors (Schulz et al., 2002). These resources can potentially reduce at least some of the negative effects of stress on health. Fourth, poor, segregated communities are often victims of institutional neglect and disinvestment. The resulting decline in the urban infrastructure and physical environment results in disproportionate exposure to environmental toxins and poor-quality housing (Bullard, 1994).



2nd Pro- Health Impact

Racial difference in health result in 60,000 excess deaths each year when compared to Whites.

Williams, Univ Michigan, & Collins, UT-Austin; 2004 (David & Chiquita; The American Behavioral Scientist; 47:7; March; "Reparations: A viable Strategy to Address the Enigma of African American Health")

These racial differences in health are not just dry statistics. They reflect dramatic loss of life during the most economically productive years. National data on survival for 1999 provide a glimpse of the magnitude of these differences (Anderson & DeTurk, 2002). For every 100,000 Black and White females born, some 97,000 White females survive to see their 45th birthday compared to 94,000 Black females. Similarly, 87,000 White women survive to age 65 compared to 78,000 Black women. The differences are even more dramatic for males. Of every 100,000 Black and White males born in the United States, 5,400 fewer Black males survive to age 45 and 16,000 fewer Black males live to see their 65th birthday. A 1985 government report estimated that these racial differences in health translated into almost 60,000 "excess deaths" for the Black population each year (Department of Health and Human Services, 1985). That is, 60,000 African Americans die each year that would not die if the Black population had mortality rates that were similar to those of the White population. An update of that report using 1991 data found that the number of excess deaths had increased to 66,000 per year (NCHS, 1994).

To place this annual level of premature deaths in the African American population into perspective, Table 1 lists the number of combat deaths in the major wars fought by the United States throughout its history. Only the total casualties for the Civil War and World War II exceed the annual number of excess deaths among Blacks. A more recent national tragedy is the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001. The scope and significance of these events cannot be calculated only in terms of casualties. Nonetheless, they provide a dramatic, contemporary, though imperfect benchmark. The total loss of life for the September 11 attacks is estimated at 2,819 deaths. Thus, the elevated death rates for African Americans can be viewed as a major national tragedy that begs for a comprehensive national response to prevent the loss of so many American lives each year. However, effective intervention is contingent on identifying and addressing the fundamental causes of these disparities.



2nd Pro- Health Solvency

Reparations are a potential remedy to racial disparities in health.

Dr. Hood, President National Medical Association; 2001 (Rodney; Journal of the National Medical Association; 93:1; January; “The ‘slave health deficit’: The case for reparations to bring health parity to African Americans”)

I believe that a potential remedy to the disparate health of African Americans can be found within the thoughtful insights into the issues of racism, slavery and reparations so eloquently raised in *The Debt: What America Owes to Blacks* by Randall Robinson. The issue of reparations for the wrongs of slavery is clearly an emotional, controversial and frequently misunderstood issue to all Americans. Legislation introduced in 1993 by African-American Congressman, John Conyers (D-MI), asked Congress to establish a commission to study the effects of slavery. This bill, which did not ask for reparations, only received the support of 28 of 435 legislators (18 of whom were African American). The bill was referred to a House subcommittee where it never made it out of committee. It is imperative for America to recognize and address the unique health circumstances present in the African-American community. To that end, the NMA has planned several educational forums on cultural diversity and racism in medicine, including a Diversity Symposium, in partnership with the University of California San Diego Medical School, National Hispanic Medical Association and the Association of American Indian Physicians that will take place in San Diego, CA, May 3-5, 2001, as well as a colloquium on racial and ethnic health disparities and the effect of racism on African-American health.

Reparations would improve African American health.

Williams, Univ Michigan, & Collins, UT-Austin; 2004 (David & Chiquita; The American Behavioral Scientist; 47:7; March; “Reparations: A viable Strategy to Address the Enigma of African American Health”)

Neglected in this debate is the potential for reparations to address the nationally recognized problem of racial disparities in health. This article emphasizes that the concentration of poverty and the social and physical deterioration of segregated neighborhoods are the result of the successful implementation of public policies, including those of the federal government (Massey & Denton, 1993; Massey & Kanaiaupuni, 1993; Wallace & Wallace, 1997). Reparations can trigger a new set of countervailing processes to effectively negate the forces that maintain racial inequality. It should also be noted that it is in the interest of the entire society to reduce the racial gap in SES and health. The forces that affect the health of the African American population are the same factors on a less intensive scale that determine the health of the rest of the population (Cooper et al., 1981). Moreover, health problems that are initially confined to segregated areas often spread to more affluent areas (Wallace & Wallace, 1997). Thus, investments to improve the social conditions of African Americans can have long-term positive consequences for non-Blacks as well.

A reparations superfund would support health and education programs in African American communities.

Franklin; 2012 (VP; The Journal of African American History; Vol. 97; “AFRICAN AMERICANS AND MOVEMENTS FOR REPARATIONS: FROM EX-SLAVE PENSIONS TO THE REPARATIONS SUPERFUND”)

The Reparations Superfund would help to support maternal and early childhood health care programs and interventions that target young children and place them in a “health-care network” administered by health care professionals who have experience implementing these programs successfully in African American communities or neighborhoods. Scholarships and “bridge programs” developed by the historically black colleges and universities to attract potential high school dropouts to enroll in institutions of higher education would be targeted for support from the Reparations Superfund. Health and recreational programs for children and young adults tied to libraries, museums, community centers, and other African American cultural institutions have been developed by African American professionals and others who have become the leading experts on effective interventions and they would be consulted before making any Superfund financial disbursements.



Pro Contentions- Moral/Ethical



1PC- Morality/Ethics Contention

A. Stolen property and elimination of economic rights under slavery and Jim Crow justify economic reparations.

Arceneaux; 2005 (Taniecea; The Review of Black Political Economy; Winter-Spring; "Reparations for slavery: A cause for reparations, a case against David Horowitz")

Private property rights are at the core of libertarian political philosophy. Libertarians claim that the physical invasions of persons or property are unjustified and should be punished. Therefore, the issue of economic reparations is based on the idea of forced return of stolen property. The reparations issue, however, has deep roots. "Forty acres and a mule" (Sherman, 1865) was the compensation supported by Abraham Lincoln's administration for the soon-to-become ex-slaves. However, White America was not prepared to pay "forty acres and a mule" as reparations to the Africans they enslaved, exploited, and humiliated for about 250 years. Not only was the ex-slave's cry for justice not heard, but indeed, the Black community in America experienced new injustices that culminated in peonage, lynching, and Jim Crow laws. Slavery was not only an injustice of its era, but it also fueled more economic inequalities that exist even today. By the end of the 19th century, Blacks were deprived of wealth through taxation and fiscal policies to the benefit of Whites (Philosophy, Race, and Social Justice, 2001). Even during the first half of the 20th century, the African American community was discriminated against by governmental as well as private institutions with respect to home ownership, a critical source of income for American families (Philosophy, Race, and Social Justice, 2001).

B. Reparations that go beyond cash repayment are critical to any understanding of justice.

Nehusi; 2000 (Kimani; "The meaning of reparation"; Caribnet; Issue 3; September)

But even all of this must not be the complete meaning of reparation. To fully realise all which this historical moment offers, we must recognise the initial meaning of reparations as return, restoration, etc., which is part of our objective, perhaps the initial, or most visible one to many of us. That is right, righteous and in total harmony with any decent and civilised notion of justice. But we must be very clear that merely to achieve the repayment for the centuries of wrong, perhaps in some form of cash, would be both an incomplete and a misleading idea of reparation. For the meaning of reparation also includes the notion of restoring our people - collectively and individually - to where we would have been had we not suffered from this Great Holocaust. This means that reparation must include the restoration of our shattered African society. We must be very clear that it is virtually impossible to remake the past, or to predict where we Africans as a people would have been today if we had not suffered from this Great Holocaust. However, after more than 500 years of destabilisation inside and outside Africa, it is equally clear that there are certain things African to which we need to return, which make the idea of return much more than just a physical journey. It is also patently clear that we are the ones who have to undertake our own rehabilitation. We cannot leave this to our oppressors. Only we can free ourselves.

C. Slavery and discrimination are unjust- reparations is a moral issue.

America; 1993 (Richard; Paying the Social Debt: What White America Owes Black America; "Viewing Social Policy"; P. 30)

Is this a moral issues? Yes, of course it is. Most Americans consider slavery and discrimination both immoral and unjust, and agree that the practices have rightly been outlawed, even though subtle discrimination continues. The real question, however, is this: Is it moral to accept benefits from admittedly immoral practices of which we disapprove? This should be our concern, and not merely the immorality of historic practices themselves. We also should not dwell on the noneconomic psychic and cultural effects of past relations. Nor should we beat our breasts about the middle passage and about lives lost or damaged. Let us focus on what we can remedy as a practical matter and concentrate on current measurable benefits. That is where common sense suggests real policies can lead to real differences in people's lives.



1PC- Morality/Ethics Contention

D. Race based disparities throughout all aspects of society create the moral obligation to provide reparations to African Americans. This is a question of social justice.

Ogletree, Prof Harvard Law; 2003 (Charles; Harvard Civil Rights Civil Liberties Law Review; June; 38:2; "Repairing the past: New Efforts in the Reparations Debate")

The issue of race-based reparations concerns a fundamental issue of social justice as well: the responsibility that the community as a whole shoulders for the enslavement of and continuing discrimination against African Americans. The general moral obligation to eradicate racism from our society requires coordinated efforts to work toward correcting the chronic fragmentation along racial lines that exists in so much of our country today. The moral force of reparations arguments is simply to suggest that the African American community cannot shoulder the burden of redeeming American society, as Dr. King put it,²⁵ on our own.²⁶ Instead, Dr. King persuasively argues that all Americans must engage as full participants in a dialogue examining the cost of repairing our society to make it a place for all citizens to and their home. A central goal of the reparations movement is to repair the damage that still afflicts the black community by targeting the most needy within that community. One of the primary tenets of the reparations debate should be focused, in my view, on repairing the harm that has been most severe and correcting the history of racial discrimination in America where it has left its most telling evidence.²⁷ The areas of harm are well documented. Race-based disparities are illustrated through racial profiling policies and practices, discriminatory insurance and lending practices, and barriers preventing equal access to housing, employment, health care, and other social goods while at the same time providing disproportionate access to this country's criminal justice and penal systems.

The issue of inclusion for all in Dr. King's vision of the "Beloved Community" has reached a critical stage. For America to move forward in unity, we must ensure all Americans enjoy the equality of opportunity that is so uniquely an American concept and, to go further, receive a fair share of our enormous wealth and considerable resources. All citizens must engage as full participants in a dialogue examining the cost of repairing our society to make it equally accessible to everyone. Reparations is the way to start that dialogue. Its goals should be applauded by everyone who is committed to establishing a nation that will stand as a model of equal justice for all.

E. Reparation force America to live up to its stated ideals. Reparations would be the greatest repayment of the moral debt we owe to African Americans.

Bunch, Founding Dir National Museum African American History & Culture; 2014 (Lonnie; Smithsonian Magazine; June 6; "America's moral debt to African Americans"; <http://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/americas-moral-debt-african-americans-180951675/?no-ist>)

That is why the moral debt is what most concerns me. African Americans helped force America to live up to its stated ideals. This nation's sense of citizenship, its notion of liberty, its understanding of justice for all owes a debt to the African American; these are the people who believed in the promise of America, and who, by their struggles, helped make that promise more accessible to all.

How does a nation repay its moral debt? The greatest repayment would be to ensure that African Americans now and generations from now, have access to quality education, affordable health care and neighborhoods that are safe. That would make all those who once suffered smile, because they didn't suffer in vain.



2nd Pro- Economic Rights Internal Links

The denial of Black participation in the market is the harm that reparations seek to correct.

Arceneaux; 2005 (Taniecea; The Review of Black Political Economy; Winter-Spring; “Reparations for slavery: A cause for reparations, a case against David Horowitz”)

Some may argue that the point of reparations is not to make Blacks "equal" or to ensure racial opportunities like affirmative action. Instead, the theory of reparations is to identify and atone for economic injuries and harms that Blacks as a group suffered under enslavement. But [claim that American slavery also suppressed much more than economic progress. The institution of slavery denied Blacks the economic fruits of their 250 years of backbreaking labor. They could not make and enforce contracts. Blacks were denied the property rights of use, ownership, and management that they should have received from their market participation. The slave holding states did not confer legal status on Black families; through inheritance, the family is one of the primary institutions of wealth transfer, but Black slaves were excluded from intergenerational wealth transfer, one of the centerpieces of Anglo-American culture (Davis, 2000). From the public sphere of market labor to the intimate sphere of the family, Black economic relationships were systematically and often brutally suppressed. For the first 250 years of American economic history, the law excluded Blacks from the market in a society in which market participation was emerging as vital to personal, political, and social well being (Davis, 2000). It is for this reason that I believe that the need for economic reparations goes much farther than simply giving land back to those from whom it was taken and paying for labor that went unpaid. Slavery has been the cause of years of economic deprivation of African American people that exists way past the years of emancipation.

Racial discrimination in housing entitles African Americans to reparations.

Franklin; 2012 (VP; The Journal of African American History; Vol. 97; “AFRICAN AMERICANS AND MOVEMENTS FOR REPARATIONS: FROM EX-SLAVE PENSIONS TO THE REPARATIONS SUPERFUND”)

Beryl Satter’s *Family Properties: Race, Real Estate, and the Exploitation of Black Urban America* is reviewed by John H. Barnhill in this Special Issue. This personally revealing and scholarly work documents the racially discriminatory practices in employment, access to credit, and housing that plagued black Chicagoans in the 1940s and 1950s. Should the banks and other financial institutions that denied African Americans mortgages and access to credit; and real estate agencies that sold houses to African Americans on the “installment plan” at inflated interest rates, repossessing and reselling the property for one missed payment, be sued for reparations? Given the exploitation of African American home buyers documented in Satter’s *Family Properties* and Gary Rivlin’s *Broke, USA*, some would argue that African American homebuyers are entitled to reparations, but who should pay?



2nd Pro- Economic Rights Internal Links

African American homebuyers should be compensated for discrimination in lending practices.

Franklin; 2012 (VP; The Journal of African American History; Vol. 97; “AFRICAN AMERICANS AND MOVEMENTS FOR REPARATIONS: FROM EX-SLAVE PENSIONS TO THE REPARATIONS SUPERFUND”)

Larger patterns of racial inequality and discrimination are revealed when we turn to the suburbanization of the United States following World War II. Hilary J. Moss reviews David Freund’s *Colored Property: State Policy and White Racial Politics in Suburban America* and reports that this lengthy, well-documented study demonstrates that the Federal Housing Authority, the Home Owners Loan Corporation, the Federal Savings and Loan Insurance Corporation, and other government agencies “made homeownership possible for many white Americans while making it nearly impossible for African Americans to obtain low-interest loans because of where they lived.” The damage by these policies and practices resulted in great disparities in wealth between black and white households. The discriminatory mortgage practices by state agencies are thoroughly documented in Freund’s *Colored Property* and Ira Katznelson’s *When Affirmative Action Was White: The Untold History of Racial Inequality in the United States*. Both authors make the case that African American homebuyers deserve compensation for their losses, but should exploitative real estate agencies and financial institutions, or federal agencies be sued for reparations?⁸ The case of the African American farmers, who eventually received a \$1.25 billion settlement in February 2010 from the federal government for the past discriminatory practices of U.S. Department of Agriculture and other governmental agencies, serves as model for reparations lawsuits against federal agencies.⁹



2nd Pro- Justice Internal Links

Failure to pay reparations and give restitution reward injustice and maintain inequality across generations. Reparations are fundamental to human rights.

Dr. Azibo, former professor & currently a consultant; 2011 (Daudi Anjani ya; Race, Gender & Class; 18: ½; “A critique of reparations nay sayers who pooh-pooh psycho-cultural damages perpetrated on African-U.S. people”)

African-centered. The African-centered location, in contrast, is 180 degrees from the Eurocentric regarding reparations as is Dr. King's position. Reparations are seen as warranted, legitimate, obtainable, and desirable across broad spectrums of ADP (Aiyetoro, 2003, 2004; Khalifah, 2007; Van Dyke, 2003; Worrill, 2003). And, debating different strategies for implementation of reparations is considered healthy (e.g., Kamau, 2002; Coates, 2004; Hewitt, 2004; Jeffries, 2004; Lumumba, et al. 1989; Muhammad, 2002; Williams & Collins, 2004; Winbush, 2003b). The African-centered position can be aptly summed up in two statements. Van Dyke (2003:58) points out "the duty to address violations of fundamental human rights continues as long as the consequences of those violations continue to scar a community". (Contrast this with Cross's intellection above.) And, the redoubtable, perspicacious Amos Wilson (1998) goes further:

While prior forms of White domination and exploitation of Blacks may have ceased and desisted, the economic injustices and inequalities they imposed continue unabated. The legal prohibition of further injustices does not necessarily mean that the injurious effects of past injustices no longer persist... Justice requires not only the ceasing and desisting of injustice but also requires either punishment or reparation for injuries and damages inflicted for prior wrongdoing.... If restitution is not made and reparations not instituted to compensate for prior injustices, those injustices are in effect rewarded. And the benefits such rewards conferred on the perpetrators of injustice will continue to 'draw interest', to be reinvested, and to be passed on to their children, who will use their inherited advantages to continue to exploit the children of the victims of the injustices of their ancestors. Consequently, injustice and inequality will be maintained across the generations. (p. 459-460)



2nd Pro- Morality Internal Links

The death of moral imagination is the biggest hurdle to reparations.

Liu, Founder Citizen Univ, author, & former speechwriter & policy adviser for President Clinton; 2014 (Eric; CNN; “Why we need to talk about reparations”; June 27; <http://edition.cnn.com/2014/06/27/opinion/liu-reparations-slavery/>)

Through many of these [responses](#), whether thoughtful or tossed-off, there's been a certain thread of uneasiness; a reflexive move to find reasons why reparation couldn't be done or why it wouldn't be workable or fair.

To me, this reflex is as interesting as the original argument. And it suggests that before America could ever actually do reparations, America would have to first be able to imagine the necessity of reparations. The greatest obstacle to considering reparation isn't practicality; it's a dearth of moral imagination.

The US' failure to pay reparations to African Americans stains the image of a just society.

The moral debt should be repaid!

Bunch, Founding Dir National Museum African American History & Culture; 2014 (Lonnie; Smithsonian Magazine; June 6; “America’s moral debt to African Americans”; <http://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/americas-moral-debt-african-americans-180951675/?no-ist>)

While the conversation with scholars and ordinary citizens often centers on financial payment, I’m emphasizing that the moral debt is more important. While fairness would dictate that the descendants of the Tulsa Riots of 1921 to see the goal of their reparations campaign be finalized with some remunerations. Yet the moral debate is equally owed.

The current discussion of reparations has made me consider how relevant the question remains, given the success and prosperity of the 21st Century. Honestly, we are still grappling with one of the unsolved issues that started the day a handful of Africans stepped onto the shores of Jamestown in 1619. How can America repay those bent backs and calloused hands for their slave labor, and satisfy the descendants that all the chattered years have value?

In his essay, Coates presents us with a clear roadmap on how we got to this point. Maya Angelou, the wise writer, bequeathed us this philosophy: “History, despite its wrenching pain, cannot be un-lived, however, if faced with courage, need not be lived again.” In so many ways, the American experience is the African American experience. In every development of our country’s history, every step that has made America better is tied to African American lives, patriotism and sacrifice. Indeed, profits from slavery provided a reservoir of capital that allowed America to grow into a world power. The image of America as a just society is stained by the lack of moral reparations and fair treatment for a group of its earliest and most loyal laborers and residents.



Pro Contentions- Political



1PC- Political Contention

A. American democracy's biggest challenge is structural racism that stems from socioeconomic disadvantages.

Marable, Former Professor & Director African American Studies @ Columbia Univ; 2001 (Manning; Newsweek; "An idea whose time has come...Whites have an obligation to recognize slavery's legacy"; August 27)

In 1854 my great-grandfather, Morris Marable, was sold on an auction block in Georgia for \$500. For his white slave master, the sale was just "business as usual." But to Morris Marable and his heirs, slavery was a crime against our humanity. This pattern of human-rights violations against enslaved African-Americans continued under Jim Crow segregation for nearly another century.

The fundamental problem of American democracy in the 21st century is the problem of "structural racism": the deep patterns of socioeconomic inequality and accumulated disadvantage that are coded by race, and constantly justified in public discourse by both racist stereotypes and white indifference. Do Americans have the capacity and vision to dismantle these structural barriers that deny democratic rights and opportunities to millions of their fellow citizens?

B. Reparations in the U.S. are part of the global movement for democracy in postcolonial or postapartheid countries.

Balfour, Prof Politics Univ Virginia; 2014 (Lawrie; Du Bois Review; 11:1; "Unthinking racial realism: A future for reparations?")

Not only does the language of reparations draw from deep reservoirs of African American struggle, it also situates questions of democracy in the United States within a larger context of global efforts to come to terms with the living legacies of a violent or repressive history. Drawing on a language of reparations has the virtue of moving conversations about race and democracy beyond the United States in ways that not only challenge the boundedness of American politics, but also offer opportunities to learn from political experiments elsewhere, such as South Africa, Morocco, Chile, Peru, Sierra Leone, Timor-Leste, Argentina, and Ghana.⁷ This list is incomplete, but it represents a sample of the countries in which reparations programs of some kind have been proposed, if not implemented, as part of the transition from mass violence and/or repression to a more democratic polity. That innovation often emerges from redress efforts in postcolonial and postapartheid settings heightens the democratic stakes of attending to those efforts.⁸ Moreover, the currency of reparations language as a worthy topic of debate, if not a realized policy, around the world intimates that the anti-reparations intransigence in the United States is outdated. Examination of recent re-foundings that have involved some promise or at least a discussion of reparations may offer conceptual assistance at a moment when the United States seems firmly in the grip of forms of postracialism that either ignore or justify the degree to which gains of the civil rights era have stalled or regressed. Perhaps it might *provincialize* America, to borrow a line from Dipesh Chakrabarty (2007), and provincialize democratic theory by recalling the degree to which apparently universal ideals are born out of a particular, and often violent and antidemocratic, history.



1PC- Political Contention

C. The reparations movement in the U.S. engages in education, mobilization, and lobbying for civil rights. These groups cooperate with, and are linked to, reparations in Africa and the Caribbean.

Martin, Prof Ethnic Studies @ Bowling Green Univ, & Yaquinto, journalist & author; 2004 (Michael & Marilyn; Race & Class; 45:4; “Reparations for ‘America’s Holocaust’: Activism for global justice”)

Other single or multi-issue organisations in the US associated with the alliance or which support reparations include N’COBRA, which is engaged in various educational activities to mobilise for reparations and lobbying activities in Congress to support HR 40; the Reparations Coordinating Committee, which is pursuing the Tulsa case and other lawsuits; and the Reparations Mobilization Coalition, which is focused on developing a reparations primer for ‘grassroots education and mobilization’.

Independently and together, the above organisations’ activities constitute the political mobilisation (coalition building and educational) strategy of the reparations movement in the US. In conjunction with the legislative and litigation strategies discussed earlier, a national movement, inclusive of civil rights organisations, is evolving with growing and co-ordinated links to reparations struggles in Africa and the Caribbean.

D. Reparations counter the political imbalance created by anti-civil rights activism.

Balfour, Prof Politics Univ Virginia; 2014 (Lawrie; Du Bois Review; 11:1; “Unthinking racial realism: A future for reparations?”)

Costly, divisive, and backward-looking, reparations demands appear to have no place in the politics of the “postracial epoch.” Yet this essay proposes that the dismissal of reparations concedes too much to the racial realists. By contrast, I argue that egalitarians ought to take seriously the proposal that reparations for slavery and segregation is a democratic idea for three reasons. First, owning and exploring the concept counters an imbalance in contemporary political discourse. I agree with King and Smith (2011) that a politics of “evasion and euphemism” (p. 13) has been ineffective in responding to racial inequality. But if racial egalitarians run from the word “reparations,” the same cannot be said for conservatives. Whether named explicitly or merely implied, reparations is often a stalking horse for anti-civil rights activism. Glenn Beck’s warning, in 2009, that proposals for healthcare, access to college, and green jobs were part of the president’s plan to smuggle in reparations through the “back-door” indicates why it matters that the idea of reparations be openly discussed by advocates of a more egalitarian polity.



2nd Pro- Citizenship Internal Links

Reparations are a question of citizenship and whether we ignore the flaws in our American heritage.

Boychuk, Associate Editor Manhattan Institute's City Journal & Mathis, contributing editor The Philly Post; 2014 (Ben & Joel; LA Daily News; 6/6; "Should the United States consider paying reparations to African Americans? RedBlue America"; <http://www.dailynews.com/opinion/20140606/should-the-united-states-consider-paying-reparations-to-african-americans-redblue-america>)

If you've already concluded that reparations are too expensive or too impossible, perhaps your sense of American citizenship is itself a cheap and flimsy thing.

Ta-Nehisi Coates never says precisely those words in his provocative essay on reparations for The Atlantic, but it's clear his mission isn't just to argue what this country owes its African-American citizens — it's also to get us to reconsider our own American citizenship, and how we express that identity.

Coates would rather we grapple with the fullness of our American heritage. Instead, we tend to celebrate our noble triumphs while disregarding or excusing the sometimes-craven flaws of our nation's founders.

"The last slaveholder has been dead for a very long time," he writes. "The last soldier to endure Valley Forge has been dead much longer. To proudly claim the veteran and disown the slaveholder is patriotism à la carte. A nation outlives its generations. We were not there when Washington crossed the Delaware, but Emanuel Gottlieb Leutze's rendering has meaning to us. We were not there when Woodrow Wilson took us into World War I, but we are still paying out the pensions. If Thomas Jefferson's genius matters, then so does his taking of Sally Hemings's body."



2nd Pro- Democracy Internal Links

Reparations talk reinvigorates democratic thinking and theory- it connects present conditions to the historical situation that produced them. A focus on democracy rather than justice avoids technical questions that make reparations seem unacceptable.

Balfour, Prof Politics Univ Virginia; 2014 (Lawrie; Du Bois Review; 11:1; “Unthinking racial realism: A future for reparations?”)

My point is not to argue that reparations, in any form, will single-handedly transform political conditions or eliminate racial hierarchies in the United States. Nor is it simple perversity that animates my conviction that the very terminology thought to shut down constructive conversations across racial lines might be used to stimulate collective thinking about racial equality. I recognize the force of Ellis Cose’s (2004) remark that “even without the explosive element of race, reparations is a difficult subject . . . And once race enters the room, what was already a difficult conversation becomes virtually impossible” (p. 167). Despite the difficulty Cose identifies, I posit that a revival of reparations talk might reinvigorate democratic thinking in two specific ways. First, I contend that the conjunction of postracial discourse, on the one hand, and deepening racial inequalities, on the other, demand a counter-language that ties the analysis of the present to the historical conditions out of which it was produced. Reparations can provide such a language. Imperfect though it may be, reparations talk may provide the best available rebuttal to racial realists. It is distinct from reconciliation, regret, and apology (although it may work together with any or all of them) insofar as it goes beyond the expression of an attitude to material exemplification. Because reparations claims have long played an important role in African American political and social movements, taking them seriously will democratize democratic theory by widening the bounds of what counts as “accepted discourse” and whose utterances can be heard. Second, in contrast to much of the reparations scholarship, I focus on the demands of democracy rather than justice. Doing so, I argue, both helps to evade some of the technical questions that have prevented full consideration of the political work of reparations and indicates how a commitment to reparations could serve the unfinished task of democratic reconstruction. Countering the historical and ongoing devaluation of Black citizenship, reparations provide a vehicle for redefining both governmental and civic responsibility in the shadow of slavery and Jim Crow.

Reparations are democratic because they are considered outside the bounds of acceptable speech.

Balfour, Prof Politics Univ Virginia; 2014 (Lawrie; Du Bois Review; 11:1; “Unthinking racial realism: A future for reparations?”)

In a context in which not only reparations talk but (critical) Black political discourse more generally has been discredited by White Americans as “outside the boundaries of acceptable speech” (Dawson 2011, p. 26), taking reparations seriously may itself be a democratic act. It provides a weapon to counter what Walker (2006) discerns as the “normative contempt” (p. 226) embodied in White unwillingness to probe or be disturbed by the evidence of racial disparities. Developing political claims through a language of reparations need not preclude other possibilities. It does not, for example, undermine Ira Katznelson’s (2005) plea to reinvigorate the “idiom of affirmation” (p. 145) or to reconstitute affirmative action so that it is as robust as it was across the generations when its beneficiaries were almost exclusively White. Nonetheless, unlike affirmative action, which is associated with elite policy discourse, reparations language is distinctively challenging to the status quo in that it could not be thought or said in most polite policy circles. By returning to the ideas and words of politically marginal actors, it enlarges the world of democratic ideas that are “thinkable, sayable, legible” (Butler 1997, p. 41).



2nd Pro- Democracy Impact

Democracies prevent the spread of weapons of mass destruction and protect the environment.

Diamond; 1995 (Larry, Snr. research fellow @ Hoover Institute, Promoting Democracy in the 1990's, p 6-7)

This hardly exhausts the list of threats to our security and well-being in the coming years and decades. In the former Yugoslavia nationalist aggression tears at the stability of Europe and could easily spread. The flow of illegal drugs intensifies through increasingly powerful international crime syndicates that have made common cause with authoritarian regimes and have utterly corrupted the institutions of tenuous, democratic ones. Nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons continue to proliferate. The very source of life on Earth, the global ecosystem, appears increasingly endangered. Most of these new and unconventional threats to security are associated with or aggravated by the weakness or absence of democracy, with its provisions for legality, accountability, popular sovereignty, and openness.



2nd Pro- Democracy Solvency

Reparations are a political act of recognition that allows excluded and silenced people the right to make political claims.

Balfour, Prof Politics Univ Virginia; 2014 (Lawrie; Du Bois Review; 11:1; “Unthinking racial realism: A future for reparations?”)

Conceiving reparations as a *democratic* idea highlights the ways in which historical forms of racial oppression, exploitation, and violence have impeded the flourishing of Black citizens, and therefore damaged the polity as a whole. According to Ruth Rubio-Marín (2008), reparations are “acts of recognition of people as equal citizens and right-holders which, paraphrasing Andrew Schaap, will facilitate the recognition of the other as ‘sharing a space for politics within which citizens divided by memories of past wrongs could debate and contest the terms of their political association’” (p. 211). Not only do they redress specific injuries, she continues, but they serve as “discursive instruments” (p. 212) that enable the articulation of political claims by women and men who have been publicly silenced or discounted.

2nd Pro- Global Movements Solvency

Reparations for African Americans in the U.S. could be linked to Hawaiian reparations and ADPs everywhere.

Dr. Azibo, former professor & currently a consultant; 2011 (Daudi Anjani ya; Race, Gender & Class; 18: ½; “A critique of reparations nay sayers who pooh-pooh psycho-cultural damages perpetrated on African-U.S. people”)

As this juxtaposition of the Eurocentric versus Africentric positions indicates, the view of the peppery psycho-cultural case for reparations for U.S.- ADP is inevitably parallax at this time. Though the vantage points appear diametrically opposed with the Eurocentric/Western against and the Africancentered in favor, this special section has sought to tilt views toward the latter. Simultaneously, the reparations debate has been broadened in this special section to incorporate psycho-cultural afflictions especially. Plus, in what can become a step toward "a global reparations movement that unites all colonized peoples" (Smith, 2004:101) linking the African-U.S. and the Hawaiian reparations movements can be accomplished since the two peoples are family despite that most do not know it (Azibo, 2009). Their strangeness one to the other is in origin a function of diaspora of African populations worldwide over space and time (ben-Jochannan, 1980). In the era of conquest, however, the exploitation of this family unfamiliarity is a fait accompli of the fissionary perpetrations of Caucasian Americans. Therefore uniting as kindred by ADP everywhere (Clarke, 1991; Garvey, 1934) is now an imperative for their survival. Blyden (1966:124) in commenting on the African-U.S. émigré-aboriginal Liberian mixing pointed to the benefits: "when different peoples of the same family have been brought together, there has invariably been a fusion, and the result has been an improved and powerful class." The admonishment has gone forth for ADP to integrate with themselves first (Bennett, n.d.; Martin, 1976; Williams, 1976) lest they disintegrate in relating to Caucasian Americans. The integration offered up by the latter has been a chronic failure (Johnson, 1995). It is seen as a dead horse (Ukombozi, 1996) which has only maintained the status quo of Caucasian domination while giving U.S.-ADP "the illusion of inclusion" (Hare, 2007).

Reparations for African Americans are a site for coalition building and activism in the global struggle for justice.

Martin, Prof Ethnic Studies @ Bowling Green Univ, & Yaquinto, journalist & author; 2004 (Michael & Marilyn; Race & Class; 45:4; “Reparations for ‘America’s Holocaust’: Activism for global justice”)

If the demand for reparations to the descendants of African slaves in the United States constitutes a moral and practical struggle against oblivion and racial injustice, then restitution for 250 years of unpaid servitude constitutes a national project of international scope and importance. And while, in the current conjuncture of neoliberalism and assertions of empire, the outcome is uncertain, reparations form a fertile site for coalition building and activism in a global struggle for justice.

Reparations are part of a broad, multi-issue global movement.

Martin, Prof Ethnic Studies @ Bowling Green Univ, & Yaquinto, journalist & author; 2004 (Michael & Marilyn; Race & Class; 45:4; “Reparations for ‘America’s Holocaust’: Activism for global justice”)

While the legislative and litigation strategies proceed, a parallel and interrelated formation is emerging that has implications for the reparations movement. Several largely disparate organisations with common political goals, though not necessarily similar ideological orientations, have begun to coalesce into a broad and multi-issue alliance in which reparations constitute one among several shared grievances and demands. The organising agenda of this nascent alliance centres on fundamental political, economic, social and environmental issues, including human rights, white supremacy, ‘state terrorism’, global capitalism, democracy, women’s and workers’ rights, global justice and, in the case of several groups, the support of liberation struggles for self-determination.

2nd Pro- Global Movements Solvency

Reparations can be a site for black working class agency and class issues rather than an exclusive focus on race.

Martin, Prof Ethnic Studies @ Bowling Green Univ, & Yaquinto, journalist & author; 2004 (Michael & Marilyn; Race & Class; 45:4; “Reparations for ‘America’s Holocaust’: Activism for global justice”)

By establishing a direct relationship between race and the class character of reparations in the US (and internationally), several critical issues are addressed but not resolved. First, it gives greater specificity to the group on whose behalf reparations are championed. Second, in this, reparations are distinguished as a site for black working-class agency. Third, this approach invites progressive groups and organisations to support the reparations movement on the basis of class rather than racial solidarity, avoiding, in theory, the historical problems associated with identity politics.

Domestic reparations movements can network and coalition build at the international level, exploiting pressure points between nations.

Martin, Prof Ethnic Studies @ Bowling Green Univ, & Yaquinto, journalist & author; 2004 (Michael & Marilyn; Race & Class; 45:4; “Reparations for ‘America’s Holocaust’: Activism for global justice”)

Political mobilisation also involves networking and coalition building at the international level, as noted earlier. In a recent paper, Gerald Horne elaborates a strategy to mobilise the movement in the US into productive alliances with progressive sectors in the ‘international community’⁸⁶ Horne counsels that the reparations movement should seek to take advantage of the ‘emerging contradictions between the burgeoning European Union and the US’, along with Africa and Latin America, where opportunities for coalition building abound. He has identified pressure points between nations that can be leveraged to support reparations. Whether or not these cleavages can be advantaged on behalf of reparations is unclear.



Pro Contentions- Racism



1PC- Racism Contention

A. African American lives continue to be devalued and discounted through racially selective patterns of justice in the Supreme Court.

Ogletree, Prof Harvard Law; 2003 (Charles; Harvard Civil Rights Civil Liberties Law Review; June; 38:2; "Repairing the past: New Efforts in the Reparations Debate")

A central plank of Robinson's critique is simply that African American lives and values are discounted—worth less—in America today, much as they were discounted at three-fifths value in the Constitution.⁴⁸ Professor Randall Kennedy has independently made this claim, noting that the Supreme Court's race rhetoric evinces remarkable solicitude for the feelings of whites and little or none for those of African Americans.⁴⁹ Kennedy has identified "racially selective patterns of emotional response"⁵⁰ in which the Supreme Court has generally "show[n] an egregious disregard for the sensibilities of black Americans . . . [even though] the Court has been careful to avoid hurting the feelings of whites."⁵¹ Kennedy found this disregard to be especially pronounced in the Court's disparate attitude to the manner in which race may be taken into account in the civil and criminal spheres. The conservative justices, including Chief Justice Rehnquist and Justices Scalia and Thomas, "have been hawks in the war against affirmative action . . . [but] strike a different note when they confront the use of race by public authorities in the administration of criminal justice."⁵² Kennedy states that the conservatives have been "very willing to allow public authorities to racially discriminate to pursue law enforcement aims even in the absence of an articulated compelling justification."⁵³

One of Robinson's major contributions stems from his use of these racially selective patterns of emotional response to explain the failure of white Americans and Europeans to acknowledge the suffering of Africans and African Americans (as well as Native Americans and other minority groups) caused by institutionalized racial discrimination.⁵⁴ As I suggest below, such an outlook denies the impact of slavery and Jim Crow on its victims—what might be called "slavery denial"—and minimizes the effects of that institution that persist to the present day. In *The Debt*, Robinson made the case that such denial—and the devaluation of the sensibilities of individual African Americans⁵⁵—should no longer be permissible. This claim remains one of the most difficult implications of reparations for America at large.

B. The African Holocaust involved the destruction of life, culture, and human possibility. Karenga, CSU-Long Beach; 2001 (Maulana; "THE ETHICS OF REPARATIONS: ENGAGING THE HOLOCAUST OF ENSLAVEMENT"; National Coalition of Blacks for Reparations in America Convention; June 22-23)

We have argued that the injury must be defined as holocaust. By holocaust we mean a morally monstrous act of genocide that is not only against the people themselves, but also a crime against humanity. The Holocaust of enslavement expresses itself in three basic ways: the morally monstrous destruction of human life, human culture and human possibility.

In terms of the destruction of human life, estimates run as high as ten to a hundred million persons killed individually and collectively in various brutal and vicious ways. The destruction of culture includes the destruction of centers, products and producers of culture: cities, towns, villages, libraries, great literatures (written and oral), and works of art and other cultural creations as well as the creative and skilled persons who produced them.

And finally, the morally monstrous destruction of human possibility involved redefining African humanity to the world, poisoning past, present and future relations with others who only know us through this stereotyping and thus damaging the truly human relations among peoples. It also involves lifting Africans out of their own history making them a footnote and forgotten casualty in European history and thus limiting and denying their ability to speak their own special cultural truth to the world and make their own unique contribution to the forward flow of human history.

It is here that the issue of stolen labor and ill-gotten gains which is seen as important to the legal case can be raised. For in removing us from our own history, enslaving us and brutally exploiting our labor, it limited and prevented us from building our own future and living the lives of dignity and decency which is our human right.



1PC- Racism Contention

C. Jim Crow white supremacy is not limited to racial subjugation but also include measures to exclude African-Americans from the economic sphere and discrimination in criminal justice and incarceration.

Liu, Founder Citizen Univ, author, & former speechwriter & policy adviser for President Clinton; 2014 (Eric; CNN; “Why we need to talk about reparations”; June 27; <http://edition.cnn.com/2014/06/27/opinion/liu-reparations-slavery/>)

The obvious example is the latticework of code and custom that we call Jim Crow. But as Coates reminds us, white supremacy was not just about measures of outright racial subjugation; it was also baked into measures intended to create wealth and opportunity, like parts of the New Deal, which contained many devil's bargains with conservative Southern Democrats to exempt African-Americans. And it plays out in today's criminal justice and incarceration regimes.

D. Refusal to apologize and give reparations proves that slavery was the norm not a deviation. Recognition of slavery would undermine American exceptionalism and White supremacy.

Henry, Prof UC-Berkeley; 2003 (Charles; Journal of Black Studies; 34:2; “The politics of racial reparations”)

One answer is that the refusal to apologize for the institution of slavery and declare it a crime against humanity is an implicit acknowledgment that slavery was not a deviation-it was the norm. No national political leader urged the abolition of slavery at the founding just as no national political leader today has urged an apology. To recognize the role of slavery and its consequences undermines the concept of American exceptionalism. It exposes the economic exploitation at the heart of White supremacy that now must be viewed as a part of the American creed. Thus, the vociferous and negative response to an apology/reparation is to erase slavery from the national conscience.

E. Whites resist reparations because their identity is defined through the negation of Blacks.

Dr. Azibo, former professor & currently a consultant; 2011 (Daudi Anjani ya; Race, Gender & Class; 18: ½; “A critique of reparations nay sayers who pooh-pooh psycho-cultural damages perpetrated on African-U.S. people”)

Regarding the individual Caucasian, Whiteness is constructed out of the psychology of the White male which persists in seeing and defining the White part of the self through the negation of ADP (Sampson, 1993a). Diop (1987) maintains that there is a primeval anti-Black defensive reflex at the core of Whiteness as an identity. Perhaps this ingrained reflex psychically spurs on the incessant negating, despite today's White awareness (Delgado & Stefancic, 1997, Parts I and XI; Katz, 1981). The case for reparations, then, may be hardly entertained in and the idea of actual reparations may be totally resistible to Caucasian consciousness (see Jennings in this special section) which apparently is bereft of compunction, consistent with the diagnosis of psychopathic racial personality (Wright, 1985). Research elucidating factors involved in Caucasian support for so-called “Black causes” (Craemer, 2008; Zebel et al., 2008) and government apologies for national atrocities (Blatz, Schumann, & Ross, 2009) might be built upon.



1PC- Racism Contention

F. The logic of White supremacy culminates in white terrorism and racial cleansing.

Franklin; 2012 (VP; The Journal of African American History; Vol. 97; “AFRICAN AMERICANS AND MOVEMENTS FOR REPARATIONS: FROM EX-SLAVE PENSIONS TO THE REPARATIONS SUPERFUND”)

James Loewen’s *Sundown Towns: A Hidden Dimension of American Racism* is reviewed by Greta de Jong and that work describes the promulgation of “all-white towns” and residential areas before *and* after the arrival of African Americans. Some sundown towns were created by driving out black homeowners and tenants who often lost everything when forced to leave. “Racial cleansing” resulted in the loss of life and property for the African American population as documented in Elliot Jaspin’s *Buried in the Bitter Waters: The Hidden History of Racial Cleansing in America*, which is reviewed in this JAAH Special Issue by Clarence Lang. Mob violence and “white terrorism” were not confined to the Deep South, but were practiced regularly in Midwest and Upper South cities and towns, and there is little or no evidence that the local police or legal authorities attempted to prevent these attacks. In the most famous incidents of racial cleansing where reparations were sought by African Americans who lost personal property, restitution was made to African Americans victimized by mob violence in Rosewood, Florida, in 1923; but African American victims of the July 1921 Tulsa, Oklahoma, rioting were denied reparations. In the case of the Tulsa Race Riot, during which his father’s law office was destroyed, historian John Hope Franklin testified, along with others, before state investigating commissions about the economic and personal losses resulting from “racial cleansing.”⁷

G. Reparations superfund is the alternative to violence for African American youths. It is a matter of life and death- now is the time for intervention.

Franklin; 2012 (VP; The Journal of African American History; Vol. 97; “AFRICAN AMERICANS AND MOVEMENTS FOR REPARATIONS: FROM EX-SLAVE PENSIONS TO THE REPARATIONS SUPERFUND”)

There is currently an undeniable need for a “Reparations Superfund” to support positive and successful interventions to prevent African American youths from turning to murderous violence against other African American youths and those in the line of fire. In the past, police practices and brutality summoned youthful anger. In the 1950s it was the brutal murder of Emmitt Till in Money, Mississippi; in the 1960s it was the police—Black Panther shootouts and the assassination of Fred Hampton in Chicago. The police behavior witnessed in the Rodney King video in Los Angeles looked all-too-familiar to African American and Latino youths growing up in U.S. cities in the 1970s and 1980s. Unfortunately, youthful anger and violence has turned even more deadly for our young people since that time and they are killing each other at alarming rates. There is an urgent need to intervene to change this deadly situation.

The establishment of a Reparations Superfund would provide funding to committed professionals, African Americans and others, who have developed strategies and models of intervention and remediation. Successful interventions, such as “The Interrupters” project in Chicago profiled in a PBS Frontline documentary, would be supported and replicated in neighborhoods across the country.¹ The Reparations Superfund would operate like the \$20 billion (tax deductible) BP Oil Spill Superfund and would pay out to those groups mounting proven interventions and to those organizations and individuals with the skills, training, and willingness to be held accountable for their work with our young people. We must recognize that poverty is no longer the prime target for the funding of these interventions; it has become a matter of life and death, and African American youths and other young people of color must be the prime targets for programs supported by the Reparations Superfund.



1PC- Racism Contention

H. Reparations is a first and final step for slavery and Jim Crow.

Ogletree, Prof Harvard Law; 2003 (Charles; Harvard Civil Rights Civil Liberties Law Review; June; 38:2; "Repairing the past: New Efforts in the Reparations Debate")

Jim Crow reparations present a range of distinct legal and political options that are in contrast to claims made in the lawsuits focusing on slavery claims. Many of the differences are obvious and perhaps explain the greater level of public and scholarly support for one form of reparations litigation over another. In contrast to the slavery reparations context, Jim Crow litigation usually includes a more readily identifiable set of harms, plaintiffs, and defendants. Nevertheless, it is far more difficult to morally distinguish Jim Crow from slavery reparations cases. Legal formalism tends to erect overly lofty hurdles to slavery lawsuits while attempting to narrowly cabin the consequences of the Jim Crow suits. This approach fails to accept the necessity of reparations as a first, and final, response to the horrors of slavery as well as of Jim Crow.

I. Reparations inform the debate over race and racism by ending the denial of slavery and Jim Crow segregation.

Ogletree, Prof Harvard Law; 2003 (Charles; Harvard Civil Rights Civil Liberties Law Review; June; 38:2; "Repairing the past: New Efforts in the Reparations Debate")

More importantly, the underlying goals of both slavery and non- slavery lawsuits are the same. Both seek to end a tradition of denying the consequences of slavery and Jim Crow era segregation, and both seek to force the nation to engage in an informed debate about race and racism in America. Ignorance can no longer be an excuse nor a rhetorical posture.

J. Reparations is a worldwide struggle over freedom, justice and dignity, and the value placed on Black lives.

Karenga, CSU-Long Beach; 2001 (Maulana; "THE ETHICS OF REPARATIONS: ENGAGING THE HOLOCAUST OF ENSLAVEMENT"; National Coalition of Blacks for Reparations in America Convention; June 22-23)

The struggle for reparations for the Holocaust of Enslavement of African people is clearly one of the most important struggles being waged in the world today. For it is about fundamental issues of human freedom, human justice and the value we place on human life in the past as well as in the present and future. It is a struggle which, of necessity, contributes to our regaining and refreshing our historical memory as a people remembering and raising up the rightful claims of our ancestors to lives of dignity and decency and to our reaffirming and securing the rights and capacity of their descendants to live free, full and meaningful lives in our times.



2nd Pro- Dehumanization/Devaluation Internal Links

Our argument is reverse causal- the unthinkability of reparations sustains devaluation of Blacks.

Balfour, Prof Politics Univ Virginia; 2014 (Lawrie; Du Bois Review; 11:1; “Unthinking racial realism: A future for reparations?”)

Second, reparations claims deserve attention precisely *because* they have been, both historically and in the present, dismissed as unthinkable. The purported novelty of the postracial epoch disguises the recurrent characterization of Black political demands as untimely and the ritual character of White expressions of impatience to move beyond race. White Americans are tired of talking about race, observes law professor Darren Hutchinson. They are committed to a view that any lingering inequalities along racial lines are the consequence of poor personal choices and that remedies for racial wrongs are “redundant, unnecessary, vexatious, futile, and unfair to Whites” (Hutchinson 2009, p. 926). As Hutchinson notes, contemporary complaints of racial exhaustion are not new. Rather, when it comes to racial justice, White Americans may suffer from “chronic fatigue syndrome” (p. 953). Today’s complaints thus echo those of White legislators who argued against the Freedman’s Bureau because enough—or too much—had already been done on behalf of the former slaves. They resonate with the Supreme Court’s reasoning in the *Civil Rights Cases* (1883) and *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896); and they extend twentieth-century critiques of civil rights legislation at the state and federal levels (Hutchinson 2009). Taking the idea of reparations seriously demands a confrontation with this history. Dismissing it out of hand, by contrast, helps to sustain White habits of devaluation of Black claims for equality.



2nd Pro- Education Internal Links

The Eurocentric educational system dehumanizes Blacks, strips them of basic human rights, and leads to self-alienation and anti-Black attitudes.

Arceneaux; 2005 (Taniecea; The Review of Black Political Economy; Winter-Spring; “Reparations for slavery: A cause for reparations, a case against David Horowitz”)

The government's past principles and current actions have made clear that its vision for African Americans is one of a jobless, imprisoned people with a lack of self-worth and identity. The United States Eurocentric educational system has failed to prepare African American children for liberation, nation-building, and self-determination; this educational system produces people, many of which who are Black Americans, who are self-alienated and anti-Black. It is true that the leaders of the American government have acknowledged that slavery was one of the greatest crimes in history and that enslaved, unpaid labor created the prosperity of the United States (Millions for Reparations, 2004). But, it is my cause as well as that of those who have been oppressed and dehumanized by the past ills of slavery and the current deprivations that have resulted from it to demand reparations of the possessions and the basic human rights that have been stripped of Black Americans from the time they arrived in this country to the present.



2nd Pro- Holocaust Denial Internal Links

Many attempt to deny the African Holocaust by framing the discussion in terms of trade and focusing on the role of collaborators.

Karenga, CSU-Long Beach; 2001 (Maulana; "THE ETHICS OF REPARATIONS: ENGAGING THE HOLOCAUST OF ENSLAVEMENT"; National Coalition of Blacks for Reparations in America Convention; June 22-23)

This is why the established order works so hard to define away the historical and ongoing character of the injury. This is especially done in two basic ways. First, the injury is distorted and hidden under the category of "slave trade". The category trade tends to sanitize the high level of violence and mass murder that was inflicted on African peoples and societies. If the categorization of the Holocaust of Enslavement can be reduced to the category of "trade" two things happen. First, it becomes more of a commercial issue and problem than a moral one. And secondly, since trade is the primary focus, the mass murder or genocide can be and often is conveniently understood and accepted as simply collateral damage of a commercial venture gone bad.

A second attempt of the established order to deny the horrendous nature of the injury and its essential responsibility for it is to claim collaboration of the victims in their own victimization. Here it is morally and factually important to make a distinction between collaborators among the people and the people themselves. Every people faced with conquest, oppression and destruction has had collaborators among them, but it is factually inaccurate and morally wrong and repulsive to indict a whole people for a holocaust which was imposed on them and was aided by collaborators. Every holocaust had collaborators: the Native Americans, Jews, Australoids, Armenians and Africans. No one morally sensitive claims Jews are responsible for their holocaust based on the evidence of Jewish collaborators. How then are Africans indicted for the collaborators among them?

Although there are other ways, the established order seeks to undermine the factual and moral basis of the African claim for reparations, these two are indispensable to its efforts. And thus, they must be raised up and rejected constantly, for they speak to the indispensable need to define the injury to African people and to maintain control of it.



2nd Pro- Jim Crow Internal Links

Focusing of slavery and the slave trade ignore the on-going harm of Jim Crow segregation. Darity, Prof Economics @ UNC- Chapel Hill, & Frank, Harvard Univ; 2003 (William & Dania; The American Economic Review; 93:2; “The economics of reparations”)

WCAR's nearly exclusive focus on slavery and the slave trade neglects another compelling pillar of the case for reparations for African-Americans, the practice of nearly a century of state-sanctioned apartheid in the United States. The harms of Jim Crow practices are extensive; moreover, unlike U.S. slavery, there still are living direct victims.

Particularly in the U.S. South, the post- Reconstruction period gave way to a climate of terror that allowed whites to take black lives and black-owned property with impunity. An Associated Press report documented 406 cases of black landowners who had 24,000 acres of farms and timberland stolen from them in the first three decades of the 20th century (Todd Lewan and Dolores Barclay, 2001).



2nd Pro- Prison Internal Links

Injustices associated with forced labor and convict-lease systems justify reparations.

Franklin; 2012 (VP; The Journal of African American History; Vol. 97; “AFRICAN AMERICANS AND MOVEMENTS FOR REPARATIONS: FROM EX-SLAVE PENSIONS TO THE REPARATIONS SUPERFUND”)

Douglas Blackmon’s *Slavery by Another Name: The Re-Enslavement of Black Americans from the Civil War to World War II* is reviewed by Albert Broussard in this JAAH Special Issue. Blackmon’s documentation of forced labor regimes imposed primarily on black southerners for the economic benefit of southern state and local governments and industrial and planter capitalists is thorough, and heartbreaking to read. Given the stolen black labor and the damage that was done to African American families and communities by the convict-lease system, some would argue that it is on the basis of these injustices alone that African Americans deserve reparations. But who should pay?

Blacks are discriminated against in sentencing and make up half the prison population.

Robinson, Founder of TransAfrica; 2014 (Randall; New York Times; June 8; “Horrific injustice of slavery must be repaid”; <http://www.nytimes.com/roomfordebate/2014/06/08/are-reparations-due-to-african-americans/horrific-injustice-of-slavery-must-be-repaired>)

Today, young black men comprise more than half of America’s prison population. While blacks commit 12 percent of nonviolent drug offenses, they make up 75 percent of those incarcerated for such offenses and usually serve sentences twice as long as whites do for the same crime. Slavery ended, but something not completely unlike it followed.

The prison industrial complex has its root in convicting freed slaves.

Dumke, writer for Chicago Reader & Worrill, Dir Center for Inner City Studies @

Northeastern Illinois Univ; 2014 (Mick interviewing Conrad; Chicago Reader; 8/6; “Could reparations for African-Americans reduce violence”; <http://www.chicagoreader.com/Bleader/archives/2014/08/06/could-reparations-for-african-americans-help-reduce-violence>)

Besides housing, what are you looking into?

The legal system continues to say that since [the time of slavery], the statute of limitations has run out. So we're looking at the whole prison-industrial complex—drug enforcement policies and the impact.

Are you familiar with Michelle Alexander's book [*The New Jim Crow*]? After black people in 1863, '64, '65 found out they could leave the plantations in the south, many black men were rearrested walking down the roads of the south. It was a strategy—arresting people for vagrancy because they didn't have a job. That was the basis of the rise of the prison-industrial complex.



2nd Pro- Racism/White Supremacy Internal Links

Reparations first goal is to remember the repressed history of slavery and Jim Crow.

Ogletree, Prof Harvard Law; 2003 (Charles; Harvard Civil Rights Civil Liberties Law Review; June; 38:2; "Repairing the past: New Efforts in the Reparations Debate")

At its most basic level, reparations seeks something more than token acknowledgment of the centuries of suffering of African Americans at the hands of the state and federal governments, corporations, and individuals during the three centuries of chattel slavery and Jim Crow. As Randall Robinson notes in his book *The Debt: What America Owes to Blacks*, many of our greatest public monuments, including the White House, the Capitol, and the Jefferson Memorial, were built by slaves. Sadly and remarkably, the nation's Capitol offers no tribute to those who constructed our nation's most venerable monuments.¹⁸ The sacrifices of the African American community for the American nation during slavery, Reconstruction, and Jim Crow are too often forgotten.

This is not a casual oversight. Randall Robinson argues persuasively that it is more insidious.¹⁹ The national consciousness of the terrible history of slavery and Jim Crow has been deliberately repressed into a national subconscious as an ugly part of our national history that we choose to ignore.

The failure to acknowledge this history greatly influences the national debate about race. If we refuse to consciously confront the nation's complicity in enslaving millions of its subjects²⁰ and brutalizing millions of its citizens during Jim Crow, then we cannot engage in a conscientious discussion of race. To invoke our nation's responsibility for discrimination is not to play the "victim" card²¹ but to demand the same treatment that other races and ethnicities receive. Accordingly, the first goal of reparations is to remember and celebrate these forgotten African Americans and insist that our nation fully acknowledge their many contributions to our country's economic and political well-being.

Opposition to reparations is rooted in Eurocentrism and White supremacy.

Dr. Azibo, former professor & currently a consultant; 2011 (Daudi Anjani ya; Race, Gender & Class; 18: ½; "A critique of reparations nay sayers who pooh-pooh psycho-cultural damages perpetrated on African-U.S. people")

Eurocentric. Reparation is a peppery topic and there are vantage points which diverge from the favorable one I have argued in this special section (Azibo, 2011). From the Eurocentric or Western cultural location, there is a White supremacist/anti-African basis of Caucasian civilization that still prevails (Ani, 1994; Gillborn, 2006; Kambon, 1996). It apparently undergirds a seeming psychopathic (Wright, 1985) recalcitrance concerning justice for the subdued population of African descent people (ADP) in the United States (Harris, 1997; King, 2007; Morris, 1993; Shakur, 1987; Taifa, 1997; L. Wright, 1990) as well as ADP in other parts of the world (West-Newman, 2004). Making the intelligentsia of the conquered connivers who support the Caucasian domination (Akoto, 1992; Carruthers, 1999, chaps. 10-12; Chinweizu, 1987; Hansen, 1996; Khoapa, 1980) is part and parcel of the conquering. These connivers abound and provide a ready counterpoise which decries from within protestations by the victim group. This affords more readily an assuaged Caucasian consciousness that can more easily dismiss and pooh-pooh dissatisfaction expressed by or on behalf of the victim group. In this way connivers, whether their position be genuinely held or contrived, are vital to maintaining the prevailing ideology of the victimizing Caucasian social order which apparently sees no wrong in and of itself. This point is major and a vivification of Chomsky's (2008:52) observation that "[w]hen we consider the responsibility of intellectuals, our basic concern must be their role in the creation and analysis of ideology" that serves domination. It is Asa Hilliard's (200:303) philosophy that psychologists "cannot be passive and uncritical about our field. We must seriously interrogate its paradigms [and] have no hesitancy whatsoever in challenging things that are false and invalid".



2nd Pro- Violence Internal Links

Reparations prevent a turn to armed violence on the part of African descendent peoples.

Dr. Azibo, former professor & currently a consultant; 2011 (Daudi Anjani ya; Race, Gender & Class; 18: ½; "A critique of reparations nay sayers who pooh-pooh psycho-cultural damages perpetrated on African-U.S. people")

Determination by the victims to see the account settled is contrary to laying down for genocide as dictated by the slave mentality constructed out of the American Africanism (Azibo, 2011). For the victims who refuse to go quietly into the night there remains only the question of armed resistance. This question is usually posed incorrectly as the question of violence. Armed resistance refers to "the revolutionary violence that cleanses victims ... [not] the violence of racism" (Trask, 2004:14) (i.e., predatory, anti-social mayhem). When spurred "by the valuing of African-U.S. people and the intolerability of Black oppression" (Curry, 2007:16) and grass-roots thinking captured in the rhetoric of Dr. Khallid Muhammad that

Yes, we want reparations. You've got to pay us for all those years of free labor; the lynchings; the beatings; the rape of our women; the killing of our babies. Yes, we want the money....buildings....land....We want everything you've got. And then we want your blood! Yes, white men, you have to give up your blood too. What you owe us can't be paid in full until you give up some blood too. (Khallid Muhammad Joins the Ancestors, 2001:3)

It is logical that organized, working class armed resistance is neither an unused nor an unreasonable option for U.S.-ADP manqué (Bruce, 1889/1971; Hill, 2004; Obadele, 1984, 2003; Seale, 1991; Shakur, 1969, 1987; Walker, 1965; Worgs, 2006) or for ADP in general from Frantz Fanon's perspective on violence (Hansen, 1996). Coupling the latter with Critical Race Theory's theorem of the indestructibility of Caucasian American racism has generated Tommy Curry's "Critical Race Fanonianism" thesis which deliberately seeks to "create the visceral political emphasis behind [incipient return to] amelioratory revolt" (Curry, 2007:13). This social theory is reminiscent, nay a reemergence, of the revolutionary posture of the armed resistance cadre of the 1960s rights era (e.g., Carmichael and Thelwell, 2003; Obadele, 2003). It is characterized by revolutionary psychologist Bobby Wright's statements "that if the Black race is to perish, the world must perish with us" and that "blood debts must be repayed in blood" (cited in Carruthers, 1985:xi). This social theory is incipient and it contrasts sharply with the quondam dominant "dogmatic allegiance to non-violence [as it appears that] violence as a liberatory act ... should be investigated as a plausible and necessary political option" (Curry, 2007:2). In light of critical race Fanonianism, whether Caucasian American liberal consciousness continues to contend that "no person of understanding or humanity will too quickly condemn the violence that often occurs when long-subdued masses rise against their oppressors" (Chomsky, 2008a:80) remains to be seen. Reparations might nevertheless stave off return to the armed resistance option and thus could have a benefit in addition to repair and recompense. If the settler-colonialist nation New Zealand can propose 300 million dollars for reparations to Maoris (Kidson, 2009), then there is no reason other than naked unwillingness the settler-colonialist-genocidal nation United States cannot commit to making reparations down payments in the sense being advocated in the African-U.S. community (Azibo, 2008). Bradford's (2005:42) point regarding reparations for aboriginal Indians that "an unwillingness to grant redress to victims of gross human injustice is perhaps the greatest source of national delegitimization [for the United States]" seems applicable to aboriginal Hawaiians and U.S.-ADP. Each group is a victim of an imposed and thereby illegitimate United States citizenship. In light of critical race Fanonianism, granting redress with reparations down payments may be particularly urgent. If not forthcoming, then, borrowing the apt words of a Harvard official addressing a racial matter (Kimball, 2009:5), "this pitiable rejection of a great opportunity" could be seen as a last straw. It becomes realpolitik then to ponder Will acquiring reparations from impenitent Caucasian America require armed resistance?



2nd Pro- Holocaust Impact

Conservative estimates of the number of Africans killed during slavery place the figure around eleven million. However, over 200 million is a more realistic estimate.

Nehusi; 2000 (Kimani; “The meaning of reparation”; Caribnet; Issue 3; September)

So, though comparisons are usually invidious, one needs at least to question why there is seen to be only one holocaust. Most estimates of the number of Jews murdered by the Nazis arrive at a figure of about six million. In contrast, even Eurocentric apologists for the destruction of Africa and Africans put the figure of murdered Africans at eleven million for the European aspect of this Great Holocaust. A much more realistic estimate put this number at over two hundred million. Besides, although pogroms had been organised against the Jews for many generations, the sustained intensity of the attack upon Africa and Africans has been much greater - not witnessed in the history of this planet. No other nation has been so obliterated, save perhaps for the native American people.



2nd Pro- Racism Impacts

Racism must be rejected in every instance because of its dehumanization and violence towards others.

Memmi, Prof Sociology @ Univ Paris Albert; 2000 (RACISM, translated by Steve Martinot; pp.163-165)

The struggle against racism will be long, difficult, without intermission, without remission, probably never achieved, yet for this very reason, it is a struggle to be undertaken without surcease and without concessions. One cannot be indulgent toward racism. One cannot even let the monster in the house, especially not in a mask. To give it merely a foothold means to augment the bestial part in us and in other people which is to diminish what is human. To accept the racist universe to the slightest degree is to endorse fear, injustice, and violence. It is to accept the persistence of the dark history in which we still largely live. It is to agree that the outsider will always be a possible victim (and which [person] man is not [themselves] himself an outsider relative to someone else?). Racism illustrates in sum, the inevitable negativity of the condition of the dominated; that it illuminates in a certain sense the entire human condition. The anti-racist struggle, difficult though it is, and always in question, is nevertheless one of the prologues to the ultimate passage from animality to humanity. In that sense, we cannot fail to rise to the racist challenge. However, it remains true that one's moral conduct only emerges from a choice: one has to want it. It is a choice among other choices, and always debatable in its foundations and its consequences. Let us say, broadly speaking, that the choice to conduct oneself morally is the condition for the establishment of a human order for which racism is the very negation. This is almost a redundancy. One cannot found a moral order, let alone a legislative order, on racism because racism signifies the exclusion of the other and his or her subjection to violence and domination. From an ethical point of view, if one can deploy a little religious language, racism is "the truly capital sin."^{fn22} It is not an accident that almost all of humanity's spiritual traditions counsel respect for the weak, for orphans, widows, or strangers. It is not just a question of theoretical counsel respect for the weak, for orphans, widows or strangers. It is not just a question of theoretical morality and disinterested commandments. Such unanimity in the safeguarding of the other suggests the real utility of such sentiments. All things considered, we have an interest in banishing injustice, because injustice engenders violence and death. Of course, this is debatable. There are those who think that if one is strong enough, the assault on and oppression of others is permissible. But no one is ever sure of remaining the strongest. One day, perhaps, the roles will be reversed. All unjust society contains within itself the seeds of its own death. It is probably smarter to treat others with respect so that they treat you with respect. "Recall," says the bible, "that you were once a stranger in Egypt," which means both that you ought to respect the stranger because you were a stranger yourself and that you risk becoming once again someday. It is an ethical and a practical appeal – indeed, it is a contract, however implicit it might be. In short, the refusal of racism is the condition for all theoretical and practical morality. Because, in the end, the ethical choice commands the political choice. A just society must be a society accepted by all. If this contractual principle is not accepted, then only conflict, violence, and destruction will be our lot. If it is accepted, we can hope someday to live in peace. True, it is a wager, but the stakes are irresistible.

Racism is unjust and will bring about our self destruction unless we destroy it brick by brick.

Barndt, co-director Crossroads; 1991 (Joseph, Dismantling Racism, p. 155-156)

To study racism is to study walls. We have looked at barriers and fences, restraints and limitations, ghettos and prisons. The prison of racism confines us all, people of color and white people alike. It shackles the victimizers as well as the victim. The walls forcibly keep people of color and white people separate from each other; in our separate prisons we are all prevented from achieving the human potential that God intends for us. The limitations imposed on people of color by poverty, subservience, and powerlessness are cruel, inhumane, and unjust; the effects of uncontrolled power, privilege, and greed, which are the marks of our white prison, will inevitably destroy us all. But we have also seen that the walls of racism can be dismantled. We are not condemned to an inexorable fate, but are offered the vision and the possibility of freedom. Brick by brick, stone by stone, the prison of individual, institutional, and cultural racism can be destroyed. You and I are urgently called to join the efforts of those who know it is time to tear down, once and for all, the walls of racism. The danger point of self-destruction seems to be drawing ever more near. The results of centuries of national and worldwide conquest and colonialism, of military buildups and violent aggression, of overconsumption and environmental destruction may be reaching a point of no return. A small and predominately white minority of the global population derives its power and privileges from the sufferings of the vast majority of peoples of color. For the sake of the world and ourselves, we dare not allow it to continue.



2nd Pro- Racism Impacts

Racism makes war, genocide, and torture an everyday and permanent condition.

Mendieta, Prof SUNY Stony Brook; 2002 (Eduardo; 'To make live and to let die' –Foucault on Racism; Meeting of the Foucault Circle, APA Central Division Meeting –Chicago; April 25th; <http://www.sunysb.edu/philosophy/faculty/emendieta/articles/foucault.pdf>)

This is where racism intervenes, not from without, exogenously, but from within, constitutively. For the emergence of biopower as the form of a new form of political rationality, entails the inscription within the very logic of the modern state the logic of racism. For racism grants, and here I am quoting: “the conditions for the acceptability of putting to death in a society of normalization. Where there is a society of normalization, where there is a power that is, in all of its surface and in first instance, and first line, a bio-power, racism is indispensable as a condition to be able to put to death someone, in order to be able to put to death others. The homicidal [meurtrière] function of the state, to the degree that the state functions on the modality of bio-power, can only be assured by racism “(Foucault 1997, 227) To use the formulations from his 1982 lecture “The Political Technology of Individuals” –which incidentally, echo his 1979 Tanner Lectures –the power of the state after the 18th century, a power which is enacted through the police, and is enacted over the population, is a power over living beings, and as such it is a biopolitics. And, to quote more directly, “since the population is nothing more than what the state takes care of for its own sake, of course, the state is entitled to slaughter it, if necessary. So the reverse of biopolitics is thanatopolitics.” (Foucault 2000, 416). Racism, is the thanatopolitics of the biopolitics of the total state. They are two sides of one same political technology, one same political rationality: the management of life, the life of a population, the tending to the continuum of life of a people. And with the inscription of racism within the state of biopower, the long history of war that Foucault has been telling in these dazzling lectures has made a new turn: the war of peoples, a war against invaders, imperials colonizers, which turned into a war of races, to then turn into a war of classes, has now turned into the war of a race, a biological unit, against its polluters and threats. Racism is the means by which bourgeois political power, biopower, re-kindles the fires of war within civil society. Racism normalizes and medicalizes war. Racism makes war the permanent condition of society, while at the same time masking its weapons of death and torture. As I wrote somewhere else, racism banalizes genocide by making quotidian the lynching of suspect threats to the health of the social body. Racism makes the killing of the other, of others, an everyday occurrence by internalizing and normalizing the war of society against its enemies. To protect society entails we be ready to kill its threats, its foes, and if we understand society as a unity of life, as a continuum of the living, then these threat and foes are biological in nature.



2nd Pro- Apology + Group Compensation Solvency

The United States federal government should offer an apology for slavery and group compensation

Henry, Prof UC-Berkeley; 2003 (Charles; Journal of Black Studies; 34:2; “The politics of racial reparations”)

To succeed politically-substantively or symbolically- the movement must agree on some specific goals and some specific targets. One obvious goal and target would be an apology from Congress, the president or both for slavery and its consequences. Some reparations advocates opposed an apology because they fear it forecloses further concessions. Yet, it is difficult to imagine governmental agreement for substantive compensation without first acknowledging some moral guilt. In fact, the term reparation implies atonement whereas responses lacking such expressions are properly called settlements. The recent South African Truth Commission followed a process of recognition, responsibility, reconstruction, and then reparation (Brooks, 1999). Another goal and target on which consensus seems to be building is for group or collective compensation from the federal government. Although there are still advocates for individual payments, it seems clear that the individual harm suffered by African Americans varies greatly. It is morally and politically more compelling to argue that development banks and educational trust funds should be setup for those most economically and educationally disadvantaged. Such an approach avoids the issue of compensating affluent Blacks who will nonetheless be paying taxes that support the program. Although the issue of who will control the funds and who will qualify to apply are not in significant, they are surmountable and should be addressed after agreement on a general program. Such programs can and should be seen as rehabilitative of devastated communities.



2nd Pro- Beyond Repayment Solvency

Reparations primary goal is not money but instead the self-repair of Blacks and their community. The choice is either rehabilitation or extinction.

Professor Chinweizu; 1993 (“Reparations and a new global order: A comparative overview”; Second Plenary Session of the First Pan-African Conference on Reparations; April 27)

Let me begin by noting that reparation is not just about money; it is not even mostly about money; in fact, money is not even one percent of what reparation is about. Reparation is mostly about making repairs, self-made repairs, on ourselves: mental repairs, psychological repairs, cultural repairs, organizational repairs, social repairs, institutional repairs, technological repairs, economic repairs, political repairs, educational repairs, repairs of every type that we need in order to recreate and sustainable black societies. For the sad truth is that five centuries of holocaust have made our societies brittle and unviable. And as the great Marcus Garvey warned over 50 years ago, if we continue as we are, we are heading for extinction.

More important than any monies to be received; more fundamental than any lands to be recovered, is the opportunity the reparations campaign offers us for the rehabilitation of Black people, by Black people, for Black people; opportunities for the rehabilitation of our minds, our material condition, our collective reputation, our cultures, our memories, our self-respect, our religious, our political traditions and our family institutions; but first and foremost for the rehabilitation of our minds.

Let me repeat that the most important aspect of reparation is not the money the campaign may or may not bring: the most important part of reparation is our self-repair; the change it will bring about in our understanding of our history, of ourselves, and of our destiny; the chance it will bring about in our place in the world.

Reparations are not just about compensation. They are an educational campaign to highlight racial deficits.

Marable, Former Professor & Director African American Studies @ Columbia Univ; 2001 (Manning; Newsweek; “An idea whose time has come... Whites have an obligation to recognize slavery’s legacy”; August 27)

Demanding reparations is not just about compensation for slavery and segregation. It is, more important, an educational campaign to highlight the contemporary reality of “racial deficits” of all kinds, the unequal conditions that impact blacks regardless of class. Structural racism’s barriers include “equity inequity,” the absence of black capital formation that is a direct consequence of America’s history. One third of all black households actually have negative net wealth. In 1998 the typical black family’s net wealth was \$16,400, less than one fifth that of white families. Black families are denied home loans at twice the rate of whites.



2nd Pro- Beyond Repayment Solvency

Reparations superfund would focus on programs that improve the lives of Black people in employment, housing, health, family, business development, and financial management.

Franklin; 2012 (VP; The Journal of African American History; Vol. 97; “AFRICAN AMERICANS AND MOVEMENTS FOR REPARATIONS: FROM EX-SLAVE PENSIONS TO THE REPARATIONS SUPERFUND”)

Along the lines of amelioration, Walters also supported the idea of using a Reparations Superfund to support the development and implementation of programs aimed at saving African American youths and others. “The objective would be to develop ‘solutions’ or templates that could be used to improve the circumstances in which Black people live.” Walters noted, “through the application of means and strategies developed by them.” African American and other professionals have developed strategies and models to support and improve “employment, housing, health, family viability, business development, financial management, and relations with other peoples of African descent.” The goal of programs funded through the Reparations Superfund would be to promote “strategies for social progress that are tailored to the Black experience and that match the Black community as it exists.”¹⁴

Reparations include programs for education, job training, housing and income.

Feagin, Prof Sociology @ Texas A&M; 2014 (Joe; Time; May 28; “A legal and moral basis for reparations”; <http://time.com/132034/a-legal-and-moral-basis-for-reparations/>)

Contemporary reparations might take several forms. One would be the gradual transfer of compensating wealth from unjustly enriched white communities to unjustly impoverished black communities, a government transfer linked to explicit restorative goals. The National Coalition of Blacks for Reparations in America has sought \$400 million for both individual compensation and asset-generating programs enabling impoverished black communities to prosper. Substantial reparations would include providing well-funded government programs, over generations, at local and state levels for upgrading education, job training, housing and incomes for African Americans – as individuals, families and communities.



2nd Pro- Dehumanization/Devaluation Solvency

Reparations repair the historical and ongoing devaluation of Black lives and White privilege.

Balfour, Prof Politics Univ Virginia; 2014 (Lawrie; Du Bois Review; 11:1; “Unthinking racial realism: A future for reparations?”)

A language of reparations can call attention to and begin to repair the historical— and ongoing— devaluation of Black citizenship. Ida B. Wells (1999) noted at the turn of the twentieth century that the end of slavery did not simply give birth to freedom, as popular histories would have it. Drawing a direct connection between emancipation and abandonment accompanied by the chilling (wishful) thought that Black citizens were “doomed to extinction,” Wells reminds us that it was not simply reparations, but also Black membership in the life of the polity that could not be conceived of in the aftermath of the Civil War.

The Civil War of 1861–65 ended slavery. It left us free, but it also left us homeless, penniless, ignorant, nameless and friendless. Life is derived from the earth and the American Government is thought to be more humane than the Russian. Russia’s liberated serf was given three acres of land and agricultural implements with which to begin his career of liberty and independence. But to us no foot of land nor implement was given. We were turned loose to starvation, destitution, and death. So desperate was our condition that some of our statesman declared it useless to try to save us by legislation as we were doomed to extinction (Wells 1999, p. 17).

Her assessment, offered in 1893 as a counterweight to Americans’ self-representation in the Columbian Exposition in Chicago, also undercut the Supreme Court’s judgment in the late nineteenth century that Congress had done too much to remedy the injuries of slavery and its aftermath (Hutchinson 2009). Although Wells does not use the word “reparations,” she presses her readers to consider the harm done by refusing to contemplate what was owed and what was required at slavery’s end. As Robert Westley (2005) notes over a century later: “Actual reparations . . . cannot reinforce the cultural logic of Black devaluation and White privilege the way that denial of reparations does” (p. 106).



2nd Pro- Education Solvency

Reparations superfund could be used to fund education programs that develop alternatives to test prep and charter schools, which have high dropout rates.

Franklin; 2012 (VP; The Journal of African American History; Vol. 97; “AFRICAN AMERICANS AND MOVEMENTS FOR REPARATIONS: FROM EX-SLAVE PENSIONS TO THE REPARATIONS SUPERFUND”)

The Reparations Superfund would be used to target and support alternatives to the current emphasis on “high stakes testing” and test preparation that contributes mightily to the high dropout rates among African American and other children of color. The educational entrepreneurs, examined in Diane Ravitch’s *The Death and Life of the Great American School System: How Testing and Choice Are Undermining Education*, were trained by the members of “Billionaire Boys Club” and sought to profit from the state and federal funds flowing into public school districts; and many targeted children of color for these latest business ventures.³ The continuing problem is that while educational entrepreneurs are profiting from the “charter school revolution,” the dropout rates remain high for children of color.

Reparations would support creative and successful educational environments modeled off of magnet schools.

Franklin; 2012 (VP; The Journal of African American History; Vol. 97; “AFRICAN AMERICANS AND MOVEMENTS FOR REPARATIONS: FROM EX-SLAVE PENSIONS TO THE REPARATIONS SUPERFUND”)

Dropping out becomes a crucial issue in the secondary years, but most of the charter schools are limited to the elementary grades where the educational expenses are lower than for middle and high schools. The goal should be the creation of educational environments at the middle and high school levels where our children want to be and where they will flourish socially and academically. With the academic achievements of “magnet schools” as the models, the Reparations Superfund would allow school districts to apply for financial support to implement creative and successful performing arts, science and technology, health careers, community service, or other innovative alternative educational programs and projects aimed at dropout prevention and increasing personal engagement and the motivation among young people to remain in school.⁴

Reparations would immediately help African American schools that faced years of underfunding and failed to meet basic standards.

Price, Prof Africana Studies @ Rutgers Univ; 2014 (Melanye; New York Times; “Reparations can and should be done in a powerful way”; <http://www.nytimes.com/roomfordebate/2014/06/08/are-reparations-due-to-african-americans/reparations-can-and-should-be-done-in-a-powerful-way>)

Many schools in African-American communities fail to meet basic academic standards because their schools lack the technology and physical facilities necessary to prepare students for success. Equalizing funding in these schools and bringing urban education infrastructure into the new millennium would be an immediate boon to the lives of black children and families and ultimately the nation.

Historically black colleges and universities were developed as a direct result of racial discrimination. Today, those same colleges continue to be the top producers of African-American graduates with degrees in science and technology fields and of public school teachers. These schools do this work with a fraction of the funding of other publicly funded colleges; remedying these disparities, like K-12 schools, would immediately improve black prospects and work to undo centuries of discrimination.



2nd Pro- Expressive Function Solvency

Reparations have an expressive function that operates on many levels.

Angelo; 2010 (Corlett; Heirs of Oppression: Racism and Reparations; “Reparations- The Value of Reparations”; P. 23-24)

The value of reparations is that they serve to protect the rights of those groups that would suffer at the hands of harmful wrongdoers. In so doing, reparations have a complex expressive function that is similar to the expressive functions of punishment articulated by Feinberg. Like punishment, reparations disavow the harmful wrongdoings committed and state that the harmful wrongdoers had no right to perform such wrongs. Moreover, they, like punishment, say publicly that such harmful wrongdoings do not represent society’s highest aims and aspirations. In democratic societies, reparations speak in the name of the people against such harmful wrongdoings, upholding the genuine standards of law in the face of past failures of the legal system to carry out true justice. Furthermore, like punishment, reparations seeks to separate a reasonably just society from its corrupt history, absolving it of at least some of its historic evils. Also, reparations “can express sympathy, benevolence, and concern, but, in addition, it is always the acknowledgment of a past wrong, a ‘repayment of a debt,’ like an apology, the redressing of the moral balance of the restoring of the *status quo ante culpum*.” More generally, the expressive function of reparations is to make public a society’s or organization’s own liability concerning the harmful wrongdoings it has wrought on a group. It is to offer an unqualified and unambiguous apology to the wronged parties (or their successors) without the presumption of forgiveness, mercy, or reconciliation. It is to acknowledge in a public way the moral wrongness of the act, along with its gravity. But it is also to remember the rights violation so as not to repeat it, as George Santayana might caution. Reparations send a message to all that justice and fairness are top priorities for a reasonably just society, then, is to protect and honor the rights of innocents. The expressive feature of reparations is articulated by Jeremy Waldron when he writes: “Quite apart from any attempt genuinely to compensate victims of offset their losses, reparations may symbolize a society’s understanding not to forget or deny that a particular injustice took place, and to respect and help sustain a dignified sense of identity-in-memory for the people affected.” Insofar as reparations have their expressive functions, they send messages to citizens (and noncitizens alike) which seek to build and strengthen social solidarity toward justice and fairness within a society. In this way, the justification of reparations is forward-looking.



2nd Pro- Group Solvency

Reparations that compensate groups instead of individuals can bridge the color line.

Branch; 2002 (Watson; Harvard Law Review; 115:6; “Bridging the Color Line: The Power of African-American Reparations to Redirect America’s Future”)

However, reparation can avoid this divisive outcome if posited not as an attempt to compensate individual victims, but as a means to “repair” a country by creating a sense of mutual, interracial trust, respect, and shared destiny. This repair can begin through reparations in the form of subsidies to black-owned businesses, investment in education programs and scholarships for black youths, training programs for black workers, affirmative action programs, resources for community-based organizations in predominantly black communities, and development and implementation of programs designed to educate the county about the legacy of slavery. Conceived and implemented in this manner, reparations can serve to bridge the color line, rather than widen the divide.



2nd Pro- Racism Solvency

Reparations offer the U.S. an opportunity resolve color lines and promote restorative justice.

Branch; 2002 (Watson; Harvard Law Review; 115:6; “Bridging the Color Line: The Power of African-American Reparations to Redirect America’s Future”)

Fundamental questions remain: How much money should be invested in these programs? How long should these programs extend? Perhaps the point to begin is where all healing begins, with an apology and acknowledgment. This point of departure leads toward restorative, as opposed to retributive, justice. But without a full understanding of the depth and implications of the wrong, it is impossible to provide a meaningful apology for, or acknowledgment of, the injustice. To this end, the United States must begin an investigation of the history and legacy of slavery and Jim Crow to determine the points at which their legacies linger in the present system so that meaningful, concrete remedies can be proposed. The public investigation and public findings are important parts of the healing process. They will give blacks an opportunity to share their experience in America, in hopes of transforming white perceptions of racism and their own self-perception. Reparations afford America a powerful opportunity to resolve the color line. Weary of the emphasis on race in this country, Americans constantly strive for a colorblind society. But in this area, the root of the problem is blindness; the majority of Americans have closed their eyes and have forgotten about slavery and Jim Crow. America must open its collective eyes, look deeply at the past to see how it shapes the present, apologize, and then begin the process of repair so that the country will not conclude the twenty-first century still struggling with the problem of the color line.



2nd Pro- Repayment Solvency

The material response and concrete project of repair are the true value of reparations. Balfour, Prof Politics Univ Virginia; 2014 (Lawrie; Du Bois Review; 11:1; “Unthinking racial realism: A future for reparations?”)

The language of reparations is also distinct in its association of the acknowledgment of wrong with a material response. Indeed, speaking of reparations raises unsettling questions about the purpose of the official expressions of regret for slavery and segregation, and calls for racial reconciliation that have proliferated at the local, state, and federal levels over the past five years. Often, these statements have explicitly or implicitly excluded consideration of material redress, whether individual or collective. They have been in effect, if not by design, instances of what Trouillot (2000) calls “abortive rituals” (p. 171), efforts that circumvent political efforts to address deep structural inequalities. By contrast, Margaret Urban Walker (2007) notes that reparations connect “acknowledgment” to “exemplification”; reparations efforts are transactional insofar as their meaningfulness depends on both the statement of responsibility and the action(s) it engenders. Although the idea of reparations is not reducible to economic compensation, and it may entail an apology or appeal for reconciliation, the value of those utterances is measured by the degree to which they actually enhance citizens’ well-being. The value of reparations, in other words, resides in their connection to concrete projects of repair. Such projects could encompass a range of initiatives, including major financial commitments to predominantly African American communities and institutions, political and legal reforms, scholarships and educational programs, public history projects, and truth commissions.⁴ To see reparations in these terms is to refuse the choice between backward- and forward-looking orientations and to reconceive possible futures by shifting attention from Black disadvantage as a timeless social fact to the ways in which, historically, Black Americans have been “taken advantage of” (Lipsitz 2011, p. 2).

Reparations infuse capital and create economic opportunities for Blacks and have legal precedent in the U.S. and abroad.

Williams, Univ Michigan, & Collins, UT-Austin; 2004 (David & Chiquita; The American Behavioral Scientist; 47:7; March; “Reparations: A viable Strategy to Address the Enigma of African American Health”)

Opponents of reparations argue that reparations are unnecessary for multiple reasons (Kaminer, 2000; McWhorter, 2001; Reed, 2000; Zinsmeister, 2001). These include the fact that America has already paid its debt to African Americans because (a) there was a large loss of life during the Civil War, (b) the U.S. government has already invested trillions of dollars to improve the social circumstances of Blacks (through various welfare programs), and (c) affirmative action and other opportunities have brought economic success to many Blacks in recent decades. Moreover, it is argued that there are too many logistical difficulties attendant to making financial payments to the descendants of slaves.

Compelling responses have been made to these objections (Allen, 1998; Cha-Jua, 2001; Robinson, 2000). The payment of reparations is based on established legal principles, and there are precedents both in the United States and internationally (Allen, 1998). Moreover, given that the injuries caused by legal segregation persist and there has been systematic decapitalization of African American areas, reparations provides one strategy to infuse capital and create economic opportunities in Black areas. Targeting reparations to "investment in education and training, housing, health and business development" (America, 1999) avoids most of the feared logistical difficulties in identifying specific descendants of slaves for monetary payments.



2nd Pro- Repayment Solvency

Compensation and aid to Black America is required.

Dr. Azibo, former professor & currently a consultant; 2011 (Daudi Anjani ya; Race, Gender & Class; 18: ½; "A critique of reparations nay sayers who pooh-pooh psycho-cultural damages perpetrated on African-U.S. people")

A great contrast to Barack Obama on reparations is Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. who supported reparations. Wise (2002:3) pointed out that in 1963's Why we can't wait Dr. King argued for "compensatory treatment" above and beyond basic equal rights because "if a man [sic] enters the starting line of a race three hundred years after another man, the first would have to perform some incredible feat in order to catch up". In 1967's Where do we go from here: Chaos or community? Dr. King argued "A society that has done something special against the Negro for hundreds of years must now do something special for him [sic], to equip him to compete on a just and equal basis". In Dr. King's words, this would require "billions of dollars of direct aid to [B]lack America" and "All of America's wealth could not adequately compensate its Negroes for his [sic] centuries of exploitation and humiliation" (Wise, 2002:3).



2nd Pro- Segregation Solvency

Monetary reparations can infuse capital into Black communities and address the affects of segregation.

Williams, Univ Michigan, & Collins, UT-Austin; 2004 (David & Chiquita; The American Behavioral Scientist; 47:7; March; "Reparations: A viable Strategy to Address the Enigma of African American Health")

There is nothing inherently negative about living in close proximity to persons of one's own race. Rather, the problems attendant to segregation are linked to the concentration of poverty and the absence of an infrastructure that promotes social and economic opportunity (Massey & Denton, 1993; Sampson & Wilson, 1995; Wilson, 1996). Thus, the elimination of the negative SES and health effects of segregation will require a major infusion of economic capital to rebuild the physical and economic infrastructure of disadvantaged Black communities. Monetary reparations are a viable approach to accomplish this (Oliver & Shapiro, 1997).



2nd Pro- USFG Solvency

The United States federal government is the most logical actor to pay for reparations. There are already bills proposed and they have the ability to impact the most people. Rogers, Masters Public Policy @ UC-Berkeley; 2003 (Annie; A study conducted for Marie Davis, President San Mateo County NAACP; “Federal reparations policy: A cost benefit framework”; Spring)

While the current discussion asks who should pay and proposes a range of payers that include the U.S. government, British, and other European governments with ties to the slave trade, corporations who profited from slavery, etc., this analysis assumes that these other disciplines are moderating that conversation fairly well, and that it is not altogether appropriate or useful for policy analysis to engage in the questioning. The arguments are historical. They are legal. They are moral. They are markedly important and they should, by all means, continue, but where it is most appropriate for policy analysis to contribute is where the conversation is not taking place (because of the economic and political feasibility issue). Policy analysis can contribute by saying, “If we implement a policy, someone is going to pay, so just choose a payer.” The U.S. federal government is the natural “pick” for this type of analysis because 1) There is already a federal bill proposal that gives the federal government responsibility for this issue; and 2) Out of all the potential payers, the federal government has the ability to impact the largest expanse of beneficiaries. So the theoretical framework for this analysis begins with the assumption that the U. S. Federal government will pay.

Congress is the only branch of the federal government with powerful enough to deliver a group reparations bill.

Branch; 2002 (Watson; Harvard Law Review; 115:6; “Bridging the Color Line: The Power of African-American Reparations to Redirect America’s Future”)

The only political branch powerful enough to step legitimately outside the individual rights paradigm to bring the entire polity into the debate and provide remedies that will rebuild institutions or change the dynamics of social relationships is Congress- through its powers under Section 5 of the Fourteenth Amendment, or the Thirteenth Amendment.



2nd Pro- Violence Solvency

Opposition to reparations will always exist, even if the money was used to save African Americans and stop the killing.

Franklin; 2012 (VP; The Journal of African American History; Vol. 97; “AFRICAN AMERICANS AND MOVEMENTS FOR REPARATIONS: FROM EX-SLAVE PENSIONS TO THE REPARATIONS SUPERFUND”)

The often dire circumstances facing our youth require that African Americans and their friends support projects and programs to intervene to “stop the killing” and provide effective alternatives to the streets. At the same time, we must acknowledge that larger social and economic interests benefit greatly from the current practices and will continue trying to discredit any plans for reparations for African Americans, even when the payments are to be used to save African American youth in trouble. Many corporations and financial interests benefit from the “public school-to-prison pipeline” constructed over the last three decades, while legal restrictions on the increasing availability and spread of firearms are opposed by the powerful Gun Lobby and its sponsors.¹⁸

Reparations are part of the life and death struggle to save African American youth.

Franklin; 2012 (VP; The Journal of African American History; Vol. 97; “AFRICAN AMERICANS AND MOVEMENTS FOR REPARATIONS: FROM EX-SLAVE PENSIONS TO THE REPARATIONS SUPERFUND”)

We are currently engaged in a life and death struggle to save our youth, but the damage that has been done to African Americans collectively inhibits our ability to deal with this problem and many others. The case for reparations for African Americans was made and agreed upon by many well-informed Americans decades ago, but the question remains: “Who should pay?” The Reparations Superfund should be established not just to improve the life options and opportunities for our children and young people, but also to determine who our friends really are.



Pro Answer to Con Arguments



Pro- AT: Africans Also Responsible for Slavery

Black participation in slavery does not undermine the case for reparations. The slave trade continued for 60 years after the Constitution ended it. African American frequently bought family members from slavery.

Ogletree, Prof Harvard Law; 2003 (Charles; Harvard Civil Rights Civil Liberties Law Review; June; 38:2; “Repairing the past: New Efforts in the Reparations Debate”)

Professor John McWhorter, a linguistics professor at U.C. Berkeley, another reparations critic, offers an additional argument against reparations, contending that there is “painful clarity . . . [that] most slaves were obtained by African kings in intertribal wars, and were sold in masses to European merchants in exchange for material goods.”¹⁸⁰

McWhorter’s argument commits a logical fallacy¹⁸¹ and fails to adequately respect the historical record and the moral implications of black collaboration in slavery.¹⁸² Slavery continued after and independently of the international slave trade. The U.S. Constitution commanded that international trade in slaves should cease in 1808,¹⁸³ yet slavery in America (and the domestic trade in slaves) continued for almost sixty years after that. To the extent that African Americans engaged in this domestic slave trade, generally the African American purchasers of slaves were family members purchasing their siblings, fathers and mothers, or sons and daughters out of slavery.¹⁸⁴ Such a detail is problematic for those who seek to deny or minimize the effects of slavery. While a relatively small group of African American slave owners may have acted as badly to their fellow African Americans as whites did, the moral repugnance of their actions does not undermine the case for reparations.



Pro- AT: Already Paid

Reparations to African Americans have not been paid. Previous attempts never came close to preventing exclusion. Reparations push American society toward its goals and provide Blacks a voice.

Ogletree, Prof Harvard Law; 2003 (Charles; Harvard Civil Rights Civil Liberties Law Review; June; 38:2; "Repairing the past: New Efforts in the Reparations Debate")

Opponents of reparations also assert that a form of reparations has already been paid to African Americans.

Horowitz states that this payment came in the form of the Civil Rights Act and the "advent of the Great Society in 1965."¹⁹⁰ McWhorter concurs, stating that the War on Poverty and affirmative action ought to be seen as the payment sought by supporters of reparations.¹⁹¹ McWhorter also states that in the "mid-1960s welfare programs were deliberately expanded for the 'benefit' of black people, in large part due to claims by progressive whites that the requirements of the new automation economy made it unfair to expect blacks to make their way up the economic ladder as other groups had."¹⁹² McWhorter believes that although such programs were not "termed 'reparations' in the technical sense," they did "provide unearned cash for underclass blacks for decades."¹⁹³ Some vast program of social healing and uplift is, after all, the goal of the reparations movement.

President Johnson's 1965 commencement speech at Howard University certainly enunciated the political vision of a Great Society, but it did not even last the three years until Nixon's election in 1968. Welfare, as we know it and have always known it, is a program designed to benefit poor families. The fact that popular culture and the media frequently put a black face on it does not alter the fact that most of the beneficiaries are white, and single, mothers, and appropriately so. Meanwhile, if the War on Poverty is measured by results, then it is a huge failure; the difference between the richest and poorest in this society grows wider each day, with African Americans disproportionately stuck at the bottom.

Reparations does not seek to replace the Great Society but to push it toward its meaningful and ambitious goals. Reparations provide a voice through which those most acutely affected by the failure of the Great Society (and those most particularly identified by President Johnson) can protest their exclusion from the benefits of American society that others take for granted.¹⁹⁴



Pro- AT: Apology

Apologies are not enough.

ABC News; 3/23/2015 ("Americans Debate Reparations for Slavery";
<http://abcnews.go.com/2020/print?id=124115>)

Robinson won't specify the group's targets, but some companies have already acknowledged their role in slavery.

The Hartford Courant newspaper, for instance, apologized last year for running ads for the sale and capture of slaves.

Aetna Insurance has issued a statement apologizing for insuring slaves as the personal property. The company's formal statement concludes: "No further actions are required."

Robinson disagrees: "An apology is not the end of the matter, an apology is the beginning of the matter... It's not good enough to say, 'Yes, we did it, and we're sorry.'"



Pro- AT: Black President

The dream of Dr. King was not fulfilled with election of president Obama. This thought control is a form of mentacide.

Dr. Azibo, former professor & currently a consultant; 2011 (Daudi Anjani ya; Race, Gender & Class; 18: ½; “A critique of reparations nay sayers who pooh-pooh psycho-cultural damages perpetrated on African-U.S. people”)

What is more unsettling than Obama's position on reparations is the implanting in the public mind the false idea that Obama's presidential victory represents the realization or culmination of the dream of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. This is thought control (Chomsky, 1989, 1991) at its best where the public is inundated with pictures and posters of President Obama and First Lady Michelle which fuse or juxtapose them with Dr. Martin and Mrs. Coretta Scott King under headings like "the dream is fulfilled". This seems a vulgar capitalization on the tendency of U.S.-ADP to support Barack Obama (Sullivan & Johnson, 2008) using brainwashing technique (discussed in Azibo, 1989). It would yield a more accurate orientation to reality to inculcate in U.S.-ADP the cognition that "just because you are a first for blacks does not mean blacks are first for you" (Farley, 2009) than the dream fulfilled fantasy. The latter is continuation of mentacidal onslaught (Azibo, 2011).



Pro- AT: Causation

There is a causal link between Jim Crow segregation and the limited capital formation ability that African Americans continue to face.

Branch; 2002 (Watson; Harvard Law Review; 115:6; "Bridging the Color Line: The Power of African-American Reparations to Redirect America's Future")

The causal link between the status of blacks today and the offenses of slavery and Jim Crow must also be identified to garner public support for reparations. Discriminatory practices that forced blacks to miss housing, educational, and employment opportunities not only hindered their social mobility and ability to accumulate wealth, but also left residual psychological scars.

The economic subordination of blacks under Jim Crow denied them opportunities to accumulate wealth, in particular to purchase property. Government-sanctioned discriminatory practices in the housing and lending markets, such as restrictive covenants, which were not outlawed until 1948, excluded blacks from many sectors of the property market. Even after the removal of such legal barriers to property ownership, owning property did not become a viable option for most blacks until the late 1960s because of limited financial resources, a situation exacerbated by discriminatory practices in the delivery of credit, assignment of interest rates, property value assessment, and legal segregation. When housing prices tripled during the 1970s, affording many whites a 300% increase in the value of their property, blacks again found themselves either unable to afford property in desirable neighborhoods.

Limited capital-formation ability, which began under slavery and Jim Crow, continues to plague many African-Americans. Home ownership is considered one of the most important means of accumulating wealth, and this wealth is necessary to start new businesses, purchase stock, invest in real estate, and transfer "cultural capital," such as education, to children. Asymmetries in wealth are self-reinforcing: substantial wealth produces income, which can then be reinvested in assets or saved and eventually passed on to one's children. Thus wealth previously accumulated through racially biased institutions would create compounded effects that would remain evident and relevant today.

Intergenerational trauma exists- 5 reasons.

Dr. Azibo, former professor & currently a consultant; 2011 (Daudi Anjani ya; Race, Gender & Class; 18: ½; "A critique of reparations nay sayers who pooh-pooh psycho-cultural damages perpetrated on African-U.S. people")

When the orientation is to face the fear and speak truth to power Cross's position that there is no intergenerational trauma resulting from enslavement of Africans is easily debunked. First, enslavement and the entire Maafa qualify as warfare and violence perpetrated on U.S.-ADP. This includes especially the exposure to an overwhelming environmental stress, which is the etiologic sine qua non of post traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) (Roberson, 1995, chap. 11). So great is the debilitation of Maafa born stress on ADP that a model of "Black Stress" (Myers, 1976), renamed "Eurasian Supremacy Stress" (Azibo, 2001), is required to comprehend it. Second, there will be victims (Fuller, 1984). Third, some consequences of PTSD, war and violence only manifest in the long run over time; they need not be immediate. Fourth, to quote Martin-Baro (1994:118) some victims will have "refugee syndrome" which "has an initial period of incubation in which people manifest no major disorders; instead, it is precisely when they begin to rebuild their lives and return to normal that the critical costs of the war experience must be paid". Fifth, it is inevitable that many of these lives will be rebuilt with faults affecting deleteriously and passed on to successors. There will be cultural trauma (Eyerman, 2001). This amounts, by all definitions and not least of all common sense, to intergenerational trauma and dysfunction, to wit "Yes, there remain psychological scars from the Great Suffering and before there is any time to heal, new injuries form new scars in this [contemporary] world (Roberson, 1995:144).



Pro- AT: Causation

There is a causal connection between the transfer of wealth between generations.

Holland, Senior Digital Producer Bill Moyers & writer for the Nation; 2014 (Joshua; Bill Moyers; “The past isn’t past: The economic case for reparations”; June 4; <http://billmoyers.com/2014/06/04/the-past-isnt-past-the-economic-case-for-reparations/>)

“Wealth,” says Conley, “more than any other socio-economic measure picks up long-term historical legacies that are being passed on from generation to generation. Given this large wealth disparity between whites and blacks, there really is an unequal playing field.”



Pro- AT: Colorblind/PostRacial

Arguments in favor of a colorblind or postracial society ignore the treatment of African Americans since abolition.

Balfour, Prof Politics Univ Virginia; 2014 (Lawrie; Du Bois Review; 11:1; “Unthinking racial realism: A future for reparations?”)

Is it hyperbolic to call on Wells’s narrative of abandonment in the context of twenty-first-century struggles? Simply to say that nothing has changed is irresponsible. Yet the postracial insistence that everything has changed is equally worthy of scrutiny and critique. One of the dangers of color blind or postracial conceptions of U.S. democracy is their reinforcement of a history that occludes the actual conditions in which African American citizens have lived since abolition. As both Margaret Somers (2007) and Michael Dawson (2011) have argued, the betrayal of New Orleans’ most vulnerable residents in 2005 provides a snapshot of citizenship in the postracial epoch. “The story of the Katrina crisis is a social parable of citizenship in America today,” writes Somers (2007, p. 63). Echoing Wells’ account of the post-Civil War landscape, Somers reconstructs the decades-old story of abandonment in which “those left behind in New Orleans to face the storm alone were *already* a rightless, stateless, and expendable population” (p. 11, emphasis in original). Despite the prevalence of narratives of racial overcoming and the attribution of inequalities to personal or communal failure, Somers contends that in the contemporary United States, “two different systems of inequality and exclusion—one based on immutable, particularistic and arbitrary race-based attributes, the other based on market-driven class inequalities— have been grafted together to create a previously unmatched level of almost total exclusion from civil society, an exclusion that is much greater than the sum of its parts as it amounts to nothing less than nonrecognition” (pp. 105–106). Not even the televised, real-time evidence of the fatal consequences of this “nonrecognition” could shake a widespread conviction that race no longer matters. On the contrary, Dawson (2011) argues, Black efforts to shape public understanding of Katrina and bring racial questions to the fore were the subject of “ridicule” (pp. 2–3). They were unthinkable.



AT: David Horowitz- 10 Reasons

Horowitz's 10 reasons are incorrect and not reasons to oppose reparations.

Arceneaux; 2005 (Taniecea; The Review of Black Political Economy; Winter-Spring; "Reparations for slavery: A cause for reparations, a case against David Horowitz")

Furthermore, the issue at hand is the payment of reparations to Black Americans for the injustices of American slavery. It is irrelevant from whom Americans obtained the idea of slave trading or the means to trade them. Those who owe reparations to Black Americans are those who practiced slavery in America; since no one living now was alive during the times of enslavement in America, it is the responsibility of the American government to repay this debt to current Black Americans. Now, it is true that not everyone in the United States has illegitimately inherited property that does not belong to their ancestors. But, those who do live in America today have an implicit contract with the United States government--their occupation of land and property in this country implies their compliance with its institution. Therefore, if the government of America owes a debt to Black Americans, then it is the responsibility of all American citizens to repay this debt.

Secondly, Horowitz notes that "American Blacks on average enjoy per capita incomes in the range of twenty to fifty times those of Blacks living in any of the African nations from which they were kidnapped... What about this benefit of slavery?2 Are the reparations proponents going to make Black descendants of slaves pay themselves for benefiting from the fruits of their ancestors' servitude?" (2001). The claim that conditions of Blacks in America are better than they are in African nations is no justification against repaying Blacks of today for the crimes that were inflicted on them. Although it is true that Black people have found a place of greater freedom and prosperity in America, the institution of slavery has neglected Black Americans of a social equality of private property rights and civil rights alike. Slavery has dissociated Black Americans with the market and economics, and the cause for reparations simply aims to provide Black Americans with the economic and social property that has been denied them by the institution of slavery.

Third, Horowitz asks, "Why should the descendants of non-slave holding Whites owe a debt? What about the descendants of the 350,000 Union soldiers who died to free the slaves? They gave their lives. What possible morality would ask them to pay (through their descendants) again?" (2001). The problem with this stance is that the responsibility for paying reparations rests with the United States government. Of course, it is nearly impossible to locate and identify all Americans who are descendants of slaves, but it is possible to identify the organization that allowed such an institution to come into and remain in existence.

Furthermore, it is inherent in American citizenship that all who live in the United States are responsible for its beliefs and responsibilities. That is, the debt owed to the descendants of slaves and those who have been adversely affected by the institution of slavery is owed by all who compose the United States government, i.e., the general taxpayers. The general taxpayers of America are Americans of all nationalities. It is true that Black people in America should be paying these taxes as well, but they should also receive repayment that is due. The question of reparations does not involve the morality of this double-payment, as Horowitz claims. The purpose of the Civil War was not to end enslavement, but to quell succession. 3 Therefore, it matters not one whit if the Union soldiers were against slavery; the United States government was for it.

Fourth, Horowitz addresses the point that the children of immigrants who have come to America after slavery was abolished owe nothing to Blacks for the subjugation of their ancestors, since the immigrants' ancestors had nothing to do with this act. Again, when immigrants come to the United States, they assume all responsibilities of the United States government. Since it is the responsibility of the United States government to atone for the sins of slavery, it is the responsibility of those who inhabit the country to pay this debt.

Fifth, Horowitz states, in reference to reparations to Jews from Germany and Japanese Americans from the United States, "the Jews and Japanese who received reparations were individuals who actually suffered the hurt... Jews do not receive reparations from Germany simply because they are Jews. Those who do were corralled into concentration camps and lost immediate family members or personal property. Nor have all Japanese-Americans received payments, but only those whom the government interned in camps and who had their property confiscated" (2001). Although many advocates of reparations use the reparations paid to Jews and Japanese in support of their cause, the rational case for reparations concerns American slavery--not any other case. Furthermore, the people who suffered as a result of slavery are not only those who were enslaved. Slavery is a practice that oppressed those who were enslaved and continues to oppress Black Americans in the form of social and economic inferiority that is founded in the mentality of Blacks and Whites alike that resulted from the act. Reparations are owed to all who have suffered, not just to those who were enslaved, for those who were enslaved are no longer alive.

Sixth, Horowitz claims that "behind the reparations arguments lies the unfounded claim that all Blacks in America suffer economically from the consequences of slavery..." (2001). In defense of this statement, Horowitz makes reference to the so-called "Oprah Winfrey fallacy" (Block, 2002), in which he assumes that rich people cannot be oppressed. The reparations issue is an argument based on the oppression of a people in regards to racial background--it is irrelevant to economic wealth.4A person's wealth is entirely irrelevant to an economic deprivation based on the color of one's skin. Therefore, it is my claim that all Black people are entitled to a share in reparations because all Black people suffer from the economic deprivation that was rooted in the institution of slavery.

Seventh, David Horowitz argues that Black claims will be resented by members of other ethnic groups. This assertion has nothing to do with the justification of Black claims for reparations. The legitimacy of the desire to obtain reparations for the wrongs done hundreds of years ago is in no way connected to the feelings of those who were not wronged by the act.

Eighth, Horowitz notes that "since the passage of the Civil Rights Act and the advent of the Great Society in 1965, trillions of dollars in transfer payments have been made to African Americans, in the form of welfare benefits and racial preferences (in contracts, job placements, and educational admissions)- all under the rationale of redressing historical racial grievances" (2001). This argument, in my opinion, is Horowitz's best. Even though it sounds superficially plausible, it is still invalid. It is true that since the passage of the Civil Rights Act, there have been numerous transfer payments made to Black



Americans in the form of welfare benefits and racial preferences. But, none of these payments were made in the form of true reparations.

Furthermore, welfare is a program that has the effect of maintaining the current level of poverty among America's Black people. 5 The best chance for lifting the poor out of poverty is not to give them the property of others, but rather to grant them economic freedom (Block, 2000). Poor African Americans tend to live in impoverished inner-city neighborhoods, where school dropout rates are high and test scores are low. Employment opportunities are few and far between, and this lack of opportunity because of structured segregation is in itself a racist consequence. As evidenced by Charles Murray (1984), the act of giving money to Black people in a method that discouraged the formation of their families only undermines their economic and social condition. Therefore, one cannot claim to attempt to heal the wounds of discrimination with medication that only deepens them.

Ninth, Horowitz makes the claim that Blacks owe a debt "to America--to White Americans--for liberating them from slavery... there was never an anti-slavery movement until White Englishmen and Americans created one" (2001). As slaves, Black Americans lost a sense of individuality and humanism---qualities that were stripped of them from the White Englishmen and Americans who enslaved them. There is no debt owed to those who liberated slaves. Slavery is a crime; it is a basic human right of Americans to be protected of such crimes. Also, there was never an anti-slavery movement until White Englishmen and Americans created one because slaves were not even considered human. It is impossible for someone who has no idea what self worth and human rights are about to rebel against the oppression of a society that constantly reinforces this inhumanity. Only after White Englishmen and Americans have admitted their wrongs can Black Americans rightfully seek reparations for these injustices. Lastly, Horowitz asserts that "the final and summary reason for rejecting any reparations claim is recognition of the enormous privileges Black Americans enjoy as Americans, and therefore of their own stake in America's history, slavery and all" (2001). It is true that as Americans, we do enjoy certain rights of freedom and liberty that citizens of other countries are not as fortunate to enjoy. But, Black Americans do not enjoy enormous privileges as Horowitz claims. Black Americans have certain inalienable rights that all Americans possess. Current privilege of Black Americans is not a relief for the Whites who currently own illegitimately obtained property. Furthermore, reparations are justified only to the extent that they serve to directly alleviate the ills of the past. Horowitz claims that "for all their country's faults, African Americans have an enormous stake in America and above all in the heritage that men like Jefferson helped to shape. This heritage enshrined in America's founding and the institutions and ideas to which it gave rise--is what is really under attack in the reparations movement" (2001). What is under attack in the reparations movement is the crime of dehumanizing a race of people who were taught to devalue themselves in a society that even today continues to deprive Black Americans of the opportunities to enjoy the basic rights of American citizenship.



Pro- AT: Dependence

The argument that reparations will cause dependence is a racist stereotype.

Ogletree, Prof Harvard Law; 2003 (Charles; Harvard Civil Rights Civil Liberties Law Review; June; 38:2; “Repairing the past: New Efforts in the Reparations Debate”)

Horowitz advances additional arguments that seek to demonstrate that reparations hurts the group that it purports to help.¹⁸⁶ These arguments generally allege that reparations constitutes a type of reverse discrimination that will do more harm than good for African Americans.¹⁸⁷ Implicit in this depressing view of race relations is the stereotype of the shiftless, feckless African American, too lazy to do anything for him or herself, that has been argued to such damaging effect in disparaging everything from affirmative action to welfare mothers. These arguments may generate blistering responses but, on balance, are so misguided that they hardly deserve a serious response.

Reparations are not limited to capital transfers and include skill transfers and empowerment.

Martin, Prof Ethnic Studies @ Bowling Green Univ, & Yaquinto, journalist & author; 2004 (Michael & Marilyn; Race & Class; 45:4; “Reparations for ‘America’s Holocaust’: Activism for global justice”)

While the Manifesto implicates the US government as a principal benefactor and enforcer of slavery, it intentionally does not specify the form or forms of reparations, except to call for the establishment of a ‘private trust’, which may imply financial as well as other forms of restitution. Mazrui has delineated three categories of reparations considered during his membership of the Group of Eminent Persons. The Group was established by the Organisation for African Unity (OAU) in 1992 to address reparations in the larger context of African slavery and colonisation. The categories, broadly defined, are ‘capital transfer’, ‘skill transfer’ and ‘empowerment’. The first of the three is self-evident, implying financial compensation; the second concerns the acquisition of skills and presumably knowledge to compensate for the deprivation and underdevelopment caused by slavery and colonisation; the third, ‘empowerment’, calls for the apportionment to Africa of ‘out of proportion power’ in institutions like the World Bank and for veto authority in the Security Council of the United Nations.¹⁶ Within these three categories, reparations can take several forms. For example, they may involve financial compensation for (246 years’) unpaid labour during slavery, the restitution of lost property or other forms of dispensation to be determined for the incalculable loss of slave descendants’ ‘African culture, heritage, family, language[s] and religion[s] . . . self-identity and self-worth . . . destroyed by repression and hatred’.¹⁷ Reparations can also be directed to the struggle against pandemic illnesses like HIV/AIDS that have disproportionately affected Africans, as Henry Louis Gates has recently suggested.¹⁸



Pro- AT: Divisive

Reparations that target communities instead of individuals bridge the color line and divisive outcomes.

Branch; 2002 (Watson; Harvard Law Review; 115:6; “Bridging the Color Line: The Power of African-American Reparations to Redirect America’s Future”)

However, reparation can avoid this divisive outcome if posited not as an attempt to compensate individual victims, but as a means to “repair” a country by creating a sense of mutual, interracial trust, respect, and shared destiny. This repair can begin through reparations in the form of subsidies to black-owned businesses, investment in education programs and scholarships for black youths, training programs for black workers, affirmative action programs, resources for community-based organizations in predominantly black communities, and development and implementation of programs designed to educate the county about the legacy of slavery. Conceived and implemented in this manner, reparations can serve to bridge the color line, rather than widen the divide.

The divisiveness of reparations is an affirmation of their need.

Martin, Prof Ethnic Studies @ Bowling Green Univ, & Yaquinto, journalist & author; 2004 (Michael & Marilyn; Race & Class; 45:4; “Reparations for ‘America’s Holocaust’: Activism for global justice”)

Any consideration, then, of reparations for slavery and colonisation (and their shared and lasting legacies) is framed by this historical conjuncture and necessarily calls the nation and American polity to account for slavery and other pandemic crimes against humanity. Yet many civil rights supporters, who agree with reparations in principle, warn that the prevailing climate of virulent conservatism renders any discussion of reparations at this time inopportune and needlessly confrontational.⁹ On the contrary, such regressive tendencies actually affirm the need not only to reiterate the goals and advances of past civil rights campaigns (now threatened), but also serve as a precondition for further progress.



Pro- AT: Exclude Slavery/Jim Crow Only

There is no ethical distinction between slavery and Jim Crow. Excluding slavery is a tactical and moral loss.

Ogletree, Prof Harvard Law; 2003 (Charles; Harvard Civil Rights Civil Liberties Law Review; June; 38:2; “Repairing the past: New Efforts in the Reparations Debate”)

Critics of Professor Bittker’s work demonstrate that the distinction between Jim Crow and slavery reparations lacks any ethical basis. Professor Derrick Bell, in a contemporaneous review of Bittker’s book, argued that Bittker’s Jim Crow arguments were “divorced . . . from the reality of factual situations in which serious reparations proposals would be likely to arise.”⁶⁸ As Bell noted, “there is a tactical loss in excluding the slavery period: setting this voluntary limitation on coverage sacrifices much of the emotional component that provides the moral leverage for black reparations demands.”⁶⁹ As we shall see, recent lawsuits and litigation have demonstrated the potential for recovering damages for slavery reparations.



Pro- AT: Expensive

Federal mineral and energy rights would cover the cost of reparations for slavery.

Millman, Senior Editor American Conservative Magazine; 2014 (Noah; New York Times; June 8; “Reparations could widen, rather than heal, racial rifts”; <http://www.nytimes.com/roomfordebate/2014/06/08/are-reparations-due-to-african-americans/reparations-could-widen-rather-than-heal-racial-rifts>)

A proper accounting of the cost of slavery could run into the tens of trillions of dollars, but so does the value of federal assets like mineral and energy rights. If reparations were structured as ownership of a securitized pool of these assets, financing would not prove an insurmountable challenge. And if the asset pool were fixed, and eligible claimants were limited to lineal descendants of enslaved persons, incentives should be aligned for the best process possible given the limitations of genealogical data. In any event, acknowledging the gravity of the crime of American racial slavery matters more than a perfect accounting of the true cost.

The US federal government could afford reparations. They paid trillions to bail banks out and pay for military actions.

Feagin, Prof Sociology @ Texas A&M; 2014 (Joe; Time; May 28; “A legal and moral basis for reparations”; <http://time.com/132034/a-legal-and-moral-basis-for-reparations/>)

Many argue there is no money for such moral and constitutional action. Yet, the U.S. government found more than a trillion dollars to bail out private institutions in the Great Recession—and trillions for recent irresponsible military actions. A U.S. government that was heavily involved in sustaining slavery and Jim Crow, and is implicated in contemporary discrimination, can find the substantial amounts needed to meet this country’s moral and restorative obligations to long-oppressed African Americans.



Pro- AT: How Much?

Even if the amount of repayment is incalculable the process of debate outweighs.

Coates, writer for The Atlantic; 2014 (Ta-Nehisi; The Atlantic; "The case for reparations"; June; <http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2014/06/the-case-for-reparations/361631/>)

John Conyers's HR 40 is the vehicle for that hearing. No one can know what would come out of such a debate. Perhaps no number can fully capture the multi-century plunder of black people in America. Perhaps the number is so large that it can't be imagined, let alone calculated and dispensed. But I believe that wrestling publicly with these questions matters as much as—if not more than—the specific answers that might be produced. An America that asks what it owes its most vulnerable citizens is improved and humane. An America that looks away is ignoring not just the sins of the past but the sins of the present and the certain sins of the future. More important than any single check cut to any African American, the payment of reparations would represent America's maturation out of the childhood myth of its innocence into a wisdom worthy of its founders.

The cost of reparations for slavery and Jim Crow is calculable and in the trillions.

Darity, Prof Economics @ UNC- Chapel Hill, & Frank, Harvard Univ; 2003 (William & Dania; The American Economic Review; 93:2; "The economics of reparations")

Finally, economic analysis can be mobilized to establish the magnitude of the reparations payment.

Contributors to Richard America's (1990) Wealth of Races used a variety of procedures to calculate the debt owed to blacks for slavery. Roger Ransom and Richard Sutch computed the difference between the market value of slaves net of food, shelter, and other consumption over the last 50 years of slavery, which led them to an estimate of \$3.4 billion by 1860.

Larry Neal used a similar measure of unpaid wages to slaves between 1620 and 1840 compounded at 3 percent to 1983 dollars to reach a figure of \$1.4 trillion. James Markettis' estimate of Africans' income forgone via slavery came to a present value estimate by 1983 of \$3-\$5 trillion. Richard Vedder et al. sought to estimate the accumulated gains in wealth to white Southerners from ownership of enslaved blacks to arrive at a bill of \$3.2 million as of 1859. In current dollars these procedures generally lend themselves to present-value estimates in the range of \$5-\$10 trillion for the debt for slavery.

These numbers do not take into account the costs of Jim Crow or the costs of present discrimination.

Estimates by David Swinton and by Gerald Chachere and Bernadette Chachere of the costs of labor-market discrimination during the 40-year period 1929-1969 alone run between \$500 billion and \$1.6 trillion in 1983 dollars. Suffice it to say, the damages to the collective well-being of black people have been enormous, and correspondingly, so is the appropriate bill.

Each slave descendant deserves at least 1.5 million.

Rancourt, Activist Teacher; 2013 (Dennis; Black Agenda Report; "Calculating Reparations: \$1.5 million for each slave descendant in the U.S."; <http://blackagenda.com/content/calculating-reparations-15-million-each-slave-descendant-us>)

For the 40 million Black slave descendants in the US today, the calculated reparation means that US white society owes each and every Black slave descendant a MINIMUM payment of \$ 1.5 million, which is long overdue.

After the minimum payment is made, it would be appropriate to calculate and pay the addition reparations that are due.

My goal here was to show that these calculations are simple and unambiguous. Understanding the calculated minimum allows one to move forward from that established basis, towards a more realistic reparation number. At the very least, each Black slave descendant can legitimately demand \$ 1.5 million payable immediately.



Pro- AT: Impossible

Reparations are a chance to redefine the horizon of race relations.

Balfour, Prof Politics Univ Virginia; 2014 (Lawrie; Du Bois Review; 11:1; “Unthinking racial realism: A future for reparations?”)

Can reparations bring about the end of racial inequality? Obviously not. In this regard, I share Walker’s (2007) sentiment that, “as I continue to think about reparations, I have come to accept how little, in a sense, reparations ever do or could do. This does not make them less important.”

Reparations are important, because they stand as a rebuttal to racial realism and provide a vehicle for imagining what it would take, concretely, to move beyond race. Reparations force a confrontation with the living past, crystallize the democratic costs of gross inequalities, and supplement an account of governmental responsibility with one of the shared responsibility of citizens. In short, reparations calls on *all* citizens to remember the systematic character of the violence, exploitation, and degradation that have defined our horizon of possibility and take inspiration from the slaves and citizens who have challenged their fellows to redefine the visible horizon.



Pro- AT: Institutional Change

Reparations are a form of solidarity that reconceive of citizenship in ways that do not denigrate outsiders or others not like us.

Balfour, Prof Politics Univ Virginia; 2014 (Lawrie; Du Bois Review; 11:1; “Unthinking racial realism: A future for reparations?”)

At this point, it should be clear that my formulation of reparations “after justice” is misleading. It would be more accurate to say that I ask what a political account of reparations can do that prevailing philosophical and legal discussions have missed. Of course, if this supplement enables us to rethink the democratic value of reparations, it also has its own dangers. It is possible that the embrace of reparations could reinforce “histories that either implicitly or explicitly celebrate the advent of the modern state and the idea of citizenship” (Chakrabarty 2007, p. 44) and that disguise the repression and violence that have defined this American statehood from its inception. Perhaps the most obvious worry is the inherently exclusionary character of citizenship and its historical dependence on the drawing of borders between members and their others. As a political project, reparations for slavery and Jim Crow need not, and cannot, be tied to a fixed status quo that depends on dividing members from outsiders. On the contrary, reparations claims ought to be oriented toward questions of how social and political arrangements might be otherwise constructed. Their power resides in the possibility of constituting the “people” without resuscitating the familiar set of assumptions captured in James Baldwin’s (1984) observation that “the Black man, to become truly human and acceptable, must first become like us” (p. 45). Extending Baldwin’s logic not only to African Americans but to immigrants, Muslims, criminals or others figured as fundamentally not like us, a democratic reparations project would highlight the urgency of conceiving forms of U.S. citizenship that are not predicated on the denigration of outsiders. Here again, Young’s conception of shared responsibility is illuminating. For it is oriented toward the development of new forms of solidarity. Young (2011) views solidarity as “a relationship among separate and dissimilar actors who decide to stand together, for one another” (p. 120). Pablo de Greiff (2007) similarly understands reparations to be tied to the expression of solidarity, a manifestation of “the interest of the traditionally most advantaged in the interests of the least favored” (p. 165). In other words, a commitment to reparations could signal an acknowledgment of Americans’ repeated failures to stand together and a repudiation of the boundary-drawing that has proved essential to the maintenance of racial hierarchy.



Pro- AT: Just Compensation

Reparations go beyond financial compensation and include a public admission, public apology, public recognition, compensation, and institutional prevention measures.

Karenga, CSU-Long Beach; 2001 (Maulana; "THE ETHICS OF REPARATIONS: ENGAGING THE HOLOCAUST OF ENSLAVEMENT"; National Coalition of Blacks for Reparations in America Convention; June 22-23)

Regardless of the eventual shape of the evolved discourse and policy on reparations, there are five essential aspects which must be addressed and included in any meaningful and moral approach to reparations. They are public admission, public apology, public recognition, compensation, and institutional preventive measures against the recurrence of holocaust and other similar forms of massive destruction of human life, human culture and human possibility.

First, there must be public admission of Holocaust committed against African people by the state and the people. This, of course, must be preceded by a public discussion or national conversation in which whites overcome their acute denial of the nature and extent of injuries inflicted on African people and concede that the most morally appropriate term for this utter destruction of human life, human culture and human possibility is holocaust.

Secondly, once there is public discussion and concession on the nature and extent of the injury, then there must be public apology. One of the reasons we rejected the one-sentence attempt to get a congressional apology is that it was premature and did not allow for discussion and admission of holocaust. In addition, as the injured party, Africans must initiate and maintain control of the definition and discussion of the injury. No one would suggest or contemplate Germans superceding Jewish initiatives and claims concerning their holocaust, nor Turks seizing the initiative in the resolution of the Armenian holocaust claims. The point here is that Africans must define the framework for the discussion and determine the content of the apology. And, of course, the apology can't be for "slave trade," or simply "slavery"; it must be an apology for committing holocaust. Moreover, the state must offer it on behalf of its white citizens. For the state is the crime partner with corporations in the initiation, conduct and sustaining of this destructive process. It maintained and supported the system of destruction with law, army, ideology and brutal suppression. Thus, it must offer the apology for holocaust committed.

Thirdly, public admission and public apology must be reinforced with public recognition through institutional establishment, monumental construction, educational instruction through the school and university system and the media directed toward teaching and preserving memory of the horror and meaning of the Holocaust of enslavement, not only for Africans and this country, but also for humanity as a whole.

Here it is important to note that the first holocaust memorial should have been for Native Americans who suffered the first holocaust in this hemisphere. And we must address their holocaust concerns and claims, as a matter of principle and with the understanding that until and unless they receive justice in their rightful claims, the country can never call itself a free, just or good society.

Fourthly, reparations also requires compensation in various forms. Compensation can never be simply money payoffs either individually or collectively. Nor should the movement for reparations be reduced to simply a quest for compensation without addressing the other four aspects. Indeed, compensation itself is a multidimensional demand and option and may involve not only money, but land, free health care, housing, free education from grade school through college, etc. But whether we choose one or all, we must have a communal discussion of it and then make the choice. Moreover, compensation as an issue is not simply compensation for lost labor, but for the comprehensive injury - the brutal destruction of human lives, human cultures and human possibilities.

Finally, reparations requires that in the midst of our national conversation, we must discuss and commit ourselves to continue the struggle to establish measures to prevent the occurrence of such massive destruction of human life, human culture and human possibility. This means that we must see and approach the reparations struggle as part and parcel of our overall struggle for freedom, justice, equality and power in and over our destiny and daily lives.



Pro- AT: Movement Dead

Movement for reparations is gaining strength.

Dumke, writer for Chicago Reader & Worrill, Dir Center for Inner City Studies @

Northeastern Illinois Univ; 2014 (Mick interviewing Conrad; Chicago Reader; 8/6; “Could reparations for African-Americans reduce violence”; <http://www.chicagoreader.com/Bleader/archives/2014/08/06/could-reparations-for-african-americans-help-reduce-violence>)

In March, in Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, the 15 [Caribbean] nations had a conference and came out with a justice program. They said if they did not get a formal apology from England and other slave-trading nations, they would file a lawsuit. This made news around the world.

As a result of that, we sponsored a reparations forum at Chicago State in April. We webcast the event and more than 6,000 people watched and about 800 attended. Our purpose was to use the occasion to reintroduce the reparations.

Then here comes Ta-Nehisi Coates's article. It was very powerful.

Now the discussion is back in the public domain big time. The question now is, What is the strategy? The idea of Ta-Nehisi Coates's article—of black people getting ripped off in housing discrimination in Chicago—is something that potentially needs to be revisited.



Pro- AT: Move On/Past

Trying to move on or deny the impact of slavery on African Americans today devalues their lives.

Ogletree, Prof Harvard Law; 2003 (Charles; Harvard Civil Rights Civil Liberties Law Review; June; 38:2; “Repairing the past: New Efforts in the Reparations Debate”)

John Hope Franklin argued adamantly against the modern denial of the history of slavery and Jim Crow:

as long as there are pro-slavery protagonists among us, hiding behind such absurdities as “we are all in this together” or “it hurts me as much as it hurts you” or “slavery benefited you as much as it benefited me,” we will suffer from the inability to confront the tragic legacies of slavery and deal with them in a

forthright and constructive manner.²¹⁰

Instead of forgetting the past and “moving on,” it is vital that we remember the past. It matters, as President Johnson suggested, that one group benefited from slavery and Jim Crow segregation and that one group was crippled by it. It also matters that President Johnson’s efforts to undo that history were subsequently undermined. To forget that—to claim that a false start on the road to social justice is adequate to remedy the systematic oppression of African Americans as a people—is shortsighted and dangerous. Denying that this nation bears a responsibility for its history of slavery is disingenuous and morally wrong. It devalues the legitimate claims of African Americans who, as President Johnson acknowledged, are harmed particularly and differently by poverty. The current generation of African Americans are the first to be able to make their way without facing the legal hurdle of segregation. The lower income bequeathed them by the practice of segregation and the continuing hurdle of discrimination should not be ignored.²¹¹



Pro- AT: “New”/“Recent” Movements

The African American reparations movement is not new.

Ogletree, Prof Harvard Law; 2003 (Charles; Harvard Civil Rights Civil Liberties Law Review; June; 38:2; “Repairing the past: New Efforts in the Reparations Debate”)

The African American reparations movement is commonly perceived as a recently developed political and litigation strategy resting on the shoulders of the lawsuits and legislation designed to achieve justice for Japanese American World War II internees and victims of the Holocaust. African American reparations arguments, however, began long before both these movements, growing out of a larger debate over the place of African Americans in American society as well as the proper response of both whites and African Americans to slavery, Jim Crow, and the persistence of racism from the founding of this country until the present. This Part will first give a brief overview of the history of the African American reparations movement in order to suggest that the characterization of African American reparations as both recent and derivative has important political consequences. This rhetorical and political strategy enables reparations’ opponents to discount history and African Americans’ constant demand for reparations, instead presenting reparations’ proponents as opportunistic latecomers, attempting to get something for nothing. This Part will also briefly examine the work of reparations critics, tracing the major arguments that have been raised to counter the movement for reparations.



Pro- AT: Other Groups Discriminated Against

Discrimination against African Americans is exceptional and unlike the experiences of other ethnic groups.

Liu, Founder Citizen Univ, author, & former speechwriter & policy adviser for President Clinton; 2014 (Eric; CNN; “Why we need to talk about reparations”; June 27;
<http://edition.cnn.com/2014/06/27/opinion/liu-reparations-slavery/>)

To be sure, every ethnic group that's not called white has experienced suffering in American life. But the experience of African-Americans is exceptional in its systematic, multigenerational, reverberating effects. And it's exceptional in its centrality to the founding and building of our nation. No experience reveals more than the African-American experience both the hypocrisy and the possibility of our national creed.



Pro- AT: Oversight

Reparations superfund would have an oversight board and be administered by a federal agency.

Berry, former chair US Commission on Civil Rights; 2014 (Mary Frances; New York Times; “We need a ‘reparations superfund’”; <http://www.nytimes.com/roomfordebate/2014/06/08/are-reparations-due-to-african-americans/we-need-a-reparations-superfund>)

The fund, administered by a federal agency, would ideally have an independent oversight board composed of African-American representatives whose responsibility would be to identify promising programs and projects. Community groups and other nonprofit organizations serving slave-descendant African-Americans could apply for funds to address housing, health, education, employment, entrepreneurship and other needs as their members determine.



Pro- AT: Political Backlash

Focusing reparations on the wealth gap would help avoid political backlash.

Holland, Senior Digital Producer Bill Moyers & writer for the Nation; 2014 (Joshua; Bill Moyers; “The past isn’t past: The economic case for reparations”; June 4; <http://billmoyers.com/2014/06/04/the-past-isnt-past-the-economic-case-for-reparations/>)

These ideas face a significant obstacle. Sixty years of public opinion research reveals an obvious if uncomfortable truth: Most Americans are highly supportive of anti-poverty programs in the abstract, but they take a dim view of those they perceive as helping blacks. (For more on that, see BillMoyers.com’s interview with Martin Gilens, author of *Why Americans Hate Welfare*.)

But there’s a way to pay our bills that might be an easier lift politically: Closing the wealth gap between the haves and the have-nots. After all, people of color make up a disproportionate share of the have-nots.

Right now, American public policy runs in the opposite direction. “I think that one thing a lot of people don’t understand is the extent to which we subsidize savings for families that are already wealthy,” says the New America Foundation’s Rachel Black. “We spend about half a trillion dollars a year subsidizing the wealth of people who already have it rather than creating new wealth for families that don’t.” Black says that mismatch is “one of the major drivers of the wealth gap.”



Pro- AT: Precedent

Numerous previous examples of reparations in the U.S. exist.

Professor Chinweizu; 1993 (“Reparations and a new global order: A comparative overview”; Second Plenary Session of the First Pan-African Conference on Reparations; April 27)

We might begin by noting that Blacks are not the only people in the world who are seeking, or who have sought, reparations. In fact, by only now pressing our claim for reparations, we are latecomers to a varied company of peoples in the Americas, in Asia, and in Europe. Here is a partial catalogue of reparations, paid and pending, which are 20th century precedents for reparations to the Black World.

In the Americas, from Southern Chile to the Arctic north of Canada, reparations are being sought and being made. The Mapuche, an aboriginal people of Southern Chile, are pressing for the return of their lands, some 30 million hectares of which were, bit by bit, taken away and given to European immigrants since 1540. The Inuit of Arctic Canada, more commonly known as the Eskimo, were in 1992 offered restitution of some 850,000 sq. miles of their ancestral lands, their home range for millennia before European invaders arrived there.

In the USA, claims by the Sioux to the Black Lands of South Dakota are now in the courts. And the US Government is attempting to give some 400,000 acres of grazing land to the Navaho, and some other lands to the Hopi in the south-west of the USA.

In 1988, the US Government admitted wrongdoing in interning some 120,000 Japanese-Americans under Executive Order 9066 of 1942, during WWII, and awarded each internee \$20,000.

Earlier on, and further afield, under the Thompson-Urrutia Treaty of 1921, the USA paid Colombia reparations, including the sum of \$25 million, for excising the territory of Panama from Colombia for the purpose of building the Panama Canal.



Pro- AT: Reparations is Racist

Reparations are not racist- not all African Americans were slaves but all African Americans are subjected to forms of discrimination that do not apply to whites. While not all whites were villains they did inherit preferential advantages.

Ogletree, Prof Harvard Law; 2003 (Charles; Harvard Civil Rights Civil Liberties Law Review; June; 38:2; “Repairing the past: New Efforts in the Reparations Debate”)

In the same vein, another argument suggests that reparations is “racist” precisely because it is over-inclusive, treating “all blacks as victims and all whites as villains.”¹⁷⁶ It is fair to recognize an essentialist and overly accusatory strand of reparations activism—a strand that I reject—that Horowitz’s view exaggerates and parodies. What is true is that all African Americans are subject to forms of discrimination that do not apply to whites. From the inception of this nation until 1967,¹⁷⁷ the federal government sponsored a system of racial discrimination based first upon slavery and then upon Jim Crow segregation. These laws applied to every African American from every part of the nation, slave and freedman, traveling through the South, parts of the Midwest, and the District of Columbia. It was whites who passed and maintained laws denying African Americans the right to vote. The point is not that all whites were villains¹⁷⁸—many whites voted against such laws—but that state and federal governments, acting on behalf of all citizens, upheld those laws. There should be no moral or political difficulty in holding our national institutions to account for institutionalized racism. Noted historian John Hope Franklin has responded forcefully to Horowitz’s criticism of racism, and his argument addresses why all white Americans must understand how race mattered in the distribution of goods and services in America: Most living Americans do have a connection with slavery. They have inherited the preferential advantage, if they are white, or the loathsome disadvantage, if they are black; and those positions are virtually as alive today as they were in the 19th century. The pattern of housing, the discrimination in employment, the resistance to equal opportunity in education, the racial profiling, the inequities in the administration of justice, the low expectation of blacks in the discharge of duties assigned to them, the widespread belief that blacks have physical prowess but little intellectual capacities and the widespread opposition to affirmative action, as if that had not been enjoyed by whites for three centuries, all indicate that the vestiges of slavery are still with us.¹⁷⁹



Pro- AT: Reparations Talk

The danger and offense in reparations talk is what makes it necessary today. It is time to unsettle the dominance of colorblindness and its power relations. Race-neutral language neutralizes and exacerbates racial inequality.

Balfour, Prof Politics Univ Virginia; 2014 (Lawrie; Du Bois Review; 11:1; “Unthinking racial realism: A future for reparations?”)

Why embrace a language of reparations now? Loury’s concern that speaking of reparations is dangerous ought to give advocates pause. But it may be precisely the dangerous character of the language of reparations—its offense—that makes it so necessary today. Indeed, part of what is singular about reparations talk is that it is heard both as a threat or affront and as a promise of repair. The latter, with its close connection to maintenance, mending, fixing, restoring, and making amends, is akin to the kinds of ongoing political work that Sheldon Wolin (1989) calls tending. Politically, it matters a great deal that reparations claims have been not only unthinkable, but also largely unspeakable, in mainstream public discourse. The banishment of reparations as unworthy of serious discussion does real work. In the face of what Thomas Shapiro (2004) describes as a “U-turn in racial progress” (p. 10), race-neutral and ahistorical public languages can naturalize and even exacerbate racial inequality. Although the idea of Black reparations is often popularly interpreted to mean a one-time pay-out, many reparations activists and scholars have refused such narrow terms. Instead, they have approached reparations as a political language that joins a vision of a reconstituted, multiracial polity to an insistence on confronting racial slavery and its legacies (Biondi 2003; Henry 2007; Johnson 2007; Kelley 2002). Following their lead, this section focuses on the distinctive promise of reparations as a political language that: (1) situates political claims within the historical framework of slavery, reconstruction, and segregation; (2) links past to present to future in its demand for concrete forms of redress; and (3) has played an important role in both African American political history and in contemporary democracies in transition.

Reparations language, unlike other forms of political discourse, trains citizens’ sights on the heritage of the living past. Inculcating such a perspective is especially urgent in an era in which both political and popular commitments to color blindness disconnect present circumstances from past policies and relations of power. In the post-civil rights period, notes Eduardo Bonilla-Silva (2006), Americans both disown the overt racism of previous generations and rely on a collection of color-blind “story lines” (p. 76), collective myths that explain away contemporary racial inequalities and disavow responsibility. Among these story lines, claims such as “the past is the past” or “I didn’t own any slaves” discredit not only reparations efforts but *any* governmental efforts to address racial disparities. Perhaps even more ominously, one psychological study finds that a growing number of White Americans now believe that Whites are the primary victims of racial prejudice and that any forward motion against anti-Black racism entails an equal step backward in the status of Whites (Norton and Sommers, 2011). To scrutinize these views within a framework that traces links between past crimes and present inequality is not simply to appeal to history. Rather, a reparative frame unsettles progressive slavery-to-freedom narratives and dislodges the hold of color-blind histories that either collapse all historical specificity into an ideal in which race has no legitimate significance or admit the horrors of history only to reinforce a conviction about democratic accomplishment. Reparations talk also reveals how preemptory announcements that “the past is past” discredit *some* historical claims as wholly backward-looking, while advancing others as essential to Americans’ collective future. Often, these historical stories emphasize White sacrifice (in the Civil War, for example) and public largesse (the welfare state) while occluding the conditions in which African Americans have actually lived since abolition. “Reparations talk,” by contrast, “is exemplary in its historical rigor” (Johnson 2007, p. 55).



Pro- AT: Time Frame

Reparations could be implemented quickly and to great effect.

Price, Prof Africana Studies @ Rutgers Univ; 2014 (Melanye; New York Times; “Reparations can and should be done in a powerful way”; <http://www.nytimes.com/roomfordebate/2014/06/08/are-reparations-due-to-african-americans/reparations-can-and-should-be-done-in-a-powerful-way>)

Continuing residential and educational segregation along with discriminatory economic policy means that we can still identify neighborhoods, schools, and other community institutions that, with the provision of resources, can improve many African-Americans lives. Reparative policies can be implemented quickly and to great effect. Education and health are particularly important because of the depth of the problems and the fact that preventive intervention can essentially eradicate these disparities. According to the federal Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, African Americans have the highest death rates from heart disease and the highest HIV infection rates. The average black high school graduate is four years behind their white counterpart.



Pro- AT: Victimhood

Liberation alone is not enough. Reparations are not a question of victimhood.

Ogletree, Prof Harvard Law; 2003 (Charles; Harvard Civil Rights Civil Liberties Law Review; June; 38:2; “Repairing the past: New Efforts in the Reparations Debate”)

President Lyndon B. Johnson provided the most direct response to this line of argument. When speaking to the graduating class at Howard University on June 4, 1965, President Johnson made the case for his proposed “Great Society” revolution. Reviewing the civil rights struggle to date, President Johnson recognized that:

[F]reedom is not enough. You do not wipe away the scars of centuries by saying: Now you are free to go where you want, and do as you desire, and choose the leaders you please. You do not take a person who, for years, has been hobbled by chains and liberate him, bring him up to the starting line of a race and then say, “you are free to compete with all the others,” and still justly believe that you have been completely fair. Thus it is not enough just to open the gates of opportunity. All our citizens must have the ability to walk through those gates. This is the next and the more profound stage of the battle for civil rights.²⁰²

Reparations give Blacks an opportunity to change themselves.

Professor Chinweizu; 1993 (“Reparations and a new global order: A comparative overview”; Second Plenary Session of the First Pan-African Conference on Reparations; April 27)

Now, we who are campaigning for reparations cannot hope to change the world without changing ourselves. We cannot hope to change the world without changing our ways of seeing the world, our ways of thinking about the world, our ways of organizing our world, our ways of working and dreaming in our world. All these, and more, must change for the better. The type of Black Man and Black woman that was made by the holocaust -- that was made to feel inferior by slavery and then was steeped in colonial attitudes and values -- that type of Black will not be able to bring the post-reparation global order into being without changing profoundly in the process that has begun; that type of Black will not be even appropriate for the post-reparation global order unless thoroughly and suitably reconstructed. So, reparation, like charity, must begin with ourselves, with the making of the new Black person, with the making of a new Black World. How? We must begin by asking ourselves: What weaknesses on our side made the holocaust possible? Weaknesses of organization? Weakness of solidarity? Weaknesses of identity? Weaknesses of mentality? Weaknesses of behavior? If we do not correct such weaknesses, even if we got billions of billions of dollars in reparations money, even if we got back all our expropriated land, we would fritter it all away yet again, and recycle it all back into alien hands.



Pro- AT: Who is an African-American/Black & Get Reparations

Over inclusivity is a good problem.

Ogletree, Prof Harvard Law; 2003 (Charles; Harvard Civil Rights Civil Liberties Law Review; June; 38:2; “Repairing the past: New Efforts in the Reparations Debate”)

Professor Ewart Guinier, chairman of Harvard University’s Afro-American Studies department, poured scorn on Bittker’s suggestion that there would be no way to administer a reparations fund.⁷² The problem, in Guinier’s eyes, was an administrative one: how best to achieve the re-distribution of wealth to those who need it most. Guinier argued that “[a]n administrative agency given adequate staff and proper statutory guidance could produce equity for individuals.”⁷³ Guinier was unapologetic about the possibility of over-inclusion of African Americans in such a redistribution; rather, he was eager to celebrate over-inclusion. For Guinier, reparations were likely to help whites as well as African Americans because “the cure for difficulties in correcting institutionally-imposed inequity is more correcting of inequity. In short, legislation for reparations could be generalized to erase societal disadvantages suffered by whites as well as blacks.”⁷⁴

Reparations are about repair of a community- the social construction of African American identity is not simply about family but also mediated through stigma and perception.

Ogletree, Prof Harvard Law; 2003 (Charles; Harvard Civil Rights Civil Liberties Law Review; June; 38:2; “Repairing the past: New Efforts in the Reparations Debate”)

This issue presents one of the most interesting features of the reparations claim. By undermining the nexus between harm and beneficiary, some of the symbolism of the reparations claim may be lost, along with some of the legitimacy of the suit.¹⁸⁹ But this argument ignores that reparations is about repair—in particular, the repair of a community for the stigma harm occasioned by slavery. The social construction of people of African descent in America depends not simply upon the fact of personal or familial slavery. Rather, racial difference has been mediated through the stigma of slavery and Jim Crow and contained in perceptions lasting through the present time.

Criteria for eligibility could easily be determined.

Darity, Prof Economics @ UNC- Chapel Hill, & Frank, Harvard Univ; 2003 (William & Dania; The American Economic Review; 93:2; “The economics of reparations”)

The moral-hazard principle alerts us to potential problems in establishing criteria for eligibility for receipt of African-American reparations. Reparations would create a premium for being black in America that previously did not exist. Thus, individuals who had not previously self-identified as black suddenly will have an incentive to declare their African ancestry. To mitigate this problem, we propose two criterion for eligibility: (i) individuals would have to provide reasonable documentation that they had at least one ancestor who was enslaved in the United States, and (ii) individuals would have to demonstrate that at least 10 years prior to the onset of the reparations program they self-identified as black. African-American, colored, or Negro on a legal document.



Pro- AT: Who is Responsible?

Western powers including Europe and America clearly made possible the practices of colonization, slavery and underdevelopment.

Ogletree, Prof Harvard Law; 2003 (Charles; Harvard Civil Rights Civil Liberties Law Review; June; 38:2; “Repairing the past: New Efforts in the Reparations Debate”)

Horowitz’s first major attack on reparations focuses upon what he claims is the impossibility of identifying appropriate defendants because no “single group [is] clearly responsible for the crime of slavery.”¹⁷³ As historian John Hope Franklin noted in an open-letter reply to Horowitz, this is an odd claim.¹⁷⁴ Most people would not dispute that Western powers, most notably Spain, Great Britain, France, and the United States, began and promulgated the slave trade. Slavery was made possible through a practice of colonization in which the European powers subjugated indigenous Africans and engaged in a policy of underdevelopment.¹⁷⁵

Community level reparations avoid the problem of determining individual responsibility and guilt.

Branch; 2002 (Watson; Harvard Law Review; 115:6; “Bridging the Color Line: The Power of African-American Reparations to Redirect America’s Future”)

The form of reparations proposed in this Note, along with programs such as affirmative action, transcends the traditional individual rights paradigm, which is most capable of addressing wrongs perpetrated by an identifiable wrongdoer against a directly harmed individual. As a perceived wrong recedes into historical memory- as have slavery and institutionalized discrimination under Jim Crow- or as a wrong diffuses- as has societal discrimination- the relationship between the wrongdoer and the victim grows imprecise, which eventually renders the individual rights paradigm incapable of providing for an adequate remedy.

The government does not need to demonstrate culpability in order to give reparations, only need.

Brophy, Prof Law @ UNC- Chapel Hill; 2014 (Alfred; New York Times; “Who would pay for reparations, and why?”; <http://www.nytimes.com/roomfordebate/2014/06/08/are-reparations-due-to-african-americans/who-would-pay-for-reparations-and-why>)

The case for repair would be based on the federal government’s traditional role of helping people in need which has inspired social welfare programs like the New Deal, the Great Society and the 9/11 Victim Compensation fund. In those cases, there is no need to show culpability by the government to make a compelling case for doing something positive. With a social welfare model, compensation is based on need, rather than evidence of stolen property or labor. That model says that the ledger is balanced when there is no longer need, not when stolen property is paid back. Until African-Americans have more wealth and better housing and education, each generation will keep making the claim because the past racial crimes were so dramatic.



Pro- AT: Who is Responsible?

Even if you did not have anything to do with slavery the U.S. you and the government benefited from it.

Dumke, writer for Chicago Reader & Worrill, Dir Center for Inner City Studies @ Northeastern Illinois Univ; 2014 (Mick interviewing Conrad; Chicago Reader; 8/6; “Could reparations for African-Americans reduce violence”; <http://www.chicagoreader.com/Bleader/archives/2014/08/06/could-reparations-for-african-americans-help-reduce-violence>)

But we've heard the counterarguments: "I wasn't around back then—I didn't have anything to do with slavery."

The U.S., the western hemisphere, was created on the backs of the slave trade. The descendants of slave owners say, "We didn't have anything to do with it." Well, maybe—but you benefited through wealth accumulation in your family and in your people. So you have a moral obligation, at least, to recognize that.

And even after slavery was abolished in this country, you created racial policies that continued to impact on the people you enslaved. That's why this issue will never go away until it's addressed.

Reparations are about responsibility but not guilt. All citizens must take responsibility for unjust and unequal conditions.

Balfour, Prof Politics Univ Virginia; 2014 (Lawrie; Du Bois Review; 11:1; “Unthinking racial realism: A future for reparations?”)

Building on Iris Marion Young’s (2011) conception of political responsibility, I suggest how thinking through reparations might provide an alternative to two regular features of public discourse that have stymied efforts to address the legacies of slavery and segregation: collective guilt and personal responsibility. The idea of collective guilt, which is conjured so vividly in the outraged insistence that “I didn’t own slaves,” individualizes and isolates responsibility, reducing it to liability for discrete actions that happened sometime in the past. Young’s argument, on the other hand, moves away from sterile conceptions of responsibility as a matter of inheritance or identity and sidesteps contested divisions of the political world into victims and villains.¹⁰ Young’s (2011) formulation—“being responsible, but not guilty” (pp. 91–92)—replaces languages of blame and absolution that feed either resentment or the evasion of acknowledgment or both with a call to action. It replaces the fully backward-looking orientation of guilt with “plural temporalities” (p. 108).¹¹ “Being responsible, but not guilty is a designation that belongs to persons whose active or passive support for governments, institutions, and practices enables culprits to commit crimes and wrongs” (pp. 91–92). Such a conception connects citizens to the actions of the state and incites them to ask what they can do to repair the damage of racist policies and institutions. Because all citizens are expected to take responsibility for unjust and unequal conditions, reparations are recast as a shared endeavor rather than a form of punishment.

Reparations, understood in this way, also unsettle a discourse of personal responsibility that has been deployed to blame African Americans for today’s racial inequalities. The hold of this discourse on the public imagination was vividly displayed on the night of Obama’s election to the presidency, when a national news commentator declared that anyone claiming to have been affected by racial injustice would hence-forth have “no more excuses,” as though the one logically followed from the other.¹² Approaching reparations as a form of shared responsibility illuminates why the ground on which such claims are built is racially suspect, historically problematic, and as Nancy Rosenblum aptly discerns, a sign of “*political despair*” (quoted in Young 2011, p. 40).



Pro- AT: Who Pays?

The U.S. government could finance reparations with government bonds, African Americans should not be forced to bear the tax brunt of reparations.

Darity, Prof Economics @ UNC- Chapel Hill, & Frank, Harvard Univ; 2003 (William & Dania; The American Economic Review; 93:2; "The economics of reparations")

How are reparations to be financed? Public-finance theory suggests that nonblacks could finance the transfer by paying additional taxes, borrowing (dissaving), or lowering their spending. Alternatively, the United States could borrow by issuing government bonds to finance the reparations program. In general, African-Americans should not bear the tax burden of financing their own reparations payments. Blacks paid local, state, and federal taxes for more than 80 years while being disenfranchised in the U.S. South, a paradigmatic case of "taxation without representation." If, however, taxes are levied universally to finance reparations, guarantees must be put in place that the reparations payment net of the tax is substantial for black taxpayers. Furthermore, reparations income should be tax-free.

Reparations superfund could get money from institutions and companies that profited from slavery or have been found guilty of racial discrimination.

Berry, former chair US Commission on Civil Rights; 2014 (Mary Frances; New York Times; "We need a 'reparations superfund'"; <http://www.nytimes.com/roomfordebate/2014/06/08/are-reparations-due-to-african-americans/we-need-a-reparations-superfund>)

Beyond reparations to individuals, there should be a "Reparations Superfund" as historian V.P. Franklin suggests. Monies could come from institutions and corporations that profited from slave labor; additional funds could come from banks and insurance companies that had been guilty of racial discriminatory practices, such as redlining and predatory financial lending.



Pro- AT: Yamamoto

Yamamoto concludes pro.

Yamamoto, Prof Law @ Univ Hawaii @ Manoa; 1998 (Eric; Boston College Third World Law Journal; Vol. 19: Issue 1; "Racial reparations: Japanese American redress and African American claims")

These insights point toward a reframing of the prevailing reparations paradigm-a new framing embracing the notion of reparations as "repair." Indeed, reparation, in singular, means repair. It encompasses both acts of repairing damage to the material conditions of racial group life-distributing money to those in need and transferring land ownership to those dispossessed, building schools, churches, community centers and medical clinics, creating tax incentives and loan programs for businesses owned by inner city residents-and acts of restoring injured human psyches-enabling those harmed to live with, but not in, history. Reparations, as collective actions, foster the mending of tears in the social fabric, the repairing of breaches in the polity.

For example, slavery, Jim Crow apartheid and mainstream resistance to integration inflicted horrendous harms upon African American individuals and their communities, harms now exacerbated by the increasing resegregation of America.¹⁷⁴ Reparations directly improving the material conditions of life for African Americans and their communities are especially appropriate. In addition, the racial harm to African Americans also wounded the American polity. It grated on America's sense of morality (do we really believe in freedom, equality and justice?), destabilized the American psyche (are we really oppressors?), generated personal discomfort and fear in daily interactions (will there be retribution?), and continues to do so. As Harlon Dalton observes, "perpetuating racial hierarchy in a society that professes to be egalitarian is destructive of the spirit as well as of the body politic."¹⁷⁵ Reparations for African Americans, conceived as repair, can help mend this larger tear in the social fabric for the benefit of both blacks and mainstream America. So viewed, reparations are potentially transformative. Reparations can avoid "the traps of individualism, neutrality and indeterminacy that plague many mainstream concepts of rights or legal principles."¹⁷⁶ Reparations are grounded in group, rather than individual, rights and responsibilities and provide tangible benefits to those wronged by those in power. As Mari Matsuda observes, properly cast, reparations target substantive barriers to liberty and equality.¹⁷⁷ In addition, coupled with acknowledgment and apology, reparations are potentially transformative because of what they symbolize for both bestower and beneficiary: reparations "condemn exploitation and adopt a vision of a more just world."¹⁷⁸



Pro- AT: Zero Sum

Zero sum tradeoffs are eliminated by the economic benefits to the country.

Branch; 2002 (Watson; Harvard Law Review; 115:6; “Bridging the Color Line: The Power of African-American Reparations to Redirect America’s Future”)

African-American reparations claims do not appeal to the same traditional values as the Japanese-American claims, but it is still possible to eliminate zero sum notions that reparations take from “us” and give to “them” by emphasizing the cathartic and economic benefits to the polity. Reparations, as proposed here, should restore some of the lost chapters of our history and explain, and ultimately remedy, the wealth and power divides of today. The public investigation into the lingering effects of slavery and Jim Crow should create an unabridged version of American history, one that would provide the country with closure regarding the shameful history of slavery and Jim Crow. This emotional closure, combined with economic and educational programs, could eventually bring the end of race-preference programs and the start of a dialogue about race focused on the future. Reparations that focus on investment in education and training for blacks should result in better skilled workers who are less reliant on welfare, enabling the economy to maximize its previously underutilized human capital. Affirmative action in employment will ensure that blacks have an opportunity to develop and utilize these skills. Providing resources to predominantly black neighborhoods to rebuild the educational allow all American students to start from the same point, rather than rely on affirmative action programs to make up the difference at the college level. Prosperous black-owned businesses, fueled by government subsidies and support, could invigorate the economy of both the local neighborhoods they inhabit and the nation. Grants to black community-based organizations for investment in community development projects- parks, cultural symbols, and security, for example- should reduce crime and increase pride in inner city neighborhoods; this investment could carry over into increased efforts to keep communities safe and clean. The government should also provide incentives for asset accumulation to address wealth inequality. Wide distribution of a commission’s findings would aid in educating the public regarding the link between past wrongs and present injustices. Admittedly, these investments will be costly in the short term, but over time, the beneficial effects should be enjoyed throughout the country.



1CC- Economy Contention

A) Slavery didn't cause economic inequality

Peter **Flaherty**, President of the National Legal and Policy Center & John **Carlisle**, Director of Policy at NLPC, **2004** (“The Case Against Slave Reparations”, www.nlpc.org)

Perhaps the strongest evidence that today's problems among African Americans are not due to slavery comes from an exhaustive study titled “Slavery and the Intergenerational Transmission of Human Capital” by Bruce Sacerdote of the Dartmouth College economics department. Sacerdote finds that the economic disparities between the descendants of former slaves and the descendants of free blacks (pre-1865) largely disappeared within just two generations following emancipation. Thus, the injustices visited upon one generation seem to have little if any harmful effect on that generation's grandsons and granddaughters. “The rich existing literature on social mobility and income mobility would suggest that such convergence (i.e. recovery from slavery) may take place rather rapidly.” writes Sacerdote.⁶⁸

B) Reparations will not solve the problems faced by African Americans and will only make the problems worse

Peter **Flaherty**, President of the National Legal and Policy Center & John **Carlisle**, Director of Policy at NLPC, **2004** (“The Case Against Slave Reparations”, www.nlpc.org)

Reparations certainly would not make the patient well. Far from solving racial problems in America, reparations would exacerbate them. The reparations issue is a smoke screen for those unwilling to tackle the real problems affecting blacks, such as failing schools, crumbling inner cities and family disunity. It is an attempt at easy money—by taxing the innocent, by litigation, or by shakedown. The American people, as well as the various corporations and other institutions targeted by reparations advocates, must not give in to such injustices. If they do, expect the floodgates of more reparations demands to open wide. Each argument presented throughout this report is a sufficient reason in and of itself not to support slave reparations: innocents would be forced to pay; money would go to non-victims; race relations would be exacerbated; a bad precedent would be set for other groups; reparations would play into greed; the list goes on.

C) Slave reparations will hurt efforts to eradicate poverty among African-Americans and will allow others to discount any future claims for assistance

Peter **Flaherty**, President of the National Legal and Policy Center & John **Carlisle**, Director of Policy at NLPC, **2004** (“The Case Against Slave Reparations”, www.nlpc.org)

In addition to exacerbating race relations, slave reparations also would weaken any national effort to eradicate poverty among blacks. Glen Loury, director of the Institute of Race and Social Division at Boston University, says it would be a Pyrrhic victory for African Americans. “It will undermine the claim for further help down the road, because the rest of America will say, ‘Shut up: You’ve been paid.’”



1CC- Economy Contention

D) Reparations will not solve the situation of poverty that exists among African Americans and will only foster more racial discrimination

Peter **Flaherty**, President of the National Legal and Policy Center & John **Carlisle**, Director of Policy at NLPC, **2004** (“The Case Against Slave Reparations”, www.nlpc.org)

Moreover, if reparations were paid, activists would see that poverty still exists among blacks, and that real or imagined incidents of racial discrimination continue to occur. Blacks would perceive that nothing much had changed; and as discussed in the sidebar, “Reparations Would Exacerbate Race Relations,” reparations induced resentment toward blacks by non-blacks, in fact, would increase. Blacks would claim that the solution is even more reparations. And the vicious cycle would continue.

E) Money is corrupting and demeans the movement

Peter **Flaherty**, President of the National Legal and Policy Center & John **Carlisle**, Director of Policy at NLPC, **2004** (“The Case Against Slave Reparations”, www.nlpc.org)

Of course, the same can be said about the slave reparations movement. Associating huge amounts of money today with the suffering of people in the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries is demeaning to those who suffered. Money, moreover, can be corrupting. As pointed out earlier, current reparations agitation already has degenerated into a cynical game of legalized extortion with multimillion-dollar lawsuits against corporations, universities and other entities whose alleged ties to slavery are tenuous to nonexistent (see “Shakedown via the Courts”).

Regarding the argument that the obsession with money demeans the suffering of the victims, Holocaust reparations advocates counter by saying that the victims deserve compensation. But this cannot be applied to the slave reparations movement, since the victims are no longer around to accept the compensation.



1CC – Reparations Fail Contention

A) Reparations will not solve the problems faced by African Americans and will only make the problems worse

Peter Flaherty, President of the National Legal and Policy Center & John Carlisle, Director of Policy at NLPC, 2004 (“The Case Against Slave Reparations”, www.nlpc.org)

Reparations certainly would not make the patient well. Far from solving racial problems in America, reparations would exacerbate them. The reparations issue is a smoke screen for those unwilling to tackle the real problems affecting blacks, such as failing schools, crumbling inner cities and family disunity. It is an attempt at easy money—by taxing the innocent, by litigation, or by shakedown. The American people, as well as the various corporations and other institutions targeted by reparations advocates, must not give in to such injustices. If they do, expect the floodgates of more reparations demands to open wide. Each argument presented throughout this report is a sufficient reason in and of itself not to support slave reparations: innocents would be forced to pay; money would go to non-victims; race relations would be exacerbated; a bad precedent would be set for other groups; reparations would play into greed; the list goes on.

B) Paying Reparations is not an appropriate remedy to solve the past injustices that occurred – instead we need a shared basis of civic memory – this is the only way to truly enter a political discourse

Loury, Prof Dept of Econ @ Boston University, 2006 (Glenn C, “Trans-Generational Justice – Compensatory vs. Interpretative Approaches, www.bu.edu/irsd/Ec326_2004/material_2004/reparations%20.doc, Spring)

I argue that the disadvantaged situation of African Americans constitutes a gross historical injustice in American society, but that the payment of slavery reparations is not an appropriate remedy for this injustice. Rather, past racial injustice in the U.S. should be understood to establish a general presumption against indifference to present racial inequality. While the quantitative attribution of causal weight to distant historical events required by reparations advocacy is not workable, one can still support qualitative claims. Rather than conceiving the problem of a morally problematic racial history in compensatory terms, I propose to see the problem in interpretative terms, wherein justice requires a public recognition of the severity, and (crucially) the contemporary relevance, of what has transpired. The result would be to encourage a shared basis of civic memory – an agreed upon public “narrative” about the problem of racial inequality – through which the fact of past racial injury, and its ongoing consequences, can enter into current political discourses.



1CC – Reparations Fail Contention

C) Reparation movements will fail for 3 reasons: fails to account for how healing between groups occurs, can't repair past damages, doesn't allow for a method of true social change

YAMAMOTO, et al., 2007 (ERIC K. YAMAMOTO - Professor of Law, William S. Richardson School of Law, University of Hawai'i. SANDRA HYE YUN KIM & ABIGAIL M. HOLDEN – Univ of Hawaii School of Law, "AMERICAN REPARATIONS THEORY AND PRACTICE AT THE CROSSROADS", CALIFORNIA WESTERN LAW REVIEW - VOLUME 44 FALL 2007 NUMBER 1, <http://scholarlycommons.law.cwsl.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1081&context=cwlr>)

This renewed attention in the repair paradigm is important because it moves past the flagging tort litigation-compensation model for reparations, offers a forward-looking remedy, and aims to generate an interest-convergence among the varying slices of the American polity. 159 The fourth generation is also significant because it frames the moral justification for reparations away from repaying "a debt owed"160 toward social healing. 161 The reemergent repair paradigm, however, is itself limited. First, it does not fully engage multidisciplinary understandings of healing, either for individuals, social groups, or society itself.162 Without this engagement, the paradigm tends to elude the complex dynamics of how groups experience long-term injustice and struggle to build relationships at ground level. 163 Second, the fourth generation also tends only to glance at rich and varied international reparations experiences in terms of both the promise and the "dark side" of the reparations process. 164 Truth and Reconciliation Commissions throughout the world are struggling to repair human damage inflicted by repressive regimes. Moreover, those with social healing experience offer insights into what methods are successful under widely varying circumstances. Third, as currently framed, the renewed repair paradigm is cast primarily as a moral justification for reparations-repairing the damage to a group helps heal its wounds and benefits the larger society by diminishing social divisions.1 66 But it does not provide advocates a strategic framework for assessing conceptually and guiding practically a reparations process in the rough and tumble realpolitik world.

D) Reparations to African Americans would destroy any political discussion to truly understand the history of slavery

Millman, Senior Editor American Conservative Magazine; **2014** (Noah; New York Times; June 8; "Reparations could widen, rather than heal, racial rifts"; <http://www.nytimes.com/roomfordebate/2014/06/08/are-reparations-due-to-african-americans/reparations-could-widen-rather-than-heal-racial-rifts>)

Reparations for slavery are often analogized to reparations for the Holocaust – and prima facie the comparison is quite strong. But Holocaust reparations were negotiated between two distinct political communities, West Germany and the State of Israel. Reparations for slavery would, by contrast, be paid by the United States government to the individual descendants of former slaves. The formal distinction between citizens that reparations would require would inevitably clash with the ultimate political goal of the movement: political reconciliation based on a shared understanding of history.



1CC – Reparations Bad Contention

A) Reparations lead to backlash

YAMAMOTO, et al., 2007 (ERIC K. YAMAMOTO - Professor of Law, William S. Richardson School of Law, University of Hawai'i. SANDRA HYE YUN KIM & ABIGAIL M. HOLDEN – Univ of Hawaii School of Law, "AMERICAN REPARATIONS THEORY AND PRACTICE AT THE CROSSROADS", CALIFORNIA WESTERN LAW REVIEW - VOLUME 44 FALL 2007 NUMBER 1, <http://scholarlycommons.law.cwsl.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1081&context=cwlr>)

Reparations claims inevitably engender backlash and negative reaction. According to Yamamoto, the dilemma of reparations speaks to the potential backlash or victim entrenchment: Reparations, if thoughtfully conceived, offered and administered, can be transformative.... When reparations stimulate change, however, they also generate resistance. Proponents suffer backlash. Thus, when reparations claims are treated seriously, they tend to recreate victimhood by inflaming old wounds and triggering regressive reactions.

B) Reparations acts as a divisive force that fractures coalitions – the only way to solve for inequality is to try to solve all forms of inequality with political movements

Loury, Prof Dept of Econ @ Boston University, 2006 (Glenn C, "Trans-Generational Justice – Compensatory vs. Interpretative Approaches, www.bu.edu/irsd/Ec326_2004/material_2004/reparations%20.doc, Spring)

[Civic Construction Goals] Reparations advocacy invites the majority of Americans to see the problem as one where "we" do something for "them." What is needed, however, is to construct a "we" – meaning all Americans – capable of righting whatever social injustices plague our society – for "our own sake" in this country, so that our moral pronouncements on the world stage will not be made into a hollow mockery. Slavery's consequences will be minimized only when we have established a regime of social provision that affords every American the chance to live a full and satisfying life. For blacks to gain reparations without attaining this goal would be to win a false victory. For then, when the horrible consequences of our troubled racial past persist in the blighted lives of millions of poor black people, skeptical onlookers will be able to say, "We'd love to help, but you Negroes have already been paid."



1CC – Reparations Bad Contention

C) Reparations would cost \$97 Trillion

Boychuk, Associate Editor Manhattan Institute's City Journal & Mathis, contributing editor The Philly Post; **2014** (Ben & Joel; LA Daily News; 6/6; "Should the United States consider paying reparations to African Americans? RedBlue America"; <http://www.dailynews.com/opinion/20140606/should-the-united-states-consider-paying-reparations-to-african-americans-redblue-america>)

Ta-Nehisi Coates's 15,000-word essay in The Atlantic is an important, thoughtful read. The history of systematic economic injustice against black Americans is impossible to ignore or deny — Coates's article makes certain of that.

But that still doesn't change the fundamental fact that reparations are indeed too expensive and politically impossible. His case is moving. But it's still not convincing.

Coates, of course, is not the first to make the case for reparations, and he won't be the last. Reparations for American slavery are not an abstract question. In the end, it would come down to dollars and cents. Coates isn't interested in pulling numbers out of the air — that would be for this panel he proposes to figure out.

But it isn't uncharted territory. A political and legal effort to make reparations a reality gained momentum in the late 1960s, and again in the 1990s and the early part of the last decade before falling to pieces after the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001. One estimate put the figure at \$97 trillion — or \$300,000 from every American not descended from slaves.

D) Reparation Payments will open the flood-gates for scams and false claims – IRS proves Henry, Prof UC-Berkeley; 2003 (Charles; Journal of Black Studies; 34:2; "The politics of racial reparations")

In 1994, the Internal Revenue Service (IRS) reported receiving about 20,000 bogus tax-reparation claims. Capitalizing on the publicity around federal payments to Japanese Americans, con artists falsely informed Blacks that the federal government had passed similar legislation for African Americans and offered to file their claims for a fee. In 2001, the Social Security Administration issued a special alert to senior citizens involving a reparations scam. An investigation by the agency found that the Slave Reparation Act duped more than 29,000 people (Mayer,2001; Singletory,2001). The agency received nearly 80,000 returns claiming more than \$2.7 billion in false reparation refunds (Internal Revenue Service, 2002). Throughout the 1990s, a number of individual cities and states have taken some action on reparations. Cities like Tulsa, Oklahoma, and Elaine, Arkansas, have considered payments to survivors of racist violence. Other cities, such as Dallas, Atlanta, Nashville, Cleveland, Chicago, and Detroit, have passed bills that provide symbolic support for reparations. In New York and California, the state legislatures have passed bills dealing with some aspect of reparations (Austin,2001).



1CC – Reparations Bad Contention

E) Reparations will be seen a political buy-off and will allow the dominate group to ignore future race claims and will not address the reasons why problems exist in the first place

YAMAMOTO, et al., 2007 (ERIC K. YAMAMOTO - Professor of Law, William S. Richardson School of Law, University of Hawai'i. SANDRA HYE YUN KIM & ABIGAIL M. HOLDEN – Univ of Hawaii School of Law, "AMERICAN REPARATIONS THEORY AND PRACTICE AT THE CROSSROADS", CALIFORNIA WESTERN LAW REVIEW - VOLUME 44 FALL 2007 NUMBER 1, <http://scholarlycommons.law.cwsl.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1081&context=cwlr>)

Ideology separates the reparations "haves" from the "have nots," ideologically defining who is "worthy" of redress. The third aspect of the underside of reparations process, the ideology of reparations, is illuminated by Derrick Bell's interest-convergence thesis. See Bell, supra note 66. This thesis suggests that "dominant groups only recognize 'rights' of minorities when the recognition of those rights benefits the dominant group's larger interests." Yamamoto, *Racial Reparations*, supra note 14, at 497. This creates the danger that when reparations are received, and supported by the dominant group, the reparations are only a "monetary buy-off of protest, an assuaging of white American guilt . . ." *Id.* at 501. Therefore, leaving undisturbed the social structural sources of racial grievance may "neutralize the need to strive for justice."

F) Even with good intentions, reparations only end up with lawyers attempting to squeeze every single bit from the companies involved – sets a bad precedent and destroys the message

Peter **Flaherty**, President of the National Legal and Policy Center & John **Carlisle**, Director of Policy at NLPC, **2004** ("The Case Against Slave Reparations", www.nlpc.org)

Recent Holocaust reparations, particularly those associated with the 1990s lawsuits against European insurance companies, have caused considerable controversy. Several Jewish American scholars and journalists criticized the payments, saying they started as a legitimate effort to recover money in long dormant Swiss bank accounts, but turned into a shameless money grab by lawyers who started going after European insurance companies. Some say it only degrades the memory of millions who died in the Holocaust, and that the main focus of activity is the claims, rather than the horror of the death of 6 million Jews. Norman Finkelstein, professor of history at Hunter College and author of *The Holocaust Industry: Reflections of the Exploitation of Jewish Suffering*, commented: "They [the lawyers] have hijacked the Holocaust and appointed themselves saviors of the victims—all in the name of money."⁴⁹



1CC – Pandora’s Box Contention

A) Giving Reparations to ancestors instead of those directly affected by slavery will open a “Pandora’s Box” that will allow for other groups to seek reparations

Peter **Flaherty**, President of the National Legal and Policy Center & John **Carlisle**, Director of Policy at NLPC, **2004** (“The Case Against Slave Reparations”, www.nlpc.org)

The slave reparations movement is unprecedented in that people are seeking remuneration for the hardships endured by their distant ancestors. Until now, reparations movements always sought compensation for the generations that actually experienced the hardships. To most observers, it defies logic to demand payment for work performed by long-dead generations. But as indicated earlier, this demand must be taken seriously. A notion may be absurd, but if millions of people support it—and stand to profit from it—political momentum for it builds.

A particularly disturbing ramification of compensating descendants of African slaves is the dangerous precedent it would set. It would open up a “Pandora’s Box” of other groups seeking reparations for the injustices suffered by their ancestors. Blacks in America, of course, suffered incredible hardships in centuries past. But so did other races. The truth is that, prior to the 20th century, life was exceedingly harsh for the large majority of people. Many of those in positions of power were cruel and unfair—not only to blacks but to people of many races, nationalities and religious creeds. Enlightened ideas of tolerance, fairness, and human rights, which most of us enjoy today, had not yet become widespread throughout the civilized world. Actions that are illegal today—such as slavery, indentured servitude, institutionalized discrimination, and inhumane working conditions— were legal back then.

B) Reparations for African Americans would encourage many other groups to seek reparations

Peter **Flaherty**, President of the National Legal and Policy Center & John **Carlisle**, Director of Policy at NLPC, **2004** (“The Case Against Slave Reparations”, www.nlpc.org)

The histories of numerous other ethnic groups are filled with similar stories. Such groups include Hispanic Americans, Italian Americans, Polish Americans, German Americans, Russian Americans, Portuguese Americans, Scottish Americans, Armenian Americans, Greek Americans, Filipino Americans, and many more. If slave reparations were ever enacted, it would not at all be far-fetched to expect other ethnic groups to demand similar types of reparations for past bouts of discrimination. Indeed, claims for Chinese American reparations may not be far behind. Under California’s state law requiring insurance companies to file disclosures of past links to slavery, the California Insurance Department found evidence that Manhattan Life provided an insurance policy to shippers for 700 Chinese laborers on a voyage from China in 1854.⁵⁷

C) Pandora’s Box Impact – Reparations Inflation

Peter **Flaherty**, President of the National Legal and Policy Center & John **Carlisle**, Director of Policy at NLPC, **2004** (“The Case Against Slave Reparations”, www.nlpc.org)

Not only would the prospect of slave reparations open a “Pandora’s Box” of other ethnic groups demanding money for historical injustices, but groups would no doubt demand even more reparations. There would be complaints that initial reparations did not go far enough. If, for example, the U.S. government paid out a billion dollars in reparations to African Americans, activists would point out that the total value of slaves’ work, with interest, was much higher than that—in the hundreds of billions or trillions of dollars. The potential for “reparations inflation” is infinite.



Con – Reparations Bad – General

Reparations bad – 3 reasons

Peter **Flaherty**, President of the National Legal and Policy Center & John **Carlisle**, Director of Policy at NLPC, **2004** (“The Case Against Slave Reparations”, www.nlpc.org)

Norgle also pointed to the negative consequences of paying reparations, arguing that “present-day Americans are not morally or legally liable for historical injustices, that the debt to African Americans has already been paid, and that reparations talk is divisive, immersing African Americans in a culture of victimhood.”



Con - Reparations Fail

Reparations will not solve the problems faced by African Americans and will only make the problems worse

Peter Flaherty, President of the National Legal and Policy Center & John Carlisle, Director of Policy at NLPC, 2004 (“The Case Against Slave Reparations”, www.nlpc.org)

Reparations certainly would not make the patient well. Far from solving racial problems in America, reparations would exacerbate them. The reparations issue is a smoke screen for those unwilling to tackle the real problems affecting blacks, such as failing schools, crumbling inner cities and family disunity. It is an attempt at easy money—by taxing the innocent, by litigation, or by shakedown. The American people, as well as the various corporations and other institutions targeted by reparations advocates, must not give in to such injustices. If they do, expect the floodgates of more reparations demands to open wide. Each argument presented throughout this report is a sufficient reason in and of itself not to support slave reparations: innocents would be forced to pay; money would go to non-victims; race relations would be exacerbated; a bad precedent would be set for other groups; reparations would play into greed; the list goes on.

Paying Reparations is not an appropriate remedy to solve the past injustices that occurred – instead we need a shared basis of civic memory – this is the only way to truly enter a political discourse

Loury, Prof Dept of Econ @ Boston University, 2006 (Glenn C, “Trans-Generational Justice – Compensatory vs. Interpretative Approaches, www.bu.edu/irsd/Ec326_2004/material_2004/reparations%20.doc, Spring)

I argue that the disadvantaged situation of African Americans constitutes a gross historical injustice in American society, but that the payment of slavery reparations is not an appropriate remedy for this injustice. Rather, past racial injustice in the U.S. should be understood to establish a general presumption against indifference to present racial inequality. While the quantitative attribution of causal weight to distant historical events required by reparations advocacy is not workable, one can still support qualitative claims. Rather than conceiving the problem of a morally problematic racial history in compensatory terms, I propose to see the problem in interpretative terms, wherein justice requires a public recognition of the severity, and (crucially) the contemporary relevance, of what has transpired. The result would be to encourage a shared basis of civic memory – an agreed upon public “narrative” about the problem of racial inequality – through which the fact of past racial injury, and its ongoing consequences, can enter into current political discourses.



Con - Reparations Fail

Reparations will not repair the past harms of slavery

Loury, Prof Dept of Econ @ Boston University, 2006 (Glenn C, "Trans-Generational Justice – Compensatory vs. Interpretative Approaches, www.bu.edu/irsd/Ec326_2004/material_2004/reparations%20.doc, Spring)

[Conceptualizing Harm] Consider the complex character of the harm. To repair the consequences of historical crimes we need to begin with an understanding of what has been lost. Depriving the ancestors of current-day African Americans of the fruits of their labors was not, I argue, the gravest injury done them. Rather, it was the relegation of the black slaves and their progeny to a status of social pariahs, which constituted the severest harm. This harm, I claim, will not be reversed, and may indeed be reinforced, by the successful advocacy for slavery reparations.

Reparations will fail to address the underlying problems that African Americans Face – Self-Reinforcing underperforming stigma

Loury, Prof Dept of Econ @ Boston University, 2006 (Glenn C, "Trans-Generational Justice – Compensatory vs. Interpretative Approaches, www.bu.edu/irsd/Ec326_2004/material_2004/reparations%20.doc, Spring)

The subordinate position of blacks in the contemporary social economy of the U.S. derives from the stigmatized status of blacks in the society, and not the other way around. Racial stigma (about which more momentarily) inhibits African Americans from gaining access to those networks of social affiliation where developmental resources are most readily appropriated. The main problem today is not a race-influenced marketplace refusing to reward black talent, but race-influenced patterns of social intercourse refusing many black people a chance to reach their full human potential, and a race-influenced psychology of valuation that denies to African Americans the tacit presumption of equal human worth. My key point is that blacks' stigmatized status in the social imagination is reinforced, reproduced and justified by their subordinate position in the economic order, creating a vicious circle which, though it originates in the distant past, has now taken-on a life of its own. Blacks' "underperformance" is rooted in their social isolation and tacit devaluation, while this isolation and devaluation is legitimated and normalized by widely held perceptions about black underperformance. Unfortunately, race-conditioned social policy, of which reparations is one variant, is likely to prove insufficient to counteract this self-reinforcing dynamic.



Con – Reparations Fail

Reparations are bad for the country and the African Americans – destroys political capital and misses a chance to show moral leadership – all current attempts or reparations would only make this worse – all of the problems facing African Americans are problems off all racial groups and therefore we need to have a different discussion about the historical record of slavery in order to overcome its “effects”

Loury, Prof Dept of Econ @ Boston University, 2006 (Glenn C, “Trans-Generational Justice – Compensatory vs. Interpretative Approaches, www.bu.edu/irsd/Ec326_2004/material_2004/reparations%20.doc, Spring)

"Black Reparations" advocacy, on this account, is problematic not because (as many critics would have it) the people pushing it are quarrelsome jerks. It is problematic, and bad for this country, and bad for black people ourselves, because it squanders blacks' dwindling political capital and misses our chance to show genuine moral leadership in this nation, as the early civil rights era heroes had done. We are still a multi-racial nation, and will be for as far into the future as anyone can see. The moral and political issues most salient in the context of “blackness” remain to be addressed (overcrowded prisons, ghettos from which opportunity for social betterment has fled, and so on), and “compassionate conservatism” doesn't even begin to address them. But, then, neither will the payment of financial reparations for historical harm. The issue confronting those black leaders and intellectuals brave enough to think outside the box today is how to convert our historical inheritance of moral authority and our claim on the public's attention -- an inheritance derived from the sufferings and heroic triumphs of our ancestors -- into a moral and political currency that is relevant to our time. Mournful recitations of the old civil rights mantras are obviously inadequate to the task. The fact is that there are no problems facing the “black community” that are not also problems for a vast number of brown, yellow, red and white Americans. And there are no solutions for these problems that can, or should, be enacted solely (or even mainly) to assuage the legitimate concerns of blacks. But there is a criticism of the regnant interpretation of America’s racial history in contemporary political discourses that can and should be made, in the name of historical and racial justice. I have tried in this essay to indicate what the broad outlines of such a criticism might be.

Reparations fail to change larger problems faced by African Americans

YAMAMOTO, et al., 2007 (ERIC K. YAMAMOTO - Professor of Law, William S. Richardson School of Law, University of Hawai'i. SANDRA HYE YUN KIM & ABIGAIL M. HOLDEN – Univ of Hawaii School of Law, “AMERICAN REPARATIONS THEORY AND PRACTICE AT THE CROSSROADS”, CALIFORNIA WESTERN LAW REVIEW - VOLUME 44 FALL 2007 NUMBER 1, <http://scholarlycommons.law.cwsl.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1081&context=cwlr>)

Legal historian Sherrilyn Ifill aptly observes that reparations “cannot fully 'repair' the damage done by racial ... violence. Nor can reparations 'return' a victim or victimized community to the state it would have been in.” ⁷⁸ She therefore concludes that reparations alone cannot fully accomplish the heavy lifting that some repair advocates desire. "At best, reparation is a symbolic effort to balance the scales and an articulation of responsibility for the harm done." ⁷⁹ Though limited, these upsides to reparations are significant for victims' communities, perpetrators, and their descendants, collectively aiming at something larger-a move toward reconciliation.



Con – Reparations Fail

Reparation movements will fail for 3 reasons: fails to account for how healing between groups occurs, can't repair past damages, doesn't allow for a method of true social change

YAMAMOTO, et al., 2007 (ERIC K. YAMAMOTO - Professor of Law, William S. Richardson School of Law, University of Hawai'i. SANDRA HYE YUN KIM & ABIGAIL M. HOLDEN – Univ of Hawaii School of Law, "AMERICAN REPARATIONS THEORY AND PRACTICE AT THE CROSSROADS", CALIFORNIA WESTERN LAW REVIEW - VOLUME 44 FALL 2007 NUMBER 1,
<http://scholarlycommons.law.cwsl.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1081&context=cwlr>)

This renewed attention in the repair paradigm is important because it moves past the flagging tort litigation-compensation model for reparations, offers a forward-looking remedy, and aims to generate an interest-convergence among the varying slices of the American polity. 159 The fourth generation is also significant because it frames the moral justification for reparations away from repaying "a debt owed"160 toward social healing. 161 The reemergent repair paradigm, however, is itself limited. First, it does not fully engage multidisciplinary understandings of healing, either for individuals, social groups, or society itself.162 Without this engagement, the paradigm tends to elude the complex dynamics of how groups experience long-term injustice and struggle to build relationships at ground level. 163 Second, the fourth generation also tends only to glance at rich and varied international reparations experiences in terms of both the promise and the "dark side" of the reparations process. 164 Truth and Reconciliation Commissions throughout the world are struggling to repair human damage inflicted by repressive regimes. Moreover, those with social healing experience offer insights into what methods are successful under widely varying circumstances. Third, as currently framed, the renewed repair paradigm is cast primarily as a moral justification for reparations-repairing the damage to a group helps heal its wounds and benefits the larger society by diminishing social divisions.1 66 But it does not provide advocates a strategic framework for assessing conceptually and guiding practically a reparations process in the rough and tumble realpolitik world.

Reparations will not solve social harms or larger social problems – failure to solve these problems means the proposed remedy will fail

YAMAMOTO, et al., 2007 (ERIC K. YAMAMOTO - Professor of Law, William S. Richardson School of Law, University of Hawai'i. SANDRA HYE YUN KIM & ABIGAIL M. HOLDEN – Univ of Hawaii School of Law, "AMERICAN REPARATIONS THEORY AND PRACTICE AT THE CROSSROADS", CALIFORNIA WESTERN LAW REVIEW - VOLUME 44 FALL 2007 NUMBER 1,
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Many assume that legal justice addresses physical and emotional harms as well as economic harms. 186 The primary legal remedy, monetary compensation, however, does not respond to a group member's need for "dignity, emotional relief, participation in the social policy, or institutional reordering." 187 Even in race or gender cases where courts grant injunctive relief-for instance, ordering a company to halt discriminatory policies-the injunction only stops the offending behavior. In short, tort, contract, and antidiscrimination law prescribe legal remedies without reference to social healing.' 88 The renewed repair paradigm acknowledges the stark limitations of the tort litigation-compensation model, but does not fully grapple with the dynamics of the link between reparations and social healing. Yet, without attention to social healing, proffered remedies for injustice are destined to falter. Joe Feagin and Melvin Sikes' study of middle-class African Americans reveals the complexity of the wounds of injustice, encompassing, among other things, the "psychological warfare games that we have to play just to survive." 89 Feagin and Sikes' primary research in cities across the United States assesses psychological as well as material impacts of historical and present-day discrimination. Three of their propositions illuminate the multifaceted nature of racial wounds. 190



Con- Reparations Fail

Reparations will fail – 5 Reasons

Yamamoto, Prof Law @ Univ Hawaii @ Manoa; **1998** (Eric; Boston College Third World Law Journal; Vol. 19: Issue 1; “Racial reparations: Japanese American redress and African American claims”)

By contrast, and as developed further in Section IV, African American groups seeking broad redress for slavery and Jim Crow segregation have encountered considerable difficulty in casting their reparations claims in terms of individual rights and remedies. Legally framed claims for lost wages, liberty and property meet the slew of standard legal objections identified earlier. Opponents of African American reparations point to: (1) the statute of limitations ("this all happened over one hundred years ago"); (2) the absence of directly harmed individuals ("all ex-slaves have been dead for at least a generation"); (3) the absence of individual perpetrators ("white Americans living to- day have not injured African Americans and should not be required to pay for the sins of their slave master forbearers"); (4) the lack of direct causation ("slavery did not cause the present ills of African American communities"); (5) the indeterminacy of compensation amounts ("it is impossible to determine who should get what and how much").⁵¹

Reparations will fail – no justice, not solve racial problems and will hurt the economy

Yamamoto, Prof Law @ Univ Hawaii @ Manoa; **1998** (Eric; Boston College Third World Law Journal; Vol. 19: Issue 1; “Racial reparations: Japanese American redress and African American claims”)

What are the opponent's objections? Money. Critics are wondering where reparations resources will come from, and if reparations sufficient to "do justice" will disrupt the economy. Power. They are calculating how reparations can be shaped and conveyed in ways that will advance the interests of mainstream America. Privilege. Critics question whether reparations will alter the existing racial order.⁵⁹



Con – Reparations Fail – Econ

Reparations would not go to those that were directly affected by slavery and the people who would have to pay are in a worse economic situation than them

Peter Flaherty, President of the National Legal and Policy Center & John Carlisle, Director of Policy at NLPC, 2004 (“The Case Against Slave Reparations”, www.nlpc.org)

The notion of paying recompense for what one’s distant ancestor did a century and a half ago is nonsensical. Yet that is what advocates of slave reparations are demanding. Equally disturbing, the people who would receive the money are not the victims, but the great-great-great grandchildren of the victims, many of whom are much more prosperous than those who would have to pay.

Lump-Sum Payments of Reparations will hurt African American Incomes

Darity, Prof Economics @ UNC- Chapel Hill, & Frank, Harvard Univ; 2003 (William & Dania; The American Economic Review; 93:2; “The economics of reparations”)

The venerable transfer problem (John Maynard Keynes, 1929; Harry G. Johnson, 1955) in international-trade theory provides a warning that reparations payments to blacks need not have the long-term effect of closing the racial income or wealth gap. In an extended theoretical inquiry (Darity and Frank, 2002), we examine how different methods of reparations payments to African-Americans will affect the black and nonblack populations in the United States. We find that reparations payments that either mandate or provide incentives for blacks to spend on goods and services produced by nonblacks will raise the relative incomes of nonblacks. Without significant productive capacity in place prior to reparations, a lump-sum payment actually could result in an absolute decline in black income. Thus, the structure of a reparations program is critical if it is to close the black-white economic gap in the United States.



Con – Reparations Fail – Race Issues

Impossible to solve race issues with financial compensation

Loury, Prof Dept of Econ @ Boston University, **2006** (Glenn C, “Trans-Generational Justice – Compensatory vs. Interpretative Approaches, www.bu.edu/irsd/Ec326_2004/material_2004/reparations%20.doc, Spring)

Suppose we are given a set of rules about how people are to treat one another. Suppose further that people happen not always to follow these rules. As just noted, history can be messy stuff. Teasing out causal implications across the centuries of historic procedural violations is impossibly difficult. So, if procedurally just requirements are not adhered to at some point – people entitled to the fruits of their labor are not rewarded accordingly, say – then, at some later point, perhaps a century on, there will be consequences rife in the interstices of society. But, as argued above, it will be impossible in principle to identify and to quantify these effects. What then would a procedural account have to say about this? Simple notions about providing compensation for identifiable historic wrongs may work when individual interactions are being considered, but they cannot possibly work for broad social violations – chattel slavery, for instance. A procedural theory leaves us with no account of justice under such circumstances. This is a fundamental incompleteness in the theory, one that is especially pertinent to a consideration of racial justice in the US.



Con- Reparations Fail – Wrong Starting Point

Reparations limit the potential of long term changes that can be made to benefit African-Americans - Efforts are best spent elsewhere

Blanks, Rare contributor; 7/29/2014 (Jonathan; Rare; “America owes black people more than it has given-but reparations aren’t the answer”; <http://rare.us/story/america-owes-black-people-more-than-it-has-given-but-reparations-arent-the-answer/>)

This isn’t about “white backlash”—it’s coalition building. Everyone should benefit from criminal justice reform. All people in poverty should benefit from economic reform. All children should benefit from education reform.

And to help black Americans, we need all of these changes, desperately. Starting out a movement from the position of African-American reparations, however, simultaneously and unnecessarily limits potential allies while focusing effort and political capital in favor of a very unpopular idea that can’t, by itself, alleviate the problems we face.

In a world in which we could have both, I may be more inclined to support reparations, but the political will to even debate this would be best spent elsewhere.



Con – Reparations Fail – Understanding of History

Reparations to African Americans would destroy any political discussion to truly understand the history of slavery

Millman, Senior Editor American Conservative Magazine; **2014** (Noah; New York Times; June 8; “Reparations could widen, rather than heal, racial rifts”; <http://www.nytimes.com/roomfordebate/2014/06/08/are-reparations-due-to-african-americans/reparations-could-widen-rather-than-heal-racial-rifts>)

Reparations for slavery are often analogized to reparations for the Holocaust – and prima facie the comparison is quite strong. But Holocaust reparations were negotiated between two distinct political communities, West Germany and the State of Israel. Reparations for slavery would, by contrast, be paid by the United States government to the individual descendants of former slaves. The formal distinction between citizens that reparations would require would inevitably clash with the ultimate political goal of the movement: political reconciliation based on a shared understanding of history.



Con – Already Paid

The US has paid for the past issues of slavery in the form of the Civil War which freed 4 million black slaves and killed more Americans than any other war in US history

Peter **Flaherty**, President of the National Legal and Policy Center & John **Carlisle**, Director of Policy at NLPC, **2004** (“The Case Against Slave Reparations”, www.nlpc.org)

The charge that America never paid for the sins of slavery dishonors the 360,000 Union soldiers who died in the Civil War (1861–1865) that was fought, in large part, over the question of slavery. 143 The South paid an even heavier price in terms of the destruction inflicted on its territory and the fact that more than one out of four Confederate soldiers were killed or wounded during the war. A total of 258,000 Confederate soldiers died. Combined with the Union death toll, 618,000 Americans lost their lives in the Civil War. That exceeds the 420,000 Americans who lost their lives in World War II, which makes the Civil War the most destructive war in U.S. history. The result of this terrible suffering and destruction was the liberation of 4 million black slaves. It is true that for many Unionists the immediate reason for going to war was to prevent the breakup of the United States, but a strong underlying reason was slavery.

Affirmative Action, Welfare, Empowerment Zones & No Child Left Behind were all forms of reparations

McWhorter, Prof Linguistics & American Studies @ Columbia Univ; **2015** (John; New York Times; “No consensus on need or possible results of reparations”; <http://www.nytimes.com/roomfordebate/2014/06/08/are-reparations-due-to-african-americans/no-consensus-on-need-or-possible-results-of-reparations>)

But let’s say we actually could create some kind of consensus – perhaps over the heads of constituents themselves – that payments must be rendered on behalf of America today. But then, many would assert that affirmative action, the expansion of welfare in the '60s, and even efforts such as empowerment zones and No Child Left Behind have been “reparations.” Some black leaders in the '60s even used that language.



Con- Already Paid

Reparations have already been paid - Civil War Deaths, Affirmative Action, Racial Set-aside programs & government assistance programs

Hawkins, Rught Wing News & Linkiest; 7/26/2014 (John; Town Hall; “5 reasons reparations for slavery are a bad idea”; <http://townhall.com/columnists/johnhawkins/2014/07/26/5-reasons-reparations-for-slavery-are-a-bad-idea-n1867139/page/full>)

5) The government has already paid out an enormous amount of “reparations:” Just to give you an idea of how common slavery is in human history, keep in mind that the Brits who brought American colonists here kept slaves. The Indians we took the land from kept slaves. Our neighbors to the north and south (Canada and Mexico) kept slaves. We acquired slaves from nations in Africa that kept slaves. Many of the slaves that ended up in America were captured by Middle Eastern slave traders who also kept slaves. Even some white Americans were enslaved by the Barbary pirates.

Still America had a particularly large and thriving slave trade and we’ve already paid an enormous price as a nation for it, starting with the 625,000 Americans who died during the Civil War. Keep in mind that America had a population roughly 1/10 the size we have today; so that would be the rough equivalent of 6.25 million Americans dying today. As a point of comparison, the 2nd term of the Bush Administration was practically destroyed by less than 4,500 military deaths in Iraq.

Additionally, although whites make up the majority of Americans on welfare, percentage wise, roughly twice as many black Americans take government assistance as white Americans. Additionally there are Affirmative Action programs and racial set-asides that discriminate against white and Asian Americans to make it easier for black Americans to get jobs and get into college.

So, when you add it all up, hundreds of thousands of Americans have died, numerous special programs have been created for black Americans, and trillions in government assistance have already been paid out. Other than Great Britain, there’s no other nation on Planet Earth that’s done even a fraction of that much to make up for engaging in slavery. So, if anyone wants reparations, it would be fair to say that they’ve already been paid.



Con – Already Paid - Affirmative action

Affirmative Action was a form of Reparations

McWhorter, Prof Linguistics @ UC-Berkeley; 7/23/2001 (John; New Republic; “Against Reparations”; <http://www.newrepublic.com/article/politics/90734/against-reparations>)

And there is also the policy of affirmative action--a reparative policy if ever there was one, designed to address the injustices of the past. Chrisman and Allen snap that "so-called 'racial preferences' come not from benevolence but from lawsuits by blacks against white businesses, government agencies, and municipalities, which practice discrimination." This is nonsense. Lyndon Johnson was a white man the last time I checked, and it was he who entered into the history books the famous remark that "you do not take a person who, for years, has been hobbled by chains and liberate him, bring him up to the starting line in a race and then say, 'you are free to compete with all the others,' and still justly believe that you have been completely fair." Affirmative action was initiated as a call to recruit and to hire and to admit qualified blacks. It quickly transmogrified into quota systems, with lesser-qualified blacks often given positions and slots over better-qualified whites--but then we cannot help but suspect that many reparations advocates would laud these preferments as their just deserts.



Con – Already Paid - Welfare

Welfare benefits were a form of Reparations

McWhorter, Prof Linguistics @ UC-Berkeley; 7/23/2001 (John; New Republic; “Against Reparations”; <http://www.newrepublic.com/article/politics/90734/against-reparations>)

But here we run up against another objection to the argument for reparations: that for almost forty years America has been granting blacks what any outside observer would rightly call reparations. When Robinson grouses that "once and for all, America must face its past," one wonders what he thinks of the War on Poverty that Lyndon Johnson launched, with Adam Clayton Powell Jr. dedicatedly steering sixty bills through Congress in five years as chairman of the Education and Labor Committee. For surely one result of that new climate of the 1960s--of the official recognition that America owed its black citizens some sort of restitution--was a huge and historic expansion of welfare.

As begun in the 1930s, welfare policies were primarily intended for widows. Chrisman and Allen get this right, adding that at the time more whites than blacks received welfare. (They could have added that through the 1950s institutional racism ensured that black widows often got lower payments than white widows.) Yet they sail over the fact that in the mid-1960s welfare programs were deliberately expanded for the "benefit" of black people, in large part due to claims by progressive whites that the requirements of the new automation economy made it unfair to expect blacks to make their way up the economic ladder as other groups had. Federal and state governments have since poured billions of dollars into welfare payments. None of this was termed "reparations," in the technical sense; but it certainly provided unearned cash for underclass blacks for decades (as well as jobs for the many others who staffed the bureaucracy that the policy created).

It is now plain that this policy was not successful in pulling significant numbers of blacks out of poverty. But still America has not given up on the effort: today welfare programs are being recast as temporary stopgaps, with welfare mothers being trained for work. The governor whose version of this program was the most successful is now the head of the Department of Health and Human Services. Time will tell how successful this revision of welfare will be, but the signs are good as I write, and the advocates of reparations have yet to propose any more realistic solution. The funds and the efforts devoted to welfare-to-work, then, represent a concrete acknowledgment of the effects of "structural" poverty. A society with no commitment to addressing the injustices of the past would restrict welfare payments to the temporarily unfortunate, 1930s-style. It would have no welfare-to-work programs aimed at poor blacks.



Con - Backlash

Reparations lead to backlash

YAMAMOTO, et al., 2007 (ERIC K. YAMAMOTO - Professor of Law, William S. Richardson School of Law, University of Hawai'i. SANDRA HYE YUN KIM & ABIGAIL M. HOLDEN – Univ of Hawaii School of Law, "AMERICAN REPARATIONS THEORY AND PRACTICE AT THE CROSSROADS", CALIFORNIA WESTERN LAW REVIEW - VOLUME 44 FALL 2007 NUMBER 1, <http://scholarlycommons.law.cwsl.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1081&context=cwlr>)

Reparations claims inevitably engender backlash and negative reaction. According to Yamamoto, the dilemma of reparations speaks to the potential backlash or victim entrenchment. Reparations, if thoughtfully conceived, offered and administered, can be transformative.... When reparations stimulate change, however, they also generate resistance. Proponents suffer backlash. Thus, when reparations claims are treated seriously, they tend to recreate victimhood by inflaming old wounds and triggering regressive reactions.

Reparations can easily lead to backlash

Yamamoto, Prof Law @ Univ Hawaii @ Manoa; 1998 (Eric; Boston College Third World Law Journal; Vol. 19: Issue 1; "Racial reparations: Japanese American redress and African American claims")

The transformative potential of reparations is therefore linked, ironically, to dissatisfaction and risk. Reparations for some does not necessarily presage reparations for deserving others. Reparations for one group may stretch the resources or political capital of the giver, precluding immediate reparations (or enough reparations) for others.⁸¹ The very dynamic of reparations process, even where salutary for recipients, can generate backlash and disappointment.

Reparations will create backlash

Yamamoto, Prof Law @ Univ Hawaii @ Manoa; 1998 (Eric; Boston College Third World Law Journal; Vol. 19: Issue 1; "Racial reparations: Japanese American redress and African American claims")

The dilemma of reparations is the second aspect of the darker side of reparations.⁶⁰ Reparations, if thoughtfully conceived, offered and administered, can be transformative. They can help change material conditions of group life and send political messages about societal commitment to principles of equality. When reparations stimulate change, however, they also generate resistance. Proponents suffer backlash. Thus, when reparations claims are treated seriously, they tend to recreate victimhood by inflaming old wounds and triggering regressive reactions. This is the dilemma of reparations.



Con – Can't legally hold people responsible

The Constitution prohibits criminalizing actions that when done were legal

Peter **Flaherty**, President of the National Legal and Policy Center & John **Carlisle**, Director of Policy at NLPC, **2004** ("The Case Against Slave Reparations", www.nlpc.org)

The reparations suits are without merit for other reasons. As tragic as slavery was, it was legal in the South between 1789 and 1865. The Constitution prohibits ex post facto laws, which are laws that criminalize conduct that was legal when originally performed. But the reparations movement is not interested in legal probity. After Farmer-Paellmann filed her suit, reparations suits against corporations proliferated. Richard E. Barber, a former deputy executive director of the NAACP, filed a lawsuit in Newark, NJ targeting New York Life Insurance Co., the Wall Street investment firm Brown Brothers Harriman & Co., and the railway company Norfolk Southern.



Con – Can't Put a Price on Slavery

There is no way to establish a financial dollar value on the harms committed by slavery
Loury, Prof Dept of Econ @ Boston University, 2006 (Glenn C, "Trans-Generational Justice – Compensatory vs. Interpretative Approaches, www.bu.edu/irsd/Ec326_2004/material_2004/reparations%20.doc, Spring)

[Epistemological Problems] Consider that there is no intellectually defensible way to put a price tag on slavery. Any sum mentioned is arbitrary. This is because the tort-law model underlying reparations advocacy – he who harms another must make the injured party whole – is hopelessly muddled when applied here. How would one even begin to demonstrate in quantitative terms the nature and extent of injury? Given the wide economic disparities to be observed among white Americans of various ethnic groups, who can know how blacks would have fared but for the wrongs of the past? Who can say what the out-of-wedlock birth rate for blacks would be, absent chattel slavery? How does one calculate the cost of inner-city ghettos, of poor education, of the stigma of perceived racial inferiority? The damage done by slavery and its aftermath is at once too subtle and too profound to be evaluated in monetary terms.

Impossible to know how much of the problems faced today by African-Americans is based on past problems

Loury, Prof Dept of Econ @ Boston University, 2006 (Glenn C, "Trans-Generational Justice – Compensatory vs. Interpretative Approaches, www.bu.edu/irsd/Ec326_2004/material_2004/reparations%20.doc, Spring)

One aspect of this perspective should be commented upon. History has been invoked here as a factor conditioning the ethical assessment of contemporary social arrangements. And yet, the explicit channels of historical influence, on which social scientific work can shed some light, must of necessity remain opaque, and vaguely specified. What might be called an "epistemological fog" obscures the causal dynamics at work across the generations and limits our ability to know in detail how past events have shaped current arrangements. Thus, it may be reasonable to assert in a general way that past racial discrimination in contract, together with present discrimination in contract, disadvantages blacks by impeding their acquisition of skills. But it is nearly impossible to say with any quantitative precision just *how much* of current racial inequality is due to this source of disadvantage.



Con- Causality

Connection between past harms and current situations is impossible to prove

Hawkins, Rught Wing News & Linkiest; **7/26/2014** (John; Town Hall; “5 reasons reparations for slavery are a bad idea”; <http://townhall.com/columnists/johnhawkins/2014/07/26/5-reasons-reparations-for-slavery-are-a-bad-idea-n1867139/page/full>)

1) How do you prove that slavery is responsible for problems black Americans are having today? If it were 1866, it would be easy to prove that black Americans who had been enslaved were hurt by the practice. They were mistreated, deprived of their freedom, and were not paid wages for their labor. On the other hand, if you fast forward to today, it's extraordinarily difficult to show that anybody's problems were caused by something that happened almost 150 years ago. Keep in mind that there were white indentured servants forced to work alongside slaves back then. There were white Americans who were kidnapped and enslaved by the Barbary pirates. There were Japanese and Italian Americans who were forced into internment camps during WWII and many of them actually had their property confiscated and sold. The relatives of many Jewish Holocaust survivors live in America as well. So while black Americans have been treated worse than any other group in America, there are a lot of other groups that have seemingly bounced back with little damage from how they've been treated in the past. Additionally, while black Americans are indisputably doing worse than most other groups in America, there are certain subsets of African-Americans that are doing just fine. For example, black female college graduates make 102% of what white female college graduates earn. African immigrants also outperform black Americans who were born here in a number of ways.



Con – Courts won't uphold

Empirically, Courts have thrown out Reparation Class Action Suits because of lack of standing and expiring statutes of limitations

YAMAMOTO, et al., 2007 (ERIC K. YAMAMOTO - Professor of Law, William S. Richardson School of Law, University of Hawai'i. SANDRA HYE YUN KIM & ABIGAIL M. HOLDEN – Univ of Hawaii School of Law, "AMERICAN REPARATIONS THEORY AND PRACTICE AT THE CROSSROADS", CALIFORNIA WESTERN LAW REVIEW - VOLUME 44 FALL 2007 NUMBER 1, <http://scholarlycommons.law.cwsl.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1081&context=cwlr>)

Simultaneous with the litigation of the Tulsa survivors' petition in the Inter-American Human Rights Court, the Seventh Circuit Court of Appeals twisted the notion of untimeliness in the Farmer-Paellman reparations class action lawsuits.²⁶ The lower federal court had rejected the African American class actions, asserting state law and human rights claims, against businesses profiting from slavery-not on the merits, but because the plaintiffs lacked standing and the statute of limitations expired.²⁷ Writing for the Court of Appeals in 2006, conservative Judge Richard Posner first opened a crack in the courthouse door. He recognized a reed-slim category of African American "consumer rights" claims against companies which had recently defrauded Blacks regarding their historical connections to the slavery industry. ²⁸ Posner then slammed the door shut on all the main slavery-based reparations claims-again, based on tardy filing and lack of standing.²⁹

Demands for reparations will be rejected by the courts – claims are too narrow to prove and will be overturned – only opens the door for more legal barriers that must be overcome

YAMAMOTO, et al., 2007 (ERIC K. YAMAMOTO - Professor of Law, William S. Richardson School of Law, University of Hawai'i. SANDRA HYE YUN KIM & ABIGAIL M. HOLDEN – Univ of Hawaii School of Law, "AMERICAN REPARATIONS THEORY AND PRACTICE AT THE CROSSROADS", CALIFORNIA WESTERN LAW REVIEW - VOLUME 44 FALL 2007 NUMBER 1, <http://scholarlycommons.law.cwsl.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1081&context=cwlr>)

This distorted legal framing subjects reparations claims to dismissal by courts on technical legal grounds, but makes them appear meritless to the public. Yamamoto argues that framing reparations claims as traditional common-law tort claims, which focus on individual rights and remedies, erects inordinately high barriers in practical legal application. *See id.* at 487-88. Opponents respond to reparations claims framed in this way with tight legal defenses. *Id.* at 489-91. First, opponents suggest that "existing civil rights laws already afford individuals equal opportunity," and "there is no need for additional reparations *Id.* at 487-88. Second, opponents focus on narrow legal concerns: They argue the criminal law defense of bad intent on the part of the wrongdoers; they assert the procedural bar of lack of standing by claimants (the difficulty of identifying specific perpetrators and victims); they cite the lack of legal causation (specific acts causing specific injuries); and they cite the impossibility of accurately calculating damages (or compensation). *Id.* at 488. Those reparations claims that have been successful, like the Japanese American internment claims, have succeeded "not because they transcended the individual rights paradigm, but because they were able to fit their claims tightly within it." *Id.* at 490.



Con – Courts won't uphold

Circuit courts dismissed reparations for lack of standing – no way to prove direct harm

YAMAMOTO, et al., 2007 (ERIC K. YAMAMOTO - Professor of Law, William S. Richardson School of Law, University of Hawai'i. SANDRA HYE YUN KIM & ABIGAIL M. HOLDEN – Univ of Hawaii School of Law, "AMERICAN REPARATIONS THEORY AND PRACTICE AT THE CROSSROADS", CALIFORNIA WESTERN LAW REVIEW - VOLUME 44 FALL 2007 NUMBER 1, <http://scholarlycommons.law.cwsl.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1081&context=cwlr>)

On appeal from the dismissal of the consolidated class actions, in *In re African-American Slave Descendants Litigation*,² the Seventh Circuit firmly closed the federal courts to all major slavery reparation claims. The court upheld the lower court's ruling that the slave descendants lacked standing to pursue their tort and unjust enrichment claims. ¹³ Writing for the court, Judge Richard Posner observed that "[i]t would be impossible by the methods of litigation to connect the defendants' alleged misconduct with the financial and emotional harm that the plaintiffs claim to have suffered as a result of that conduct." ¹⁴ Moreover, "there is a fatal disconnect between the [slaves] and the plaintiffs."⁵ The "causal chain is too long and has too many weak links for a court to be able to find that the defendants' conduct harmed the plaintiffs at all, let alone in an amount that could be estimated without the wildest speculation."¹⁶

Posner Case dismissed all of the economic arguments and made it impossible to uphold future reparation cases

YAMAMOTO, et al., 2007 (ERIC K. YAMAMOTO - Professor of Law, William S. Richardson School of Law, University of Hawai'i. SANDRA HYE YUN KIM & ABIGAIL M. HOLDEN – Univ of Hawaii School of Law, "AMERICAN REPARATIONS THEORY AND PRACTICE AT THE CROSSROADS", CALIFORNIA WESTERN LAW REVIEW - VOLUME 44 FALL 2007 NUMBER 1, <http://scholarlycommons.law.cwsl.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1081&context=cwlr>)

In a single broad swoop, Posner dismissed all the detailed economic studies showing connections between the enslavement of individuals and subsequent economic effects on ancestors. He ignored the studies' specific empirical findings and observed simply that "these are studies of aggregate effects, not of the effects of particular acts, affecting particular individuals, on the wealth of specific remote descendants."¹⁷ Citing no sources, Posner then concluded with language clearly intended to foreclose all major African American reparations claims: "There is no way to determine that a given black American today is worse off by a specific, calculable sum of money (or monetized emotional harm) as a result of the conduct of one or more of the defendants."



Con – Destroy Movements

The only way to solve the problems of African Americans today is by being more inclusive of other groups – Reparations is only a way to divide groups

Loury, Prof Dept of Econ @ Boston University, 2006 (Glenn C, “Trans-Generational Justice – Compensatory vs. Interpretative Approaches, www.bu.edu/irsd/Ec326_2004/material_2004/reparations%20.doc, Spring)

[Issues of Interpretation] Consider the symbolic tone of reparations advocacy.

At the deepest level, it seems not even to be the money that animates most advocates.

[See Randall Robinson, 2000, for an example of this rhetorical posture.] The deeper demand seems to be that America, by making amends, should fully acknowledge its wrongful past.

While, as will become clear, I agree with this sentiment, I also think that it is rather late in the day for African Americans to be satisfied with a politics of symbolism. Substantive political gains for today's descendants of slaves require forging coalitions with those non-blacks who can see the need to extend greater opportunities to every American now being left behind. This means appealing to people on the basis of universal ideals, and proposing programs the benefits from which are available in principle to all who need them. I can see no way to fight black poverty, black imprisonment, inadequate black health care or deficient black education without, at one and the same time, fighting the poverty, imprisonment, poor health care and failed education that afflicts non-black Americans as well. Nor can I see any real justification for doing so.

Reparations acts as a divisive force that fractures coalitions – the only way to solve for inequality is to try to solve all forms of inequality with political movements

Loury, Prof Dept of Econ @ Boston University, 2006 (Glenn C, “Trans-Generational Justice – Compensatory vs. Interpretative Approaches, www.bu.edu/irsd/Ec326_2004/material_2004/reparations%20.doc, Spring)

[Civic Construction Goals] Reparations advocacy invites the majority of Americans to see the problem as one where “we” do something for “them.” What is needed, however, is to construct a “we” – meaning all Americans – capable of righting whatever social injustices plague our society – for “our own sake” in this country, so that our moral pronouncements on the world stage will not be made into a hollow mockery. Slavery's consequences will be minimized only when we have established a regime of social provision that affords every American the chance to live a full and satisfying life. For blacks to gain reparations without attaining this goal would be to win a false victory. For then, when the horrible consequences of our troubled racial past persist in the blighted lives of millions of poor black people, skeptical onlookers will be able to say, “We'd love to help, but you Negroes have already been paid.”



Con – Destroy Political Change

Paying reparations will alienate non-black minorities and destroy any chance of true Progressive political change

Loury, Prof Dept of Econ @ Boston University, 2006 (Glenn C, "Trans-Generational Justice – Compensatory vs. Interpretative Approaches, www.bu.edu/irsd/Ec326_2004/material_2004/reparations%20.doc, Spring)

[Political Challenges] Consider the demographics. When it comes to race in America, "them times, they are a-changin'." We are no longer, and will never again be, a nation of blacks and whites. Some 30 million immigrants, mostly of non-European origins, have arrived on our shores since the height of the civil rights movement. These new Americans and their children have a claim to the national narrative no less surely than do blacks. It is their country, too. Of course, new citizens of this republic are obligated like the rest of us to shoulder their share of national responsibilities, including the discharge of any debt the country has incurred as a result of historical wrongs. But, a racial reform movement built around the theme of paying reparations to blacks is unlikely to engage these newcomers, making the construction of political coalitions in support of progressive public policies that are essential for black flourishing less likely to occur.



Con- Eligibility

Too many questions about who should get money and who would pay into the system makes the question of reparations too difficult to answer

Hawkins, Right Wing News & Linkiest; **7/26/2014** (John; Town Hall; “5 reasons reparations for slavery are a bad idea”; <http://townhall.com/columnists/johnhawkins/2014/07/26/5-reasons-reparations-for-slavery-are-a-bad-idea-n1867139/page/full>)

3) Who would receive reparations? There are no living slaves; so it's impossible to compensate the people who were hurt by the cruel and oppressive practice of slavery. So, would we compensate black Americans in general on the theory that slavery has held them back? Blaming the economic problems someone has today on something that happened to his ancestors almost a century and a half ago seems like one heck of a stretch, but let's say we buy into the argument. What do we do about people like Barack Obama and Tiger Woods who are of mixed heritage? Would Obama pay reparations to himself? Would a black man who immigrated to the United States a decade ago be eligible? What about incredibly wealthy black Americans like Oprah Winfrey, Michael Jordan, and BET's Robert Johnson? Why should some white middle manager in suburbia be asked to kick in money for them?

These are the sort of thorny questions you have to wrestle with when you're talking about "reparations" as opposed to a communistic "From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs" transfer of wealth from one group of people to another, which is really what most people who support reparations seem to want to see happen.

Impossible to determine who should be eligible for reparations

Helper, teacher & author; **4/19/2015** (Russ; The Federalist Papers; “Reparations: Obama seeks to punish all Americans for slavery”; <http://www.thefederalistpapers.org/us/reparations-obama-seeks-to-punish-all-americans-for-slavery>)

And, who should receive the reparations money? Can all African-Americans today prove their ancestors were slaves? Thousands of colonial African-Americans were freemen who never suffered the horrors of slavery. Their descendants don't deserve reparations for crimes not committed against their ancestors.

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And, many of today's African-Americans came to America after the Civil War and have no slave ancestry. President Obama is one such example. His father was Kenyan and his mother was white.



Con – Expensive

Reparations would cost trillions of dollars – disagreements about how to distribute the money

Peter **Flaherty**, President of the National Legal and Policy Center & John **Carlisle**, Director of Policy at NLPC, **2004** (“The Case Against Slave Reparations”, www.nlpc.org)

Demands for reparations reach into the trillions of dollars. Some advocates favor direct cash payments by the U.S. government to blacks, while others favor support for organizations and other initiatives aimed at assisting blacks. Activist lawyer Dr. Robert Brock, for example, wants the government to pay \$500,000 to every slave descendant. Given that the large majority of the 35 million African Americans have a slave ancestor, that would amount to more than \$15 trillion and require a surtax of roughly \$50,000 on each non-African American man, woman and child in this country (the median family income is not even that high).² One estimate, cited in a Harper’s magazine article, puts the reparations total at \$97 trillion, based on 222,505,049 hours of forced labor between 1619 and 1865, “compounded at 6% interest through 1993.”³

Reparations would cost \$97 Trillion

Boychuk, Associate Editor Manhattan Institute’s City Journal & Mathis, contributing editor The Philly Post; **2014** (Ben & Joel; LA Daily News; 6/6; “Should the United States consider paying reparations to African Americans? RedBlue America”; <http://www.dailynews.com/opinion/20140606/should-the-united-states-consider-paying-reparations-to-african-americans-redblue-america>)

Ta-Nehisi Coates’s 15,000-word essay in The Atlantic is an important, thoughtful read. The history of systematic economic injustice against black Americans is impossible to ignore or deny — Coates’s article makes certain of that.

But that still doesn’t change the fundamental fact that reparations are indeed too expensive and politically impossible. His case is moving. But it’s still not convincing.

Coates, of course, is not the first to make the case for reparations, and he won’t be the last. Reparations for American slavery are not an abstract question. In the end, it would come down to dollars and cents. Coates isn’t interested in pulling numbers out of the air — that would be for this panel he proposes to figure out.

But it isn’t uncharted territory. A political and legal effort to make reparations a reality gained momentum in the late 1960s, and again in the 1990s and the early part of the last decade before falling to pieces after the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001. One estimate put the figure at \$97 trillion — or \$300,000 from every American not descended from slaves.



Con- False Claims

Reparation Payments will open the flood-gates for scams and false claims – IRS proves Henry, Prof UC-Berkeley; 2003 (Charles; Journal of Black Studies; 34:2; “The politics of racial reparations”)

In 1994, the Internal Revenue Service (IRS) reported receiving about 20,000 bogus tax-reparation claims. Capitalizing on the publicity around federal payments to Japanese Americans, con artists falsely informed Blacks that the federal government had passed similar legislation for African Americans and offered to file their claims for a fee. In 2001, the Social Security Administration issued a special alert to senior citizens involving a reparations scam. An investigation by the agency found that the Slave Reparation Act duped more than 29,000 people (Mayer,2001; Singletoy,2001). The agency received nearly 80,000 returns claiming more than \$2.7 billion in false reparation refunds (Internal Revenue Service, 2002). Throughout the 1990s, a number of individual cities and states have taken some action on reparations. Cities like Tulsa, Oklahoma, and Elaine, Arkansas, have considered payments to survivors of racist violence. Other cities, such as Dallas, Atlanta, Nashville, Cleveland, Chicago, and Detroit, have passed bills that provide symbolic support for reparations. In New York and California, the state legislatures have passed bills dealing with some aspect of reparations (Austin,2001).



Con – Immoral

Paying reparations would be immoral – African Americans aren't the only group who has been disenfranchised

Peter **Flaherty**, President of the National Legal and Policy Center & John **Carlisle**, Director of Policy at NLPC, **2004** (“The Case Against Slave Reparations”, www.nlpc.org)

Ultimately, paying slave reparations is immoral. African Americans do not have a monopoly on historical grievance. America is a mosaic of national, ethnic and religious entities that each experienced some form of oppression or hardship in the past. And each year, millions of immigrants with similarly tragic histories from all corners of the globe continue to pour into the nation. These people come to America to seek prosperity, happiness and the “American Dream.” They do not come here to subsidize groups claiming that their historical injustices entitle them to special treatment.



Con- Institutional Change

There must be institutional change in order to solve the harms of racism – Money alone will fail

Henry, Prof UC-Berkeley; 2003 (Charles; Journal of Black Studies; 34:2; “The politics of racial reparations”)

Black Americans are often portrayed, as McWhorter(2001) demonstrated, as the opposite of the model minority. Despite the differences, the success of the Japanese American claim did assist African Americans because the federal government recognized a group claim. If the focus can be kept on group harm then the solution can be framed as an effort to repair the damage. The solution does not rest in individual payment but in a restructuring of the institutions and relationships that produce gross disparities in wealth and well-being. Racial attitudes will not change without such a restructuring. Although Dwight Eisenhower was often fond of saying law could not change men's hearts, his own armed forces are the most successful example of affirmative action in American society. To ignore the African American claim for reparations is racist in itself. To paraphrase Mari Matsuda (1987), lack of legal or legislative redress for racist acts is an injury often more serious than the acts themselves, because it signifies the political non-personhood of its victims.



Con- Justice

Reparations would destroy any sense of Justice because it focuses on group dynamics – Would cause more Racial Division

Boychuk, Associate Editor Manhattan Institute's City Journal & Mathis, contributing editor The Philly Post; **2014** (Ben & Joel; LA Daily News; 6/6; "Should the United States consider paying reparations to African Americans? RedBlue America"; <http://www.dailynews.com/opinion/20140606/should-the-united-states-consider-paying-reparations-to-african-americans-redblue-america>)

Perhaps some injustices are simply too great to be repaired. Justice requires treating people as individuals, not as members of vast, undifferentiated groups. Reparations would turn that principle on its head.

"To celebrate freedom and democracy while forgetting America's origins in a slavery economy is patriotism à la carte," Coates writes. Fair enough.

It's also fair to say America's Founders often articulated principles better than they lived them. Equality before the law has at times been more of an aspiration than a reality, and at times and under some circumstances it remains an aspiration.

But aspiring to equality under the law, however imperfectly executed, is far better — and considerably more just — than a system of racial division and distribution that reparations would require.



Con- Litigation Fails

Litigation based upon past injustices is almost impossible to prove and puts too high of a burden on Claimants

Branch; 2002 (Watson; Harvard Law Review; 115:6; “Bridging the Color Line: The Power of African-American Reparations to Redirect America’s Future”)

Reparations litigation rooted in the notion of individual rights- demanding redress from nonblack Americans for individual losses from slavery or the unjust compensation derived from unpaid slave labor- imposes heavy burdens on potential claimants. Obstacles to framing a claim in this manner are legion: proving malicious intent on the part of present-day Americans whose benefits from slavery, such as wealth and positions of power, are the result of choices made not by them, but by their forefathers; overcoming the procedural obstacle of standing to identify victims and wrongdoers; calculating fairly a damage remedy; circumventing statute of limitations barriers; and addressing the complication posed by Eleventh Amendment sovereign immunity to suit against the states.



Con – Pandora’s Box

Giving Reparations to ancestors instead of those directly affected by slavery will open a “Pandora’s Box” that will allow for other groups to seek reparations

Peter **Flaherty**, President of the National Legal and Policy Center & John **Carlisle**, Director of Policy at NLPC, **2004** (“The Case Against Slave Reparations”, www.nlpc.org)

The slave reparations movement is unprecedented in that people are seeking remuneration for the hardships endured by their distant ancestors. Until now, reparations movements always sought compensation for the generations that actually experienced the hardships. To most observers, it defies logic to demand payment for work performed by long-dead generations. But as indicated earlier, this demand must be taken seriously. A notion may be absurd, but if millions of people support it—and stand to profit from it—political momentum for it builds.

A particularly disturbing ramification of compensating descendants of African slaves is the dangerous precedent it would set. It would open up a “Pandora’s Box” of other groups seeking reparations for the injustices suffered by their ancestors. Blacks in America, of course, suffered incredible hardships in centuries past. But so did other races. The truth is that, prior to the 20th century, life was exceedingly harsh for the large majority of people. Many of those in positions of power were cruel and unfair—not only to blacks but to people of many races, nationalities and religious creeds. Enlightened ideas of tolerance, fairness, and human rights, which most of us enjoy today, had not yet become widespread throughout the civilized world. Actions that are illegal today—such as slavery, indentured servitude, institutionalized discrimination, and inhumane working conditions— were legal back then.

Reparations for African Americans would encourage many other groups to seek reparations

Peter **Flaherty**, President of the National Legal and Policy Center & John **Carlisle**, Director of Policy at NLPC, **2004** (“The Case Against Slave Reparations”, www.nlpc.org)

The histories of numerous other ethnic groups are filled with similar stories. Such groups include Hispanic Americans, Italian Americans, Polish Americans, German Americans, Russian Americans, Portuguese Americans, Scottish Americans, Armenian Americans, Greek Americans, Filipino Americans, and many more. If slave reparations were ever enacted, it would not at all be far-fetched to expect other ethnic groups to demand similar types of reparations for past bouts of discrimination. Indeed, claims for Chinese American reparations may not be far behind. Under California’s state law requiring insurance companies to file disclosures of past links to slavery, the California Insurance Department found evidence that Manhattan Life provided an insurance policy to shippers for 700 Chinese laborers on a voyage from China in 1854.⁵⁷

Pandora’s Box Impact – Reparations Inflation

Peter **Flaherty**, President of the National Legal and Policy Center & John **Carlisle**, Director of Policy at NLPC, **2004** (“The Case Against Slave Reparations”, www.nlpc.org)

Not only would the prospect of slave reparations open a “Pandora’s Box” of other ethnic groups demanding money for historical injustices, but groups would no doubt demand even more reparations. There would be complaints that initial reparations did not go far enough. If, for example, the U.S. government paid out a billion dollars in reparations to African Americans, activists would point out that the total value of slaves’ work, with interest, was much higher than that—in the hundreds of billions or trillions of dollars. The potential for “reparations inflation” is infinite.



Con – Pandora’s Box I/L - Africa

African Countries will sue to get reparations

Peter **Flaherty**, President of the National Legal and Policy Center & John **Carlisle**, Director of Policy at NLPC, **2004** (“The Case Against Slave Reparations”, www.nlpc.org)

Inspired by the slave reparations controversy brewing in the United States, African nations are already demanding country-to-country reparations. At the hyperbolic-named “U.N. World Conference Against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia, and Related Intolerance” that took place in Durban, South Africa in 2001, one of the biggest issues was African nations’ demand that Europe and America apologize and compensate for the slave trade. The provisional agenda called for “effective remedies, recourse, redress, [compensatory]* and other measures at the national, regional and international levels” to combat racism. (The word “compensatory” was in brackets because the delegations could not agree on what exactly it entailed; lengthy footnoted information stated the differing positions of various delegations. African delegates, of course, demanded monetary compensation.)

Reparations to Africa will not solve the problems that exist in the country and is more disturbing because many Africans were complicit in the Slave Trade

Peter **Flaherty**, President of the National Legal and Policy Center & John **Carlisle**, Director of Policy at NLPC, **2004** (“The Case Against Slave Reparations”, www.nlpc.org)

Of course, even if Western nations took the unlikely step of giving Africa billions of dollars in slave reparations, it would do nothing to resolve the endemic poverty, tyranny and civil war plaguing the continent. Ironically, the African delegates to the U.N. conference were reluctant to discuss the very real problem of modern-day slavery in Africa (see “Present-Day Slavery in Africa”). This is to say nothing of Africans’ own heavy involvement in slave trading during earlier centuries; in most cases, as discussed in “Africa’s Complicity in the Slave Trade,” it was Africans themselves who sold slaves to the Europeans and Americans.



Con – Pandora’s Box I/L – Chinese

Chinese Americans were discriminated against in US in the past

Peter **Flaherty**, President of the National Legal and Policy Center & John **Carlisle**, Director of Policy at NLPC, **2004** (“The Case Against Slave Reparations”, www.nlpc.org)

The Chinese were another group that faced institutionalized discrimination. When they immigrated to America in the mid-1800s, they faced tremendous anti-Chinese sentiment and discrimination. Laws were passed to restrict them from employment, property ownership, and even from marrying outside their own ethnic group. They also could not live where they wanted, and were confined to certain areas—which are now known as Chinatowns. The Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 restricted them from immigrating to America. Their basic rights were not fully restored until the 1960s.⁵⁶



Con – Pandora’s Box I/L – Irish

Irish immigrants suffered ethnic discrimination, economic exploitation and low living conditions

Peter **Flaherty**, President of the National Legal and Policy Center & John **Carlisle**, Director of Policy at NLPC, **2004** (“The Case Against Slave Reparations”, www.nlpc.org)

Irish immigrants endured severe ethnic discrimination, economic exploitation and deplorable living conditions in their long struggle for prosperity and integration into American society. Ever since the first Irish immigrants came to American shores 300 years ago, they faced enormous resistance to securing social acceptance and civil rights. For example, around 1700 South Carolina instituted a law excluding Irish immigrants. About 15 years later, Maryland passed a similar law, which was ironic in that the colony had been established in part as a haven for Catholics. During later centuries, Irish immigrants were burdened with employment and housing discrimination. Employers and landlords, for example, often posted signs telling Irish immigrants to keep out. A common sign was, “Irish and dogs need not apply.”⁵² Many anti-Irish riots occurred in the 1800s in major American cities, in which churches and homes were burned, and Irish immigrants murdered. There was even a major anti-Irish political party, the “Know Nothing” Party, formed in the 1840s.⁵³

In the transatlantic ship crossing, many Irish had to travel in steerage, which was even lower than third class. Living conditions in steerage were inhuman with food often infested with maggots—when food was available at all—and scarce fresh water. Many people died of starvation.⁵⁴

Prior to the Civil War in the South, writer and landscape architect Frederick Law Olmsted observed that Irish immigrants, rather than black slaves, were employed for the most hazardous jobs. For example, while watching black slaves throwing bales into a cargo’s ship’s hold with Irishmen on the receiving end, Olmsted was told that blacks “are worth too much to be risked here; if the Paddies are knocked overboard . . . nobody loses anything.”⁵⁵



Con – Pandora’s Box I/L – Latin America

Latin American States would sue for reparations if US pays African American Reparations
Peter **Flaherty**, President of the National Legal and Policy Center & John **Carlisle**, Director of Policy at NLPC, **2004** (“The Case Against Slave Reparations”, www.nlpc.org)

If the reparations advocates succeed, there could be international repercussions as well. Latin Americans could start demanding that the governments of Spain and Portugal compensate them for the death and devastation they suffered at the hands of the Conquistadors in the 16th century.



Con - Pandora's Box I/L – Unions

If reparations would to be paid to African Americans it would open the flood gates for Unions to sue for past issues

Peter **Flaherty**, President of the National Legal and Policy Center & John **Carlisle**, Director of Policy at NLPC, **2004** (“The Case Against Slave Reparations”, www.nlpc.org)

Based on slave reparation advocates’ logic, those whose ancestors toiled in factories in the 19th and early 20th centuries— underpaid and in hellish working conditions—should be entitled to compensation. At that time, there were not the same types of employment laws that exist now. Just as blacks are demanding to be compensated for slavery, an illegal practice today but legal in the 19th century, whites could use the same justification to demand compensation for working conditions that are now illegal but were legal in the early 20th century. Could this be on the agenda of labor unions if the slave reparations advocates succeed? They could sue for billions, based on this line of reasoning. Slavery, to be sure, was an abomination, but so was child labor, disease-ridden factories, indentured servitude and other legalized forms of labor of that era. Were such practices widespread in the 20th or 21st centuries, after laws had been passed outlawing them, the victims could sue for tremendous damages.



Con – Pandora’s Box I/L – White Slaves

Half of the original descendants of the original colonists to the US came as White Slaves and could push for reparations

Peter **Flaherty**, President of the National Legal and Policy Center & John **Carlisle**, Director of Policy at NLPC, **2004** (“The Case Against Slave Reparations”, www.nlpc.org)

And what about descendants of the original colonists from England? Adopting the mentality of slave reparations advocates, even they could demand reparations. As detailed in the chapter below, “White Slavery,” many of the original inhabitants from Europe came as white slaves. According to historian John Van Der Zee, half of the original American colonists came here not of their own free will, but either as indentured servants (which is slavery, albeit not for life), or as slaves for life.

White Americans faced slavery in the US

Peter **Flaherty**, President of the National Legal and Policy Center & John **Carlisle**, Director of Policy at NLPC, **2004** (“The Case Against Slave Reparations”, www.nlpc.org)

It may come as a surprise to many that during the pre-Civil War period in America, blacks were not the only people enslaved or threatened with enslavement. Whites were enslaved, too. And this does not simply refer to voluntary indentured servitude. From the 1600s until the Civil War, whites were frequently kidnapped or captured in Europe, and sold into slavery in the Americas. According to historian John Van Der Zee, from 1609 until well after the founding of the United States, half of all the immigrants who came to America arrived under some form of involuntary labor.¹¹⁴ The main difference from blacks’ circumstance was that most white slaves were in this situation for a limited period of time, typically five to eight years, and subsequently set free. But this in no way diminishes the significance of white slavery. Forced, unpaid labor is slavery pure and simple, whether it lasts a lifetime or for many years. Moreover, many of those white slaves—as many as a quarter of them—died before they could be set free, so they were in fact enslaved for life.¹¹⁵ And white slavery often extended beyond eight years in cases where runaway slaves were later caught. Typically, the punishment was an extra month of slavery for every hour the white runaway was absent. Describing white indentured servants, Van Der Zee writes: “Except for the important distinctions that their existence as individuals was acknowledged by law, and that after their term of servitude they were to be granted the full rights of freemen and women, the status of these people was essentially the same as that of slaves. They, the work they did, and the clothes on their backs belonged entirely to their masters. They could be hired out, sold, or auctioned, even if this meant separating them from their families. They could be beaten, whipped, or branded. If they ran away they could be punished by an extension, often a multiplication, of their term of servitude; in some colonies, runaways were hanged, a process too wasteful to apply to slaves, who retained, after all, the value of capital.”¹¹⁶



Con – Pandora’s Box I/L – White Slaves

Any discussion of reparations for African Americans must include reparations for white slaves – otherwise all of the arguments supporting it are false

Peter **Flaherty**, President of the National Legal and Policy Center & John **Carlisle**, Director of Policy at NLPC, **2004** (“The Case Against Slave Reparations”, www.nlpc.org)

The African American historian Shelby Steele points out that the issue of white slavery has been suppressed in America because there probably was a time when whites, ashamed of this fact, wanted to suppress it. “But now it’s probably blacks who want to suppress it,” said Steele. “Those who are grounded in the idea of black victimization may feel that this weakens their argument.”¹³¹ Weaken their argument it does. To be consistent, any demand for slave reparations for blacks would have to include whites as well. But the notion of reparations for blacks as well as whites is farcical, since none of the slaves is alive anymore. And it would be a grave injustice to pay for reparations by taxing people who had nothing to do with slave ownership, and whose ancestors were slaves themselves.



Con- Political Backlash

Reparations will lead to political back-lash and will fail to solve any problems

Millman, Senior Editor American Conservative Magazine; **2014** (Noah; New York Times; June 8; “Reparations could widen, rather than heal, racial rifts”; <http://www.nytimes.com/roomfordebate/2014/06/08/are-reparations-due-to-african-americans/reparations-could-widen-rather-than-heal-racial-rifts>)

The real issue is not practical but political. Reparations are not intended, nor should they be expected, to redress the socioeconomic inequalities that correlate with race. But the push for reparations might well stiffen opposition to other programs designed to address those disparities. Reparations may not lead to reconciliation, but become the basis for further conflict between aggrieved groups of citizens. The true obstacles to reparations have more to do with its idealistic political goals than with any difficulties of implementation.



Con – Political Cover

Reparations will be seen a political buy-off and will allow the dominate group to ignore future race claims and will not address the reasons why problems exist in the first place

YAMAMOTO, et al., 2007 (ERIC K. YAMAMOTO - Professor of Law, William S. Richardson School of Law, University of Hawai'i. SANDRA HYE YUN KIM & ABIGAIL M. HOLDEN – Univ of Hawaii School of Law, "AMERICAN REPARATIONS THEORY AND PRACTICE AT THE CROSSROADS", CALIFORNIA WESTERN LAW REVIEW - VOLUME 44 FALL 2007 NUMBER 1, <http://scholarlycommons.law.cwsl.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1081&context=cwlr>)

Ideology separates the reparations "haves" from the "have nots," ideologically defining who is "worthy" of redress. The third aspect of the underside of reparations process, the ideology of reparations, is illuminated by Derrick Bell's interest-convergence thesis. See Bell, supra note 66. This thesis suggests that "dominant groups only recognize 'rights' of minorities when the recognition of those rights benefits the dominant group's larger interests." Yamamoto, *Racial Reparations, supra* note 14, at 497. This creates the danger that when reparations are received, and supported by the dominant group, the reparations are only a "monetary buy-off of protest, an assuaging of white American guilt . . ." *Id.* at 501. Therefore, leaving undisturbed the social structural sources of racial grievance may "neutralize the need to strive for justice."

Reparation Payments allows for others to say that the fight is over and “the debt” has been paid

Blanks, Rare contributor; **7/29/2014** (Jonathan; Rare; “America owes black people more than it has given-but reparations aren’t the answer”; <http://rare.us/story/america-owes-black-people-more-than-it-has-given-but-reparations-arent-the-answer/>)

I would argue that reparative payments would effectively signal that ‘The Debt’ America owed to its black citizens will have been paid and any further complaints or need of assistance will be met with contempt and rejected. Such a debt is moral in nature and thus should not be reduced to a financial sum to be haggled over. That amount will never be enough, and without systemic change, any payment may be detrimental to societal changes we need.



Con- Political Answers

Apology Explosion worldwide destroys the true meaning of reparations and makes them hollow

Yamamoto, Prof Law @ Univ Hawaii @ Manoa; **1998** (Eric; Boston College Third World Law Journal; Vol. 19: Issue 1; "Racial reparations: Japanese American redress and African American claims")

Six years have passed. During that time, the United States, indeed the world, has gone apology crazy. Japanese American redress has stimulated a spate of race apologies. Some apologies appear to reflect heartfelt recognition of historical and current injustice and are backed by reparations. Other apologies appear empty, as strategic maneuvers to release pent-up social pressure.

Elite will resist change

Yamamoto, Prof Law @ Univ Hawaii @ Manoa; **1998** (Eric; Boston College Third World Law Journal; Vol. 19: Issue 1; "Racial reparations: Japanese American redress and African American claims")

The first aspect of the underside of reparations process is the distorted legal framing of reparations claims. Reparations that repair are costly.³⁶ Meaningful reparations entail change. Change means the loss of some social advantages by those more powerful. For these reasons, those charged with repairing the harms always resist.



Con- Racial Appropriation

Reparations will lead to the same problems that they are attempting to overcome and will make the race discussion more polarizing

Williamson, National Review correspondent; **5/24/2014** (Kevin; National Review; “The case against reparations”; <http://www.nationalreview.com/article/378737/case-against-reparations-kevin-d-williamson>)

Mr. Coates engages in what certainly feels like a little misdirection. Responding to the very fair criticism that public policy designed to help the disadvantaged should distinguish between, say, the Obama daughters and those without their advantages, Mr. Coates is having none of it: “In the contest of upward mobility, Barack and Michelle Obama have won. But they’ve won by being twice as good—and enduring twice as much.” The truth or untruth of that claim can only be ascertained by asking the question that Mr. Coates is committed to ignoring: “Compared with whom?” Did Barack or Michelle Obama inherit disadvantages that forced them to perform twice as well, and bear twice as much, as a white woman born into horrific poverty in Appalachia? A white orphan? A white immigrant escaping the Third Reich? A racial disadvantage is only one of many kinds of disadvantages that can be inherited — why should it be the one around which we organize ourselves? Mr. Coates himself comes from a fairly modest background, but he, a man without an undergraduate degree, is a visiting scholar at MIT, one of the most exclusive academic institutions in the world, a position he enjoys as part of a program that excludes whites. (“The Program is open to individuals of any minority group, with an emphasis on the appointment of African Americans.”) There are, of course, many programs of that sort, and it is possible that poor whites resent them more than they should — the view from Owsley County, Ky, or from Lubbock, Texas, might make it difficult to see the so-called white supremacy that is so unmistakably obvious to Mr. Coates. But dealing with that reality inescapably entails treating people as individuals, and treating people as individuals makes reparations morally and intellectually impossible — even if we accept in toto Mr. Coates’s argument that the brutal imposition of white-supremacist policies is the entire basis for the relative social positions of blacks and whites in the United States in 2014. Which is to say: Even if we accept the facts of aggregate advantage and disadvantage with their roots in historical injustice, the aggregate cannot be converted into the collective inasmuch as neither advantage nor disadvantage is universal on either side nor linked to a straightforward chain of causality. Some blacks are born into college-educated, well-off households, and some whites are born to heroin-addicted single mothers, and even the totality of racial crimes throughout American history does not mean that one of these things matters and one does not. Once that fact is acknowledged, then the case for reparations is only moral primitivism: My interests are inextricably linked to my own kin group and directly rivalrous with yours, i.e., the very racism that this program is in theory intended to redress. Mr. Coates also, I think, miscalculates what the real-world effects of converting our liberal conception of justice into a system of racial appropriation might mean. There are still, after all, an awful lot of white people, and though many of them might be inclined to make amends under some sort of racial truce following the process Mr. Coates imagines, many of them might simply be inclined to prevail. The fact is that the situation of African Americans in the United States has improved precisely to the extent that whites have begun to forgo tribalism and to genuinely commit themselves to the principles of liberalism, the long march toward a more perfect Union. The alternative — a system of exclusive interests in which black and white operate effectively in opposition — is not only morally repugnant, but likely to undermine the genuine political and economic interests of African Americans.



Con – Race Relations/Discrimination

Reparations will not solve the situation of poverty that exists among African Americans and will only foster more racial discrimination

Peter **Flaherty**, President of the National Legal and Policy Center & John **Carlisle**, Director of Policy at NLPC, **2004** (“The Case Against Slave Reparations”, www.nlpc.org)

Moreover, if reparations were paid, activists would see that poverty still exists among blacks, and that real or imagined incidents of racial discrimination continue to occur. Blacks would perceive that nothing much had changed; and as discussed in the sidebar, “Reparations Would Exacerbate Race Relations,” reparations induced resentment toward blacks by non-blacks, in fact, would increase. Blacks would claim that the solution is even more reparations. And the vicious cycle would continue.

Reparations would create bitterness and outrage throughout the country

Peter **Flaherty**, President of the National Legal and Policy Center & John **Carlisle**, Director of Policy at NLPC, **2004** (“The Case Against Slave Reparations”, www.nlpc.org)

Reparations advocates ostensibly think compensation would heal racial wounds. Randall Robinson, for example, says there is no chance that America can solve its racial problems without reparations. Actually, it would exacerbate racial divisions. The notion of forcing innocents to pay people who were never enslaved would likely generate bitterness throughout the country. In addition, the iniquitous transfer of wealth from poorer non-blacks to more affluent blacks would stir widespread outrage.

Reparations will lead to a racial warfare

Peter **Flaherty**, President of the National Legal and Policy Center & John **Carlisle**, Director of Policy at NLPC, **2004** (“The Case Against Slave Reparations”, www.nlpc.org)

Walter Williams, a black professor and columnist, observed, “I can’t think of a better fortification for racism than reparations to blacks. . . . To force whites today, who were not in any way responsible for slavery, to make payments to black people—many of whom may be better off [than the whites]—will create nothing but great resentment” among whites.

Reparations, writes Robert W. Tracinski of the Ayn Rand Institute, implies that by simply belonging to the same race as slave owners, whites still bear a collective responsibility. Each member is blamed for actions of other members who lived long ago. The ultimate result, he warns, will not be racial harmony or a color-blind society but “racial warfare.” Says Tracinski, “It encourages the view of blacks and whites as a collective of victims pitted against an opposing and hostile collective of oppressors, with no possibility for integration or peaceful coexistence.”

Slave reparations will hurt efforts to eradicate poverty among African-Americans and will allow others to discount any future claims for assistance

Peter **Flaherty**, President of the National Legal and Policy Center & John **Carlisle**, Director of Policy at NLPC, **2004** (“The Case Against Slave Reparations”, www.nlpc.org)

In addition to exacerbating race relations, slave reparations also would weaken any national effort to eradicate poverty among blacks. Glen Loury, director of the Institute of Race and Social Division at Boston University, says it would be a Pyrrhic victory for African Americans. “It will undermine the claim for further help down the road, because the rest of America will say, ‘Shut up: You’ve been paid.’”



Con- Responsibility

Impossible to determine who is really responsible for slavery and who should have to pay Helper, teacher & author; 4/19/2015 (Russ; The Federalist Papers; "Reparations: Obama seeks to punish all Americans for slavery"; <http://www.thefederalistpapers.org/us/reparations-obama-seeks-to-punish-all-americans-for-slavery>)

So, people living today would have to give up their money to other people living today for the crimes of slavery that happened hundreds of years ago.

On the surface, some people could make the argument that this is only just and the right thing to do, but is it really? The truth is that 90% of those living in the south prior to the Civil War never owned slaves. Why should any of their descendants be forced to pay for something their ancestors didn't do? And, what about the thousands of Union soldiers who died to end slavery in the Civil War? Shouldn't their descendants be compensated by wealthy blacks today that owe their success in part to slavery's end? Perhaps every African-American millionaire athlete and entertainer should give a portion of their income to pay the families who lost loved ones in some of the bloodiest battles in all of American history.

History of Slaves and slave ownership makes it impossible to hold people today accountable – innocent people would end up paying when they had nothing to do with slavery

Hawkins, Rught Wing News & Linkiest; 7/26/2014 (John; Town Hall; "5 reasons reparations for slavery are a bad idea"; <http://townhall.com/columnists/johnhawkins/2014/07/26/5-reasons-reparations-for-slavery-are-a-bad-idea-n1867139/page/full>)

2) Who would pay reparations? If John Smith gets drunk, runs a stop light, and hits the car of Susie Jones, we know who's at fault. It's John Smith. We also know that Susie Jones is the injured party. We can look at the damage to the car, injuries to Susie Jones, and costs she had to bear because of the wreck and get a rough idea of damages that she sustained because of John Smith's behavior.

How do you make any of those determinations with reparations?

The Civil War ended in 1865; so all the slaves and slave masters are all long dead. Moreover, even in the South, depending on which numbers you believe, somewhere between 80-95% of white Americans never owned slaves. There were also several thousand BLACK AMERICANS who owned slaves -- yes, really. Certainly they would be more responsible for slavery than a white man who didn't own slaves, right? Getting beyond the South, why would a white northerner from a state that didn't have slaves owe "reparations" for slavery? For example, what wrong would a Republican abolitionist -- who hated slavery, voted for Abe Lincoln, and fought in the Civil War -- have done that would require "reparations?" We don't hold people responsible for what their ancestors did and even if we did, most white Americans, even in the South, didn't own slaves. So 149 years after the Civil War ended, there simply is no way to hold the people responsible for slavery accountable for what they did. Victimized people who did nothing wrong today to make up for a wrong that was done 150 years ago wouldn't make anything right.



Con- Responsibility

No way to put dollar Value on Slavery – Money would have to come from tax-payers who had no part in Slavery

Brophy, Prof Law @ UNC- Chapel Hill; 2014 (Alfred; New York Times; “Who would pay for reparations, and why?”; <http://www.nytimes.com/roomfordebate/2014/06/08/are-reparations-due-to-african-americans/who-would-pay-for-reparations-and-why>)

The question is who should pay for them? The sad truth is that the harms of slavery and Jim Crow are greater than the wealth they created. Moreover, the primary beneficiaries of those systems are now gone. Payments will have to come from taxpayers, who have no culpability for those past crimes and little, if any, of the benefit.



Con- Silenced by Politics

Political Influence will ensure that calls for reparations are not made and the issue will be covered up – Obama Proves

Dumke, writer for Chicago Reader & Worrill, Dir Center for Inner City Studies @ Northeastern Illinois Univ; **2014** (Mick interviewing Conrad; Chicago Reader; 8/6; “Could reparations for African-Americans reduce violence”; <http://www.chicagoreader.com/Bleader/archives/2014/08/06/could-reparations-for-african-americans-help-reduce-violence>)

The reparations movement in that aspect of its strategy took a big hit. Then the trajectory around Barack Obama's presidential bid also stymied the discussion. I think there was a sentiment among a lot of black people not to do anything to harm Obama's chances of being a successful president—to not create a firestorm that could have a backlash. I never bought into it, but that was the sentiment. So in effect, during this era with a black president, some of the critical issues affecting African-descended people were kind of diluted.

And some of the leaders of the reparations movement were passing on. [One of them was] Hannibal Afrik, one of the national cochairs of N'COBRA. So the organization that had singularly focused on organizing around the issue of reparations was faced with the challenge of new leadership. Younger activists are now trying to find a way to keep the momentum alive.



Con – Slippery Slope

Even with good intentions, reparations only end up with lawyers attempting to squeeze every single bit from the companies involved – sets a bad precedent and destroys the message

Peter **Flaherty**, President of the National Legal and Policy Center & John **Carlisle**, Director of Policy at NLPC, **2004** (“The Case Against Slave Reparations”, www.nlpc.org)

Recent Holocaust reparations, particularly those associated with the 1990s lawsuits against European insurance companies, have caused considerable controversy. Several Jewish American scholars and journalists criticized the payments, saying they started as a legitimate effort to recover money in long dormant Swiss bank accounts, but turned into a shameless money grab by lawyers who started going after European insurance companies. Some say it only degrades the memory of millions who died in the Holocaust, and that the main focus of activity is the claims, rather than the horror of the death of 6 million Jews. Norman Finkelstein, professor of history at Hunter College and author of *The Holocaust Industry: Reflections of the Exploitation of Jewish Suffering*, commented: “They [the lawyers] have hijacked the Holocaust and appointed themselves saviors of the victims—all in the name of money.”⁴⁹

When money is involved with the apology it distorts the message and makes it more about money rather than the memory of those abused by the system

Peter **Flaherty**, President of the National Legal and Policy Center & John **Carlisle**, Director of Policy at NLPC, **2004** (“The Case Against Slave Reparations”, www.nlpc.org)

In 1998, Abraham Foxman, national director of the Anti-Defamation League, came out strongly against Holocaust reparations, declaring that when “claims become the main focus of activity regarding the Holocaust, rather than the unique horror of 6 million Jews, including 1.5 million children, being murdered simply because they were Jewish, then something has gone wrong.”⁵⁰ He went on to say that the Holocaust reparations movement could send the message that accounting for the material losses is what is important, rather than mourning the victims. As Massachusetts Institute of Technology political science professor Melissa Nobles said, “Money can profoundly obscure the nature of a tragedy.”

Money is corrupting and demeans the movement

Peter **Flaherty**, President of the National Legal and Policy Center & John **Carlisle**, Director of Policy at NLPC, **2004** (“The Case Against Slave Reparations”, www.nlpc.org)

Of course, the same can be said about the slave reparations movement. Associating huge amounts of money today with the suffering of people in the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries is demeaning to those who suffered. Money, moreover, can be corrupting. As pointed out earlier, current reparations agitation already has degenerated into a cynical game of legalized extortion with multimillion-dollar lawsuits against corporations, universities and other entities whose alleged ties to slavery are tenuous to nonexistent (see “Shakedown via the Courts”).

Regarding the argument that the obsession with money demeans the suffering of the victims, Holocaust reparations advocates counter by saying that the victims deserve compensation. But this cannot be applied to the slave reparations movement, since the victims are no longer around to accept the compensation.



Con – Slippery Slope

Holocaust reparations proves that the people who are forced to pay are innocent people who had no direct involvement in Slavery

Peter **Flaherty**, President of the National Legal and Policy Center & John **Carlisle**, Director of Policy at NLPC, **2004** (“The Case Against Slave Reparations”, www.nlpc.org)

Another serious flaw with the Holocaust reparations lawsuits is that they create a situation where innocents are being forced to pay. It is the employees, shareholders and customers of the accused companies who are footing the bill. Yet, they are totally innocent because their generation is too young to have had anything to do with the Nazis. Had such settlements taken place shortly after World War II, when the generations responsible for the Nazi’s rise to power were still very much alive, then such lawsuits would have been more justified. Similar criticisms can be applied to the slave reparations movement. Not only can it be construed as a shameless money grab, but innocents would have to pay.



Con- Solvency - Discussion/Study

A Study is necessary in order to overcome deep racial issues and determine if it's even possible

Liu, Founder Citizen Univ, author, & former speechwriter & policy adviser for President Clinton; **2014** (Eric; CNN; "Why we need to talk about reparations"; June 27; <http://edition.cnn.com/2014/06/27/opinion/liu-reparations-slavery/>)

But his article is in some ways mistitled. Coates is not quite making a case for reparations. He's making a case for a discussion of reparations. He doesn't pretend to spell out all the operational policy choices that would have to be made to put reparations into effect. The closest he comes to a legislative recommendation is to tout a perennially neglected bill that Rep. John Conyers, D-Michigan, introduces every session of Congress, which calls simply for a public study of the possibility of reparations. This isn't a shortcoming of Coates' argument; it is its purpose. What we need to do is to study the issue in earnest. To have a hearing, in the deepest sense. To listen to the difference between Americanness and whiteness, and to notice the manifold ways that whiteness was (and is) an identity fabricated from the myth of blackness.

Hearings of Reparations are a Key First Step to Reparations and moving beyond the issue of race

Liu, Founder Citizen Univ, author, & former speechwriter & policy adviser for President Clinton; **2014** (Eric; CNN; "Why we need to talk about reparations"; June 27; <http://edition.cnn.com/2014/06/27/opinion/liu-reparations-slavery/>)

And the point of a hearing on reparations -- and making it a civic experience as profound and prismatic as the Watergate hearing -- is not to get the American public to "how." It's to get us to "why." For only when we understand why reparations are justified, even if in good faith we cannot yet figure out how or even whether they could be feasible, will we have a shot at being "beyond race."



Con – Solvency – Social Recognition

The Best way to solve the issue of race relations and past injustices is to open a political dialog and create a shared historical narrative – This is the best way to solve for the injustices of the past

Loury, Prof Dept of Econ @ Boston University, 2006 (Glenn C, “Trans-Generational Justice – Compensatory vs. Interpretative Approaches, www.bu.edu/irsd/Ec326_2004/material_2004/reparations%20.doc, Spring)

A sharp contrast can be drawn between two different ways of dealing with the problem of a morally problematic racial history. One seeks “reparations,” conceiving the problem in compensatory terms. The other conceives the problem, let us say, in interpretative terms—seeking public recognition of the severity, and (crucially) the contemporary relevance, of what transpired. In the latter view, the goal is to establish a common baseline of historical memory—a common narrative, if you like—through which the past injury and its continuing significance can enter into current policy discourse. (A crude analogy might be drawn here, suggested by the debate over the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in post-Apartheid South Africa: The compensatory approach is rather like putting as many past offenders as possible on trial, punishing them for their wrongdoing, and getting justice for survivors of the victims. The interpretative approach is a bit like waiving the pursuit of individual criminal liability in the interest of bringing to public light the true nature of what took place under Apartheid.) What seems conceptually important, though, is to clarify that, while some reckoning with the racist history of the United States remains to be done, this reckoning may, for political as well as epistemological reasons, be inappropriately specified when cast in terms of “reparations.” What is required, instead, is a commitment on the part of the public, the political elite, the opinion-shaping media, and so on to take responsibility for such situations as the contemporary plight of the urban black poor, and to understand them in a general way as a consequence of an ethically indefensible past. Such a commitment would, on this view, be open-ended and not contingent on demonstrating any specific lines of causality. This, I wish to suggest, is the most powerful, enduring and appropriate reparation that could be proffered to black Americans in repair of the injuries of the past.



Con – AT: Color-Blindness

Due to historical events it is impossible to advocate a “color-blind” approach to race & reparations

Loury, Prof Dept of Econ @ Boston University, 2006 (Glenn C, “Trans-Generational Justice – Compensatory vs. Interpretative Approaches, www.bu.edu/irsd/Ec326_2004/material_2004/reparations%20.doc, Spring)

The crux of my argument in this essay, and the outlines of my alternative proposal for how to deal with the racial harms of America’s past, can be seen by considering the case I wish to make against this implication of the Anonymity Axiom. I question the adequacy of “color-blind” liberalism as a normative theory, in view of the historical facts of racial subordination, and the continuing reality of racial inequality. There seem to be questions of social justice arising under these conditions, in societies such as the United States that are sharply stratified along racial lines, to which this theory can give no good answers.

Color-blindness is just a way to allow racism and inequality to continue to flourish

Loury, Prof Dept of Econ @ Boston University, 2006 (Glenn C, “Trans-Generational Justice – Compensatory vs. Interpretative Approaches, www.bu.edu/irsd/Ec326_2004/material_2004/reparations%20.doc, Spring)

The phenomenon of racial stigma poses intractable problems for this brand of individualism. For there is a sphere of intimate social intercourse, governed to some degree by “raced” perceptions in individuals’ minds, that, out of respect for liberty and the dignity of human beings, should not become the object of political or bureaucratic manipulation. Yet, I hold that such race-preferential associative behavior perpetuates a regime of development bias against blacks, largely due to a protracted, ignoble history during which reward bias against blacks was the norm. Thinking in terms of racial stigma, I believe, provides insight into race-constrained social interactions and into race impacted processes of social cognition, helping us to see the forces at work in a “raced” society like the US that create causal feedback loops perpetuating racial inequality, and that impede their identification. Moreover, as expanded upon below, this way of looking at things has an important implication for political philosophy. In particular, it leads us to reject color-blindness (or the related notions of race-neutrality, or racial impartiality) as the moral standard in regard to issues of social justice and racial inequality in the US.



Con – AT: Color-Blindness

Color-blindness is not a way to create race or social change – the project is based upon flawed assumptions

Loury, Prof Dept of Econ @ Boston University, 2006 (Glenn C, “Trans-Generational Justice – Compensatory vs. Interpretative Approaches, www.bu.edu/irsd/Ec326_2004/material_2004/reparations%20.doc, Spring)

Indeed, I argue that color-blindness – a quintessential icon of liberal neutrality – is a superficial moral standard, one that reveals how starkly under-socialized is the entire intellectual project within which it is embedded. It will be important now to stress that I do not think of this weakness as irremediable. The root of my argument is not to announce a bedrock philosophical inadequacy; it is to decry a sociological naiveté. I do not attack liberalism in a wholesale manner. But I long to see liberalism enriched by taking seriously the relational structures that mediate the contacts between autonomous, dignity-bearing subjects, who are the concern of liberal political theory. I want the socially situated context of these subjects to be integrated into the philosophical project itself. Thus, I do not defend simpleminded racial utilitarianism – the idea that we aggregate the incomes or utilities of people defined by superficial racial characteristics, and use this sum as an indicator of the goodness of society. But I insist that reflection about the rights of individuals and the vitality of the institutions that influence individual interactions, should take seriously the “raced” historical and social structures within which those individuals function.

Color-blind approaches to politics will not solve the issues facing African Americans – Stigma-influenced dynamics creates more inequality

Loury, Prof Dept of Econ @ Boston University, 2006 (Glenn C, “Trans-Generational Justice – Compensatory vs. Interpretative Approaches, www.bu.edu/irsd/Ec326_2004/material_2004/reparations%20.doc, Spring)

My fundamental point is that the selves that are the enshrined subjects of liberal theory are not given a priori. Rather, they are products of social relations, and of economic and political institutions. They are creatures, to some not inconsiderable degree, of the very system of laws, social intercourse, and economic relations that normative political theory is supposed to assess. Neither their ideas about the good life, nor (crucial for my purposes here) their self-understandings as “raced” subjects, come into being outside of the flow of history and the web of culture.^{vii} The diminished selves, the self-doubting, alienated, nihilistic selves – these are social products, and I want to attend to this fact within the project of political theory. This leads to a rejection of colorblindness as a normative standard because I cannot abide the imposition of abstract strictures of neutrality upon a game in which, systematically, non-neutral practices have left so many “raced” and stigmatized outsiders with so few good cards to play. My core concern is about racial stigma and development bias. Succinctly stated, my argument with liberalism is that it fails to comprehend the following. Stigma-influenced dynamics in the spheres of social interaction and self-image production lead to “objective” racial inequality which is de-coupled from the discriminatory acts of individuals, carries over across generations, shapes political and social-cognitive sensibilities in the citizenry, makes racial disparity appear “natural” and non-dissonant, stymies reform, and locks-in inequality.



Con – AT: Courts Give Reparations

Courts have ruled that only the president or congress can provide reparations

Peter **Flaherty**, President of the National Legal and Policy Center & John **Carlisle**, Director of Policy at NLPC, **2004** (“The Case Against Slave Reparations”, www.nlpc.org)

But reparations activists lost this round. On January 26, 2004, Illinois U.S. District Judge Charles Norgle dismissed the suit on the grounds that it was not the courts role to render judgment on such claims. In his official legal opinion, Norgle wrote that “the president and Congress have the constitutional authority to determine the nature and scope of relief . . . not the courts.” But Norgle dismissed the reparations suit “without prejudice” which means that activists can file new suits.²⁹

Only Congress or president can act on reparations

Peter **Flaherty**, President of the National Legal and Policy Center & John **Carlisle**, Director of Policy at NLPC, **2004** (“The Case Against Slave Reparations”, www.nlpc.org)

In a major legal setback for the reparations cause, on July 6, 2005 Judge Norgle tossed out the reparations lawsuit. In a 104-page opinion, Norgle said the plaintiffs did not prove that they were personally injured by slavery, noting that a genealogical tie to slaves is not enough to prove injury. Norgle again ruled that any decision about reparations has to be made by the president or Congress, not the courts. “Congress has considered and rejected Representative Conyers’ calls for the establishment of a commission to study the effects of slavery.” wrote Norgle. “This district court will therefore not substitute its judgment for that of Congress on the matter of slave reparations.”³²



Con – AT: Have Companies Pay Reparations

No Records or ties to the period of slavery would hurt businesses

Peter **Flaherty**, President of the National Legal and Policy Center & John **Carlisle**, Director of Policy at NLPC, **2004** (“The Case Against Slave Reparations”, www.nlpc.org)

But holding contemporary corporations accountable for business transactions that occurred a century and a half ago is absurd. To begin, few companies even have records from that historical period because they are not legally required to do so. Furthermore, the main responsibility of corporations is to current employees and investors. William Carney, a law professor at Emory University in Atlanta, says, “If I’m a stockholder and the company decides to give away some of my money [for reparations], I may not be very pleased.”²⁷

Only small connections to slavery for the businesses of today – no direct links to slavery

Peter **Flaherty**, President of the National Legal and Policy Center & John **Carlisle**, Director of Policy at NLPC, **2004** (“The Case Against Slave Reparations”, www.nlpc.org)

In addition, many of the corporations being sued have at best a tenuous connection to the 19th century firms involved in slave-related business. For instance, CSX was formed in 1980 and represented the end product of numerous railroad mergers and acquisitions going back decades. FleetBoston Financial Corporation can be traced to hundreds of predecessor banks, only one of which the plaintiffs can single out for its links to slavery. Providence Bank, which no longer exists, allegedly profited from a loan it made to a Providence, RI slave trader.²⁸

Banks prove that there are no records to hold accountable

Peter **Flaherty**, President of the National Legal and Policy Center & John **Carlisle**, Director of Policy at NLPC, **2004** (“The Case Against Slave Reparations”, www.nlpc.org)

As usual, Wachovia’s efforts to make amends for its past elicited only more criticism from the Chicago reparations lobby. Tillman again accused Wachovia of lying about its involvement with slavery earlier in the year when it stated in a sworn affidavit that it could not find any ties to slavery in its records. Like the other banks, it logically didn’t occur to Wachovia that mergers with companies that had absorbed the remnants of antebellum banks could be construed as a link to slavery. As previously noted, corporations are not legally required to keep records of inherited companies that disappeared as separate entities so long ago. Reparations activists are not interested in such rational thought, especially when the corporations repeatedly refuse to defend their rights. To punish Wachovia for its alleged lies, the chairman of the City Council’s black caucus, Alderman Ed Smith, asked the City Council to void a housing financing deal with Wachovia.



Con – AT: International Cred

Reparations are not needed to create real change – Virginia’s statement about the evils of slavery proves that couching an apology and recognition of past wrongs in a human rights framework can create lasting change & will solve US International Human Rights

Credibility Issues

YAMAMOTO, et al., 2007 (ERIC K. YAMAMOTO - Professor of Law, William S. Richardson School of Law, University of Hawai'i. SANDRA HYE YUN KIM & ABIGAIL M. HOLDEN – Univ of Hawaii School of Law, “AMERICAN REPARATIONS THEORY AND PRACTICE AT THE CROSSROADS”, CALIFORNIA WESTERN LAW REVIEW - VOLUME 44 FALL 2007 NUMBER 1,
<http://scholarlycommons.law.cwsl.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1081&context=cwlr>)

Nevertheless, the framework also illuminates the potential role of Virginia's statement of regret as a catalyst for shifting national "public consciousness" over time about what is right and just. The articulation of human rights principles of equality, freedom, self-determination and redress for injustice in courts of public opinion as well as law (even when legally unenforceable), bear on the United States' legitimacy as a democracy at the very moment America is struggling to find moral grounding in the eyes of much of the world. Whether the United States redresses the continuing harms of American injustice to people within its borders, will speak loudly about its actual commitment to democratic principles and human rights.



Con – AT: Native American Reparations

Native Americans haven't received reparations – money and land was the result of a settlement to a lawsuit not reparations

Peter **Flaherty**, President of the National Legal and Policy Center & John **Carlisle**, Director of Policy at NLPC, **2004** (“The Case Against Slave Reparations”, www.nlpc.org)

Reparations advocates also claim that, in recent decades, several Native American nations received reparations in the form of money and land for actions that occurred a century or more ago. For instance, in 1986 the Ottawas of Michigan received \$32 million based on an 1836 treaty. The reality, however, is that these were not “reparations” but rather settlements involving land disputes between Native American tribes and the U.S. government, under legally binding treaties. According to the Bureau of Indian Affairs, in the 1800s the U.S. government sometimes acquired land, mineral rights and other property from Indian tribes without adequate compensation. Many treaties, for example, contained provisions for the cessation of Indian lands to the U.S. government, yet the Indians did not get paid for ceding those lands.

Native American situation is not truly reparations – they only want access to their lands and water

Peter **Flaherty**, President of the National Legal and Policy Center & John **Carlisle**, Director of Policy at NLPC, **2004** (“The Case Against Slave Reparations”, www.nlpc.org)

At the time of the breach of contract, Indians could never challenge those actions in court because they were not made citizens of the United States until 1924. It was not until the second half of the 20th century, after the G.I. bill sent Indians to college, that they finally started to exert their rights and take action on the outstanding claims. Many of the settlements occurred during the 1980s. This issue, therefore, in no way involved “reparations” to Native Americans to compensate them for suffering. Their situation was a clear-cut legal issue, involving legally binding contracts—usually pertaining to disputes over land— whose terms were not abided by. None of this applies to African Americans’ situation. Moreover, since 1888 the Department of the Interior has leased properties on Indian-owned lands, and processed revenues from activities on those lands such as farming, drilling and other uses. Indian tribes are supposed to get royalties from these activities, but have been denied many royalties because of financial mismanagement within the Interior department. Tribes say they are owed up to \$40 billion. Indians are not seeking huge settlements to right the wrongs of the past. Said John Echohawk, executive director of the Native American Rights Fund, “We don’t want reparations . . . we want our land and our water back.”⁵¹



Con – AT: Other groups received reparations

Money doesn't go to people who were actual slaves – all other reparations were paid directly to the people who endured the violence

Peter **Flaherty**, President of the National Legal and Policy Center & John **Carlisle**, Director of Policy at NLPC, **2004** (“The Case Against Slave Reparations”, www.nlpc.org)

A commonly heard rationale for slave reparations is that other groups were paid compensation for suffering they endured, and that therefore African Americans deserve compensation as well. Reparations advocates often cite as precedents the payments to Jews who survived the Holocaust, and to Japanese Americans placed in U.S.- run internment camps during World War II. The experience of these groups has certainly helped provide the slave reparations movement with much of its rationale. It follows a common tradition in American politics: one group gets a government benefit, prompting another group to demand a similar benefit.

But slave reparations advocates are wrong to make this argument. In the cases of Holocaust and Japanese internment reparations, the payments went to the actual victims of the wrongdoings or to the victims' immediate families, not to the descendants of victims. Slave reparations advocates, of course, never point this out when making their case. They are seriously distorting the “it's only fair” argument, since they were never actually enslaved. To get around this inconvenient fact, they argue they are suffering from the effects of slavery, but as is made clear in the chapter titled, “Slavery Did Not Cause Poverty Among Today's Blacks,” this too is a highly dubious claim.

Japanese Internment reparations only went to the people directly involved or their immediate family

Peter **Flaherty**, President of the National Legal and Policy Center & John **Carlisle**, Director of Policy at NLPC, **2004** (“The Case Against Slave Reparations”, www.nlpc.org)

Slave reparations advocates also frequently cite the example of compensation paid to Japanese Americans. During World War II, about 120,000 Japanese immigrants or people of Japanese ancestry were placed in 10 internment camps, losing their freedom and, in many cases, their property. Many of them had to sell their property at far below market prices. Three years after the war, the U.S. government began to pay out \$38 million in compensation to former internees. In 1988, President Reagan and Congress appropriated an additional \$1.25 billion for reparations of \$20,000 to each former internee. In both the Holocaust and the Japanese internment payments, therefore, the recipients were the actual victims, or in some cases, the victims' immediate family members. The payments did not go to distant descendants.

Con- AT: Poverty

Racial stereotyping

McWhorter, Prof Linguistics @ UC-Berkeley; **7/23/2001** (John; New Republic; "Against Reparations"; <http://www.newrepublic.com/article/politics/90734/against-reparations>)

But Robinson is not really interested in social-scientific indicators. He prefers to deliver his arguments in the form of allegorical "stories," in the vein of his fellow bard of data-shy pessimism Derrick Bell. A "story" that Robinson uses as a leitmotif in his book involves a certain black boy named Billy. He is being shown around the Mall in Washington, D.C. by a mentor, who is increasingly embarrassed to find that there is no monument on the Mall "about" black people with which he can inspire Billy. Needless to say, Billy is from Southeast, the inner city: the middle-class half (yes, half) of black America is just a lifeless statistic, but poverty-stricken blacks, who in fact represent less than one-quarter of African American families, are what's really goin' down. Nowhere is Robinson's misconception of the economic condition of his race more poignantly clear than in his assertion that, since there are proportionately more poor blacks than poor whites, poverty defines black America. Most black writers decry such a "racialization of poverty" as stereotyping; but after reading Robinson's passage three times, I concluded that he really does accept the terrible equation between "black" and "poor."

In his fable about Billy on the Mall, Robinson revealingly describes "a black woman wearing thick owlsh glasses, strolling hand-in-hand with a bookish-looking white man, and two black men with white women." In his tale, all the blacks on the Mall except Billy are "attached to white people." The implication is that all black people who did not grow up like Billy--except, we presume, Randall Robinson--are sell-outs who live and marry outside their race, and are probably homely besides. So the problem for Robinson's picture of the world is not merely that black is indistinguishable from poor, but that blacks who are not poor are disloyal and inauthentic. In Robinson's account, poor blacks are admirable victims, while middle-class blacks are suspect.

He has his peculiar reasons for this sentiment; but he is hardly alone in his basic insistence that the growth of the black middle class is somehow "beside the point," leaving the poor minority as the "essence" of black America. The Debt is symptomatic of a general implication in most arguments for reparations that even in 2001 "black" is essentially a shorthand for "poor," when this has not been true for decades. Of course, many of the people who are most fervently in favor of reparations are quick to condemn the tendency for whites to think that all black people are poor. And so we are brought up against a savage irony: the reparations movement is founded in large part upon a racist stereotype.

Economic Inequality has been decreasing over the years

McWhorter, Prof Linguistics @ UC-Berkeley; **7/23/2001** (John; New Republic; "Against Reparations"; <http://www.newrepublic.com/article/politics/90734/against-reparations>)

The first of Robinson's assumptions is the denial that there has been any real progress at all. "America's socioeconomic gaps between the races remain, like the aged redwoods rooted in a forest floor, going nowhere, seen but not disturbed, simulating infinity, normalcy. Static." He penned those pessimistic lines six years ago, at a time when almost fifty percent of black families were middle-class (defined by Stephan and Abigail Thernstrom in America in Black and White as twice the poverty line), in contrast to only one percent in 1940 and thirty-nine percent in 1970. In 1990, one in five blacks were managers or professionals. In the three decades prior to 1990, the number of black doctors doubled and the number of black college graduates between the ages of twenty-five and twenty-nine tripled. Static? Hardly. And there are many other indicators of real social, economic, political, and legal advancement.



Con- AT: Poverty

Reparations will do nothing to solve the economic inequality of African Americans and will not solve for the problems of justice

Williamson, National Review correspondent; **5/24/2014** (Kevin; National Review; “The case against reparations”;<http://www.nationalreview.com/article/378737/case-against-reparations-kevin-d-williamson>)

Ta-Nehisi Coates has done a public service with his essay “The Case for Reparations,” and the service he has done is to show that there is not much of a case for reparations. Mr. Coates’s beautifully written monograph is intelligent and sometimes moving, and the moral and political case he makes is not to be discounted lightly, but it is not a persuasive case for converting the liberal Anglo-American tradition of justice into a system of racial apportionment. Mr. Coates and those who share his views would no doubt observe that the Anglo-American practice, despite its liberal rhetoric, was a system of racial apportionment, and a brutal one at that, for centuries, with real-world consequences that continue to be large facts of American life to this day — and they would be correct. But the remedy Mr. Coates proposes would not satisfy the criterion of justice, nor is it likely that it would reduce or even substantially eliminate the very large socioeconomic differences that distinguish the black experience of American life from the white experience of it.

Equality under the law and a robust economy is the best way to solve racial issues

Williamson, National Review correspondent; **5/24/2014** (Kevin; National Review; “The case against reparations”;<http://www.nationalreview.com/article/378737/case-against-reparations-kevin-d-williamson>)

Mr. Coates is largely correct about the past and is to a degree correct about the present. About the future, he is catastrophically wrong. The political interests of African Americans, like those of other Americans, are best served by equality under the law. The economic interests of African Americans, like those of other Americans, are best served by a dynamic and growing economy, preferably one in which the labor force is liberated from the dysfunctional, antique Prussian model of education that contributes so much to black poverty. The people to whom reparations were owed are long dead; our duty is to the living, and to generations yet to come, and their interests are best served by liberty and prosperity, not by moral theater.



Con- AT: Poverty

Just giving money will not solve economic issues – War on Poverty Proves

Hawkins, Right Wing News & Linkiest; **7/26/2014** (John; Town Hall; “5 reasons reparations for slavery are a bad idea”; <http://townhall.com/columnists/johnhawkins/2014/07/26/5-reasons-reparations-for-slavery-are-a-bad-idea-n1867139/page/full>)

4) It focuses on the wrong solution: Just giving people money seldom helps to fix their problem. That’s why America’s “war on poverty” has been an utter and complete failure. After doling out more than 21 trillion dollars over the last 50 years, we’ve done nothing to reduce the poverty rate.

Shortly after the War on Poverty got rolling (1967), about 27% of Americans lived in poverty. In 2012, the last year for which data is available, the number was about 29%.

In fact, it’s entirely possible that the poverty rate would be LOWER today if there had never been a “war on poverty.” You can see this same dynamic with aid to Africa. After handing out more than a trillion dollars, much of the continent has gone BACKWARDS over the last 10-15 years. Even winning the lottery doesn’t tend to make a generational impact.

Reparation payments would equate to food stamp payments – not enough to fix anything

Worstell, Forbes Contributor; **5/25/2014** (Tim; Forbes; “If there should be reparations for American slavery the amount should be around about nothing”; <http://www.forbes.com/sites/timworstell/2014/05/25/if-there-should-be-reparations-for-american-slavery-the-amount-should-be-around-about-nothing/>)

Thus today’s value of what was stolen from the slaves is that \$1.75 trillion. Which is, when you look at it, a formidable sum of money. Except, actually, it isn’t. The net wealth of the entire country is around \$80 trillion or so. So it’s a trivial percentage of the national wealth. Or we could look at it another way. There’s 42 million or so African Americans (defined as having some possibly slave and black antebellum ancestry) so the capital sum would be some \$40,000 for each of them. Which, while a nice enough sum to receive isn’t the sort of life changing sum some might think might be due in reparations.

And we can also break it down another way. Think of that as the capital sum and then apply that 4% return to it. That would be an extra \$1,600 in income per year to each and every descendant of slaves. Or, in total, something like \$70 billion a year. Which, in the context of a \$15 trillion economy is pretty much next to nothing. About, in fact, the size of the food stamp or SNAP program.

Even if slavery reparations are righteously due they would amount to around and about the current cost of food stamps. Which is, as I say, around and about nothing given the size of the entire economy. And, I would also wager, not an amount that anyone at all thinks is going to fix the problems that beset parts of American society today.

Reparations won’t solve the extreme economic inequality that exists between blacks and whites

Smith, Forbes contributor; **6/19/2014** (Kyle; Forbes; “Why reparations wouldn’t work”; <http://www.forbes.com/sites/kylesmith/2014/06/19/why-reparations-wouldnt-work/>)

Reparations probably wouldn’t accomplish what they’re meant to do: Place black Americans on a permanently raised economic plateau, one near that of white Americans. Statistics about the economic disparities of these two groups are grim, and shocking: As of 2012, for instance, the median household net worth of white Americans was more than twenty times that of blacks. Median adjusted household income for blacks is only 59 percent of that for whites.



Con- AT: Poverty

Sudden influx of money will only be short term – Lottery Winners Prove Smith, Forbes contributor; **6/19/2014** (Kyle; Forbes; “Why reparations wouldn’t work”; <http://www.forbes.com/sites/kylesmith/2014/06/19/why-reparations-wouldnt-work/>)

Both of these ideas sound like lotteries. What happens to lottery winners? Do they and their descendants go on to a permanently higher socioeconomic bracket?

A survey of Florida lottery winners shows that this group is twice as likely to go bankrupt as others. The primary difference between winners of large sums and those who won smaller prizes is that the winners of large sums isn’t in bankruptcy rates but in timing: big winners took a bit longer to go bust. Lottery winners (contrary to myth) are actually older and more affluent than the typical American, but The Wall Street Journal summarized the research as follows: “Sudden wealth only exaggerates your current situation. If you’re unhappy, bad with money and surrounded by people you don’t trust, money will make those problems worse. If you’re fulfilled, careful with money and enjoy a life of strong relationships, the lottery could make those strengths better.”

Today’s lotteries are too new to tell us much about what happens to the descendants of lottery winners, but history suggests that if reparations are meant to lift the economic status of American blacks who are poor, they will fail.

Lump Sum Payments will not help anyone – only provide short-term recovery with no chance of long term success

Blanks, Rare contributor; **7/29/2014** (Jonathan; Rare; “America owes black people more than it has given-but reparations aren’t the answer”; <http://rare.us/story/america-owes-black-people-more-than-it-has-given-but-reparations-arent-the-answer/>)

Simply put, the political movement necessary to make reparative payments to American blacks—either to slave descendants and/or those who suffered under Jim Crow—would be better spent on other reforms with greater impact and lessen the damage caused by unintended consequences of any reparative effort. Reparations could, in fact, make matters worse.

In the first place, cash reparations in the form of a single windfall payment could be disastrous for some. Whether the payment is modest—say, \$10,000 per black adult—or much larger, the potential for waste, fraud, and victimization is extraordinarily high.

Look no further than the world of professional athletics: as record breaking contracts continue to get headlines in sports media, more former athletes than not are flat broke two to five years after retirement. Rock stars, lottery winners, and other instant entrants into the so-called One Percent—irrespective of class and race—mismanage their money and find themselves broke in a short amount of time. Many of the most disadvantaged black folks could be busted after a temporary boom, and still without the jobs or skills that could lead to greater long-term prosperity. It’s not enough to wonder whether moving heaven and earth to get a payment would be “worth it.” Rather, advocates should consider whether or not such a payment by itself could ultimately do more harm to the intended beneficiaries.

Reparations as smaller annuity or monthly payments presumably would be less likely to create the windfall problems, though certainly poor investment decisions—such as trading rights to those payments in exchange for a lump sum from a third party—would likely occur.



Con- AT: Poverty

Reparations would destroy welfare programs

Blanks, Rare contributor; 7/29/2014 (Jonathan; Rare; “America owes black people more than it has given-but reparations aren’t the answer”; <http://rare.us/story/america-owes-black-people-more-than-it-has-given-but-reparations-arent-the-answer/>)

However, payments such as these may, without change to older law, disrupt public assistance outlays or perhaps housing for the neediest black Americans. Such payments would unlikely be enough to live on by themselves, thus trading welfare for reparation payments is unlikely to substantively improve life for those whose life could be most improved by additional income.

Reparations will marginalize those that have suffered the most – won’t address the real issues

Blanks, Rare contributor; 7/29/2014 (Jonathan; Rare; “America owes black people more than it has given-but reparations aren’t the answer”; <http://rare.us/story/america-owes-black-people-more-than-it-has-given-but-reparations-arent-the-answer/>)

While reparations are about injustice and atonement, any program aimed at black America ought to look to ameliorate the problems currently faced by black folks—particularly the most marginalized. That means, *inter alia*, fixing a system in which blacks have a harder time finding work and continue to live in fear of the police. There is a very real danger that any reparative program would disproportionately benefit those of us who, while not far removed from slavery, have made it to the middle class (or higher) while further marginalizing those who have suffered the most over the years.

Reparations would fail to solve economic inequality and could make racism worse

Blanks, Rare contributor; 7/29/2014 (Jonathan; Rare; “America owes black people more than it has given-but reparations aren’t the answer”; <http://rare.us/story/america-owes-black-people-more-than-it-has-given-but-reparations-arent-the-answer/>)

To wit, if the widespread socio-political mobilization Coates has supported in subsequent interviews is to be most effective in combating today’s societal ills, it would best be aimed not at remuneration for black folks, but for correcting the ills that currently afflict them. Indeed, if the solution to cyclical poverty were simply a matter of an infusion of cash, the government should just give \$100,000 to every person under a certain income level and destroy (or, at least, reset) the social safety net regardless of race or history.

But I sincerely doubt the problems attendant to cyclical poverty would be solved by such an infusion and thus I find reparations an inadequate approach to dealing with American racism, let alone the related but broader problem of poverty.



Con- AT: Poverty

Top-Down approaches will have unintended consequences that could lead to substantial job loss

Blanks, Rare contributor; 7/29/2014 (Jonathan; Rare; “America owes black people more than it has given-but reparations aren’t the answer”; <http://rare.us/story/america-owes-black-people-more-than-it-has-given-but-reparations-arent-the-answer/>)

This, I think, is where I depart most sharply from Coates. One of the problems with any top-down social program is the unintended consequences on the margins. Whether intentionally or not, policies with the best intentions may exacerbate some of the very problems they mean to address.

Take, for example, the recent proposed minimum wage increase. The proposal, according to the CBO, would raise many wages not only for minimum wage earners, but many already making above the minimum who would likely see a pay raise. However, this benefit for several millions comes at the estimated permanent job loss of 500,000 positions.



Con – AT: PTSD/Post-Traumatic Slavery Syndrome

Main authors of the theory presented flawed theories – Theory only opens up the flood gates to other claims for reparations

Peter **Flaherty**, President of the National Legal and Policy Center & John **Carlisle**, Director of Policy at NLPC, **2004** (“The Case Against Slave Reparations”, www.nlpc.org)

Larry Higgenbotham and Omar G. Reid—two social workers and a psychologist, respectively—reportedly are writing a book about PTSD. They allege the trauma of slavery gave rise to crime, drug abuse, family disunion and low educational performance in segments of the black community. They also claim that “black people as a whole are suffering from PTSD.” Even a Harvard University psychiatrist, Alvin F. Poussaint, wrote about a “posttraumatic slavery syndrome.”

Mims, who is black, describes a psychotic breakdown experienced by his 16-year old son, in which the teenager suffered delusions that white police were following him, and that other whites were staring at him menacingly. Reid, the psychologist, said black and Latino males were showing up “in droves” with similar symptoms.

However, Reid’s mention of the Latino males undermines the thesis of “post traumatic slavery disorder.” since most Latinos’ ancestors were not enslaved in recent centuries. Moreover, the PTSD thesis opens the door wide open for ridicule. The Wall Street Journal’s “Best of the Web Today” had a field day with this, soliciting its readers for similar maladies. They included “post traumatic potato disorder” by a reader of Irish descent, post-traumatic communism disorder by a descendant of Russians who suffered from Stalin’s purge, and post-traumatic Santa Anna disorder by a Mexican descendent of someone who suffered under the rule of the 19th century dictator.66



Con- A/T: Racism

Cultural examples prove that racism is starting to decrease now

McWhorter, Prof Linguistics @ UC-Berkeley; **7/23/2001** (John; New Republic; "Against Reparations"; <http://www.newrepublic.com/article/politics/90734/against-reparations>)

Robinson has another justification for reparations. It is that racism remains "unbowed" in modern America. He makes this claim about a country in which, as of 1993, more than one in ten blacks were married to non-blacks--an important fact even if the black women in question favor "owlish" glasses. Is racism "unbowed" when housing segregation among blacks is now documented to be largely voluntary, and when anti-discrimination cases are regularly and successfully filed on behalf of black plaintiffs by white officials? Of course we have some distance to go: nobody can deny that racism still exists in America. But when the backcountry whites of Jasper, Texas turn out in droves for the funeral of James Byrd Jr., we must also question the notion that whites are poised to turn the hoses on us again at any moment.

To be sure, phenomena such as the Jasper mourners and assorted statistics and personnel lists may seem more symbolic than substantial. But the signs that racism is abating in America are everywhere. "It's the little things," as Lena Williams instructs in the title of her black victimology primer. Starbucks now includes "Strange Fruit," Billie Holiday's wrenching ballad about lynching, in one of its music mixes, in the understanding that its latte-drinking white customers would consider this heartbreaking song a worthy interruption of their musical routine. Movies for teenagers increasingly depict a world in which, with no particular attention called to it, blacks and whites co-exist in easy harmony despite the black students' remaining identifiably "black." (She's All That is a recent example.) Black-white romances are becoming downright ordinary on television and in film, and not used as sensational ploys. (In Save the Last Dance, a willowy blonde teen falls in love with a black boy as he teaches her how to dance hip-hop style: the Astaire-Rogers trope for a new America.) As I say, we are making progress.

To lump all African Americans together is to ignore the cultural background of Africa and is a form of essentialism

McWhorter, Prof Linguistics @ UC-Berkeley; **7/23/2001** (John; New Republic; "Against Reparations"; <http://www.newrepublic.com/article/politics/90734/against-reparations>)

Robinson's argument is also predicated upon a fervent Africanism. In his view, I am at heart an "African" person, more intellectually and spiritually akin to Nigerian immigrants than to anyone born in the only country that has ever been home to me. Never mind that I grew up comfortably middleclass in Philadelphia speaking nothing but English: I am to consider it a denigration of "myself" when The New York Times downplays a story about a lethal pipeline explosion in Nigeria, because in such cases "we don't know what happened to us and no one will tell us."

Robinson the proud Africanist weirdly overlooks the fact that "Africa" is not a single culture. This sense that being dark-skinned and speaking a language unlike English somehow renders all the groups in Africa the same is rather similar to the view that "All Coons Look Alike to Me," as the troublesome old song went. (The song happens to have been written by a black composer.) If a newspaper headline reads "Asians Found Adrift on Raft," most of us spontaneously recoil at the notion that Chinese, Japanese, Vietnamese, Korean, and Cambodian peoples have been grossly lumped together. Yet throughout The Debt we are taught--by a black man--that the residents of four dozen countries speaking over one thousand languages are all simply "Africans."



Con- AT: Racism

Slavery was not perpetuated solely by Americans – most African Slaves were captured by other Africans and then sold to traders

McWhorter, Prof Linguistics @ UC-Berkeley; 7/23/2001 (John; New Republic; "Against Reparations"; <http://www.newrepublic.com/article/politics/90734/against-reparations>)

But the most glaring omission in Robinson's uplifting depiction of my alleged African homeland is the fact that Africans themselves were avid and uncomplaining agents in the selling of other Africans to whites. Instead Robinson depicts the slave trade as having been based primarily on "catching" individual slaves unawares: in his Africa allegory, an aging African dismayed at the decay of his society at the hands of white predators bemoans that "our young people cannot sit still and listen to tales of glory from a dying old man while they fear being caught."

Robinson is hardly alone in this misconception: Roots and Amistad and other mythmaking artifacts of popular culture have intimated that whites acquired most slaves by lassoing people while they were out walking. The sad reality is that this method would hardly have netted Europeans enough slaves to furnish dozens of colonies of plantations, with each plantation often requiring as many as several hundred workers. (Wouldn't Africans have stopped going for walks?) The primary sources on the slave trade demonstrate with painful clarity that slaves--not some slaves, but most slaves--were obtained by African kings in intertribal wars, and were sold in masses to European merchants in exchange for material goods. This is an incontrovertible--and not exactly unknown--truth of history. Not once in his book does Robinson so much as mention it, since it would get in the way of his portrait of Africans as a preternaturally perfect people.

African Americans have more of Western Understanding of the world than an African Understanding – failure to recognize this is what allows racism to continue

McWhorter, Prof Linguistics @ UC-Berkeley; 7/23/2001 (John; New Republic; "Against Reparations"; <http://www.newrepublic.com/article/politics/90734/against-reparations>)

This sense of racism as rendering all black success "accidental" is ultimately the primum mobile of the reparations movement. Thus the black scholars Robert Chrisman and Ernest Allen Jr., arguing the case for reparations, proclaim that "racism continues as an ideology and a material force within the U.S., providing blacks with no ladder that reaches the top."

This belief that there is no path for blacks to the top accounts for Robinson's sour attitude toward blacks making progress. He can only see self-advancement as a kind of self-abnegation: to gain passage into the world of the gatekeepers one must become one of them. One of the most appalling passages in The Debt describes Robinson at a commencement ceremony at Howard University. He records that he was appalled when a black undergraduate speaker said "thank you" in French, German, and Italian, rather than in Swahili, Chichewa, and Wolof. "She was not a European American of any variety: She was an American of African descent. Why on earth was she iffing herself European?" No, sir: this woman was "iffing" herself a new race entirely, one with a heritage as richly Western as African. Indeed, since no slaves were brought to America who spoke Swahili or Chichewa, the study of Swahili or Chichewa would no more return her to her roots than the study of European languages. Our new Du Bois might recall that the old Du Bois was fluent in German, and would have had choice words for anyone who told him that such cultivation was not a "black" thing.



Con- AT: Racism

Too assume that all African Americans are the same and all face the same type of discrimination is a form of essentialism is ultimately dehumanizing

McWhorter, Prof Linguistics @ UC-Berkeley; **7/23/2001** (John; New Republic; "Against Reparations"; <http://www.newrepublic.com/article/politics/90734/against-reparations>)

The historical truth about the origins of slavery also undercuts Robinson's notion of "African" as a single cultural identity from which we were brutally wrested. Traditionally, Africans were just like other humans: they, too, regarded people who spoke other languages and practiced different customs as alien. Indeed, the monolithic notion is a construction of the very essentialist worldview that Robinson considers to have gutted black America's soul.

Essentialism, after all, is a form of dehumanization, as Robinson is well aware; and for him few things better indicate the extent to which African Americans have been stripped of their humanity than the alleged suppression by America of their history as an African people. For example: Since this nation's inception, taxpayers--white, black, brown--have spent billions on museums, monuments, memorials, parks, centers for the performing arts, festivals, and commemorative occasions. Billions have been spent on the publication of history texts, arts texts, magazines, newspapers, and history journals. Formulaic television and large-screen historical fiction treatments virtually defy count. Almost none of this spending, building, unveiling, and publishing has been addressed to the needs of Americans who are not white.

Such melodrama requires an almost staggering indifference to reality. Robinson's grievance here is empirically outrageous. The National Endowment for the Arts and the National Endowment for the Humanities have long had an outright bias toward funding projects oriented toward the African heritage of black Americans. Moreover, this portrait of an America in which blacks' origins in Africa is invisible is made possible only by deftly restricting one's purview to projects funded by federal taxes. The America in which I have spent my life is a country in which museums in large cities frequently have exhibits of African art and performances by African dance troupes. Just a few years ago the media was abuzz with reviews of Hugh Thomas's *The Slave Trade*, a dense tome whose publication was feted as a national event; and Basil Davidson's briefer and more readable *Black Mother: The Years of the African Slave Trade* has been in print since its appearance in 1961. (Robinson includes both of these books in his list of sources.)



Con- AT: Racism

Too much divide in the African Community to have universal solutions to racism

McWhorter, Prof Linguistics @ UC-Berkeley; **7/23/2001** (John; New Republic; "Against Reparations"; <http://www.newrepublic.com/article/politics/90734/against-reparations>)

It is instructive to compare Robinson with Bittker. Writing when the Black Power movement flourished, Bittker soberly based his prescriptions upon a conception of black Americans as a people holding a diversity of opinions. "Who is to decide," he asked, "whether a group that claims to be the vanguard is really only a body of stragglers because the army is moving in the opposite direction?" He came to the conclusion that reparations ought to be paid only to blacks who endured segregated schooling, this being in his view the only case that could be productively argued on a principled legal and moral basis. He rejected the distribution of payments on the basis of "blackness" alone, on the grounds that it would encourage a revival of the arbitrary conceptions of race that were used to justify slavery; and he distrusted the distribution of funds to any particular set of black organizations, on the grounds that it was difficult to know which groups could justly claim to represent all blacks. Bittker was struck by the diversity of African American life: "Among American blacks today, differences in economic status, geographical origin and current location, outlook, organizational ties, and educational background are powerful centrifugal forces that black nationalist groups have not succeeded in neutralizing."

Robinson, by contrast, offers an allegory in which all blacks are given a card listing twenty policies "favoring blacks": "instructions on the back of the card would oblige a bearer, as a matter of honor, to vote for the candidates who'd scored highest and against any who'd flunked." Robinson blithely assumes that the composition of the "the card"--presumably an agenda made up of variations on the very handouts and set-asides that have so slowed the dissolution of "the color line" for decades--would be self-evident to all blacks. (What about the ones in the ugly glasses?) It is here that Robinson reveals himself and those of his ideological ilk to be precisely the "body of stragglers" to which Bittker referred.

The closest Robinson comes to acknowledging that there might be more than one legitimate way to think as a black American is in one of the oddest passages in his book, in which he dismisses the black radicals of decades ago:

For reasons that were never clear to me, they elected to set themselves apart from those they presumed to lead by dressing and talking differently, using an unfamiliar idiom and cadence, leaving their voices up at the end of their sentences....They seemed deeply suspicious, often with good reason, of those blacks who had received from white institutions a liberal arts education, which I think they viewed as rather closer to indoctrination.

Does Robinson really not see that those people were animated by exactly the ideology that animates his own book? Those people favored dashikis and exaggerated their black dialect out of the same estrangement from America and identification with Africa that Robinson sees as the salvation of the race. "Punic this, Pyrrhic that," dissing the black girl who deigns to learn Italian: those are precisely the separatist prejudices of the era of Stokely Carmichael.



Con- AT: Racism

3 reasons racism will not be solved with reparations

Yamamoto, Prof Law @ Univ Hawaii @ Manoa; **1998** (Eric; Boston College Third World Law Journal; Vol. 19: Issue 1; "Racial reparations: Japanese American redress and African American claims")

That underside is comprised of the risks of reparations efforts- the hidden dangers of entrenched victim status, image distortion, mainstream backlash, interminority friction and status quo enhancement.

Drawing from experiences of Japanese American redress and the current African American and Native Hawaiian reparations movements, and for the sake of simplicity, I cast this underside, the risks, in three ways. The first is the distorted legal framing of reparations claims; the second, the dilemma of reparations process; and the third, the ideology of reparations.



Con – AT: Responsibility to pay because of past

Only a minority of Americans even lived in the Southern US – Most Northerners fought for abolition of slavery

Peter **Flaherty**, President of the National Legal and Policy Center & John **Carlisle**, Director of Policy at NLPC, **2004** (“The Case Against Slave Reparations”, www.nlpc.org)

But the absurdity of reparations goes much beyond that. First, only a tiny minority of Americans today has an ancestor who was a slave owner. Prior to and during the Civil War, the great majority of the population was located in the northern states where slavery was outlawed. In 1860, the population of the free states totaled about 19.5 million; the free population of the slave-owning states was 7.5 million.⁵⁸ This means that among Americans today who had ancestors living in the United States during the slavery era, most of those ancestors lived in the non-slave owning northern states. In fact, many of those northerners were abolitionists and detested the institution of slavery.

Only 1 in 4 Southerners during slavery owned Slaves

Peter **Flaherty**, President of the National Legal and Policy Center & John **Carlisle**, Director of Policy at NLPC, **2004** (“The Case Against Slave Reparations”, www.nlpc.org)

As for the small number of Americans alive today who had ancestors living in the antebellum South, chances are those ancestors were not slave owners. Only one out of four southern whites owned slaves.⁵⁹ Thus, only a very small percentage of contemporary Americans have direct ancestors who were slave owners. Other Americans perhaps have distant uncles or cousins who were slave owners. If reparations were mandated, this would be a case of paying recompense for an act carried out by a distant cousin of a long-deceased direct ancestor.

The Vast Majority of Americans did not live in the US when Slavery was legal – Migrated to the US after the conclusion of Civil War

Peter **Flaherty**, President of the National Legal and Policy Center & John **Carlisle**, Director of Policy at NLPC, **2004** (“The Case Against Slave Reparations”, www.nlpc.org)

Even more significant is that the vast majority of Americans’ ancestors did not even live in the United States when slavery was legal. They immigrated here after slavery was abolished. Graph 1 illustrates this point. It shows the number of immigrants per decade since 1820, the earliest year for which the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization service has statistics. There were 9.5 million people in the U.S. in 1820. Between 1820 and 1860, when slavery existed, about 5 million people immigrated to the U.S., the large majority going to the nonslave owning states and territories. The graph shows that the great waves of immigration took place after the Civil War ended in 1865, particularly around 1900, as well as the most recent decade. Since 1870, more than 51 million people have immigrated to the United States.⁶⁰



Con – AT: Responsibility to pay because of past

Latin Americans and Asian Americans were not a part of US Slavery system

Peter **Flaherty**, President of the National Legal and Policy Center & John **Carlisle**, Director of Policy at NLPC, **2004** (“The Case Against Slave Reparations”, www.nlpc.org)

Everyone can agree that the more-than 45 million Americans of Latin American and Asian descent are completely absolved of any complicity with U.S. slavery, since almost all of their ancestors immigrated to the U.S. long after slavery ended, most of them in recent decades. And of the very few people of Latin American or Asian origin who were U.S. citizens during the slavery era, it is safe to say that very few of them were slave owners.

Americans of European descent migrated to the US after slavery

Peter **Flaherty**, President of the National Legal and Policy Center & John **Carlisle**, Director of Policy at NLPC, **2004** (“The Case Against Slave Reparations”, www.nlpc.org)

What about Americans of European descent? If “guilt” is determined by one’s ancestors being slave owners, then Americans of Italian, Polish, Slavic, Scandinavian and Greek descents can be sure they are completely innocent; their ancestors immigrated to the U.S. after slavery ended. Even the vast majority of Americans of Western European origin are innocent. Their ancestors mostly came here after the Civil War as well.

Most African Americans were not in the US during the time of slavery – most migrated to the US after the end of the Slavery

Peter **Flaherty**, President of the National Legal and Policy Center & John **Carlisle**, Director of Policy at NLPC, **2004** (“The Case Against Slave Reparations”, www.nlpc.org)

Another significant point is that a growing number of black Americans do not have ancestors who were U.S. slaves. As shown on graph 2, more than a half-million Africans immigrated to the United States in recent decades. And many if not most of those immigrants have children, bringing the total number of African Americans whose ancestors were not enslaved to at least a million. Assuming reparations were paid to all blacks, a substantial number of people would be entitled to reparations whose ancestors were not even slaves. Moreover, there were almost a million immigrants from Haiti and Jamaica in recent decades, almost all of them black. While their ancestors were slaves, they were not enslaved in the U.S. Why should U.S. citizens have to pay reparations to people whose ancestors were enslaved in another country? But if reparations advocates get their way, that is what would happen. To allegedly combat the injustice of slavery, they would perpetrate an extraordinary injustice by forcing the innocent to pay reparations to those who do even not deserve it.



Con – AT: Slavery => Racism

Slavery didn't cause racism or other racial problems that are occurring today

Peter **Flaherty**, President of the National Legal and Policy Center & John **Carlisle**, Director of Policy at NLPC, **2004** (“The Case Against Slave Reparations”, www.nlpc.org)

Regarding income, former slaves—not surprisingly—worked in occupations with lower median income than those of blacks born free. But between 1880 and 1920, the income gap had substantially narrowed. The literacy gap between blacks and whites also substantially narrowed from the first generation of children born after the Civil War to the next generation. By 1920, the effect of slavery status on literacy disappears completely. Sacerdote writes, “The large black-white wage gaps observed in the twentieth century could be a separate phenomenon from the direct effects of slavery on slaves and their descendants.” He added, “What the study shows is how little slavery actually has to do with today’s problems. It seems rather unlikely that slavery itself caused a lot of the racism problems present in the U.S. today.”⁶⁹



Con – AT: Slavery => Discrimination

Asian American’s own historical record proves that past hardships do not have impacts on today’s Ancestors

Peter **Flaherty**, President of the National Legal and Policy Center & John **Carlisle**, Director of Policy at NLPC, **2004** (“The Case Against Slave Reparations”, www.nlpc.org)

The claim that slavery causes negative long-term effects is also disproved by the experience of many ethnic groups in America. As detailed in “A Pandora’s Box,” the Chinese and other Asian ethnic groups were subject to highly adverse conditions when they immigrated to America. Among their many hardships, wages and working conditions were terrible. If the slavery-causes-long-term-poverty thesis was correct, then it would be reasonable to conclude that those past hardships should have led to endemic Asian poverty as well. Yet today’s Asian Americans, in general, are economically successful—even more so than whites.

Historical evidence proves that other issues are not tied to discrimination or slavery – illegitimacy rate, poverty rate & safety

Peter **Flaherty**, President of the National Legal and Policy Center & John **Carlisle**, Director of Policy at NLPC, **2004** (“The Case Against Slave Reparations”, www.nlpc.org)

Today, the black illegitimacy rate is almost 70 percent, and less than 40 percent of black children live in two-parent families. The socioeconomic consequences are devastating. Walter Williams, a black economist at George Mason University, asks how much of this can be explained by discrimination and/or the legacy of slavery. The evidence, he concludes, is weak. In the early 1900s, when slavery was a much more recent phenomenon and discrimination was much more prevalent, black illegitimacy was a tiny fraction of today’s high rate. He writes that roughly 75 percent of black children lived in two-parent households, and in New York City the figure was 85 percent. This suggests that the breakdown of the family has nothing to do with discrimination and slavery. Williams also notes that black communities were far safer in earlier decades, such as in the 1920s, ‘30s and ‘40s, when there was much greater poverty and discrimination and fewer opportunities.⁶⁷



Con – AT: Slavery => Econ Inequality

Slavery didn't cause economic inequality

Peter **Flaherty**, President of the National Legal and Policy Center & John **Carlisle**, Director of Policy at NLPC, **2004** (“The Case Against Slave Reparations”, www.nlpc.org)

Perhaps the strongest evidence that today's problems among African Americans are not due to slavery comes from an exhaustive study titled “Slavery and the Intergenerational Transmission of Human Capital” by Bruce Sacerdote of the Dartmouth College economics department. Sacerdote finds that the economic disparities between the descendants of former slaves and the descendants of free blacks (pre-1865) largely disappeared within just two generations following emancipation. Thus, the injustices visited upon one generation seem to have little if any harmful effect on that generation's grandsons and granddaughters. “The rich existing literature on social mobility and income mobility would suggest that such convergence (i.e. recovery from slavery) may take place rather rapidly.” writes Sacerdote.⁶⁸



Con – AT: Slavery => Education Inequality

Slavery didn't cause Educational Inequality – Historical Examples prove

Peter **Flaherty**, President of the National Legal and Policy Center & John **Carlisle**, Director of Policy at NLPC, **2004** (“The Case Against Slave Reparations”, www.nlpc.org)

Sacerdote used census data from 1880 and 1920, grouping people into three generations to examine outcomes for those born before 1865 and their children and grandchildren. He found that in 1880 there was a huge literacy gap between former slaves and free-born blacks, but that the gap narrowed considerably over the next two generations. In a similar vein, children of former slaves were less likely to be enrolled in school than children of free blacks in 1880, but by 1920 the gap largely disappeared among grandchildren of blacks born into slavery and the grandchildren of free-born blacks. Grandchildren of slaves were 6 percent less likely to be enrolled in school than grandchildren of free blacks, but this effect goes away completely after controlling for region.



Con – AT: Slavery made the US wealthy

Slavery did not make the US wealthy – Only hurt the Southern States

Peter **Flaherty**, President of the National Legal and Policy Center & John **Carlisle**, Director of Policy at NLPC, **2004** (“The Case Against Slave Reparations”, www.nlpc.org)

Well into the 20th century, the South was economically less advanced than the rest of the nation. The reason for this can be traced to the pre-Civil War era, when slavery was the dominant system. The South’s dependence on agriculture and on a forced-labor system severely hindered its economic development compared with the North.⁷² In the mid-1800s, the Industrial Revolution was radically transforming the northern United States and Europe. But the Industrial Revolution bypassed the American South. In 1850, the South produced only 10 to 11 percent of the nation’s industrial output. The South produced less than New Hampshire and only about one-third as much as Massachusetts. In fact, the tiny state of Rhode Island produced about as much as the entire southern United States. In 1860, output per person was \$19 in the South, versus \$149 for New England.⁷³

Economic and Cultural systems that slavery created kept the Southern states from advancing economically

Peter **Flaherty**, President of the National Legal and Policy Center & John **Carlisle**, Director of Policy at NLPC, **2004** (“The Case Against Slave Reparations”, www.nlpc.org)

Many northerners blamed slavery, observing that the institution had sapped the South of entrepreneurial vigor and enterprise. The results were unprofitable plantations, slow-growing cities and fewer of them, and widespread poverty among whites as well as blacks. Commenting on a visit to Virginia, New York politician William Seward observed “a[n] exhausted soil, old and decaying towns, wretchedly neglected roads, and, in every respect, an absence of enterprise and improvement.” By contrast, the North was known for its well-kept family farms, widespread application of technological advances, and fast growing cities.⁷⁵ By being so integrally tied to agriculture, slavery created an economic incentive to shift resources away from industry and into agriculture. Moreover, industrialization would have disrupted the status quo, substantially impacting the economic and political power of the holders of agricultural wealth. Fear of this disruption probably played a role in the efforts of influential southerners to raise the costs of starting enterprises and reduce opportunities for industrial change.⁷⁶

But southern hostility to industrialization wasn’t just rooted in economics; it was cultural as well. Historian Eugene Genovese argues that southern planters had an aristocratic spirit and were given to a life of luxury and ease.⁷⁷ Liberated from the necessity of daily labor, Tocqueville observed that southerners, as “enterprising and energetic” as northerners, applied all their energies to field sports, military exercises, life-and-death single combat and other activities involving “violent bodily exertion.” Said Tocqueville, “[S]lavery prevents the whites not only from becoming opulent, but even from desiring to become so.”⁷⁸ The South’s fundamentally anti-capitalist values put it sharply at odds with the values of the emerging commercial society in the North.



Con – AT: Slavery made the US wealthy

System of Slavery ensured that capital was tied up in humans and could not be spent on other forms of investment

Peter **Flaherty**, President of the National Legal and Policy Center & John **Carlisle**, Director of Policy at NLPC, **2004** (“The Case Against Slave Reparations”, www.nlpc.org)

Slavery absorbed southern savings, preventing the accumulation of non-human capital and holding back the growth of manufacturing. More specifically, historians contend that capital was “frozen” in the form of slave labor, making it unavailable for other forms of investment. Half of the South’s assessed worth was tied up in slaves and close to half in land itself. Although the South earned as much as \$60 million a year in the 1850s from cotton, tobacco and rice exports, almost all investment went back into slaves and land, leaving little for manufacturing.⁷⁹

A poor transportation network prevented southern modernization

Peter **Flaherty**, President of the National Legal and Policy Center & John **Carlisle**, Director of Policy at NLPC, **2004** (“The Case Against Slave Reparations”, www.nlpc.org)

A poor transportation network also hindered southern modernization. There was a distinct lack of main lines connecting cities to markets in the West, and the manufacturing base was very small compared with that of the North. In A House Dividing: Economic Development in Pennsylvania and Virginia Before the Civil War, historian John Majewski writes that the central problem was Virginia’s slave economy. The slave system discouraged the growth of an investor class that could provide funds for transportation projects, or the growth of a consumer class to provide passengers for such projects.⁸⁰

Slavery does not increase economic prosperity – other countries prove

Peter **Flaherty**, President of the National Legal and Policy Center & John **Carlisle**, Director of Policy at NLPC, **2004** (“The Case Against Slave Reparations”, www.nlpc.org)

The slavery experience and economic histories of North and South America clearly shows the weakness in the argument that the U.S.’s high standard of living is ultimately derived from slavery. In places where slavery was the foundation of the labor force, such as Mexico and the Caribbean, economic stagnation has been the rule. In places where slavery was limited or non-existent, prosperity has been the rule.

Slave trade did not start the Industrial Revolution

Peter **Flaherty**, President of the National Legal and Policy Center & John **Carlisle**, Director of Policy at NLPC, **2004** (“The Case Against Slave Reparations”, www.nlpc.org)

Some slave reparations advocates also contend that the slave trade generated enormous profits and that these powered the Industrial Revolution. But research by European economic historians has shown that slave trade profits were relatively modest by European standards. In addition, as pointed out by historian Herbert S. Klein, no current scholars have ever shown that the profits from the slave trade were directly invested in the earliest industrial enterprises of Great Britain.⁸⁹



Con – AT: Slavery made the US wealthy

Slavery lowering the costs of exports did not increase the wealth of Western Societies

Peter **Flaherty**, President of the National Legal and Policy Center & John **Carlisle**, Director of Policy at NLPC, **2004** (“The Case Against Slave Reparations”, www.nlpc.org)

Some reparations advocates claim that the West grew wealthy due to the cheap imports of slave-produced goods. This, too, is baseless. As described above, wealth is derived from free enterprise, technological innovation and the rule of law. The cost of imported goods is of marginal importance to the overall wealth of a society. Major slave-produced products imported by the Europeans included cotton and rice. While slave labor probably enabled Europeans to obtain these goods cheaper than they could have otherwise, it was a minor factor in their prosperity. Had slave labor not been available to grow cotton or rice, those products no doubt would have been grown by wage labor. Indeed, it is instructive that when the U.S. Civil War broke out in 1861, southerners believed that the British textile industry’s dependence on imported cotton would eventually lead Great Britain to aid the Confederacy. More than three fourths of the cotton used in the textile industries of Britain as well as France came from the American South.⁸⁸ But while experiencing some economic dislocation, Britain continued to prosper as southern cotton imports dramatically declined. After the Civil War ended in 1865, the global textile industry flourished by relying on affordable cotton grown by wage-labor in many regions of the world.