CARICOM

THE CARICOM TEN POINT PLAN FOR REPARATORY JUSTICE:

A MANIFESTO FOR THE COMING ENLIGHTENMENT

June 2026

“Every time I hear the crack of the whip
My blood runs cold
I remember on the slave ship,
How they brutalize the very souls
Today they say that we are free
Only to be chained in poverty….Slave driver
the table is turn.”

(Bob Marley and the Wailers, “Slave Driver” from Catch A Fire, 1973)

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PROLOGUE

The CARICOM (Caribbean Community) Ten Point Plan for Reparations: A Manifesto for the Coming Enlightenment, is a document prepared principally for the governments and people of the Caribbean but conceptualised and designed to facilitate and guide the global African reparations movement. It outlines the development priorities for the Region as it demands reparations from the United Kingdom (UK), Europe and all enslaving nations, for their role in over four hundred years of native genocide, chattel African enslavement and violent extractive colonialism.

The focus is on these Crimes against Humanity and the continuing harms and suffering that remain as legacies of those actions. It recognises native genocide of the Indigenous Peoples, chattel enslavement of Africans and the deceptive indentureship of Asians, as three acts of the same play – criminal, extractive colonisation. The Ten Point Plan is a framework for promoting and demanding reparations and sets out the call for reparatory justice within the context of development priorities. As such, it also serves as a global public mobilization manifesto. It is not meant to determine the details of a negotiating strategy but rather represents a collective vision for an approach to the pursuit of reparatory justice. It is then a strategic guide and framework and not a fixed reparations plan.

It is intended to stimulate and advance the movement for reparatory justice in Africa and its global diaspora. It seeks to promote solidarity and decisive actions for indigenous people the world over and those from Asia deceived into indenture migration, who were all subject to racialized colonialism.

As a mobilizing manifesto, it is not static but will evolve as insights from new evidence are presented on the Crimes against Humanity that constitute its evidentiary core. It rests on the call for reparatory justice as legacies in this 21st century constitute the ongoing harm and suffering of descendant victims.

INTRODUCTION

CARICOM was created in 1973 as an inter-governmental organisation, dedicated to regional integration among twenty-one countries in the Caribbean, comprising fifteen member states and six Associate Members[1]. Stretching from The Bahamas in the north to Suriname and Guyana in the south, it comprises States that are considered developing countries. Except for Belize in Central America, and Guyana and Suriname in South America, most members are island states. It is home to approximately sixteen million people.[2]

At its Thirty-Fourth Regular Meeting held in July 2013 in Trinidad and Tobago, through unanimous decision, it established a Prime Ministerial Sub-Committee on Reparations comprising the Heads of Government of Barbados, St. Vincent and the Grenadines, Haiti, Guyana and Suriname. Its purpose was to provide political oversight and direction to the rapidly expanding reparations movement.

The Conference concurrently established the CARICOM Reparations Commission (CRC) constituting the chairpersons of thirteen (13) National Reparations Committees[3]. The University of the West Indies (The UWI) was deemed a constituent member. The UWI established a Centre for Reparations Research in 2017 as the research arm of the CRC. The CRC reports directly to the Prime Ministerial Sub-Committee on Reparations. Its overarching mandate is to document and discourse the "moral, ethical and legal case for Reparations."

The CRC was launched publicly at the first CARICOM Reparations Conference hosted by the Government of St. Vincent and the Grenadines in September 2013. Professor Sir Hilary Beckles was appointed its inaugural Chairperson and three

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[1]Antigua and Barbuda, The Bahamas, Barbados, Belize, The Commonwealth of Dominica, Grenada, The Republic of Guyana, Haiti, Jamaica, Montserrat (British colony), St. Kitts and Nevis, Saint Lucia, St. Vincent and the Grenadines, Suriname, The Republic of Trinidad and Tobago.

[2]Non-voting, British colonies of Anguilla, Bermuda, British Virgin Islands, Cayman Islands, Turks and Caicos Islands; the Dutch colony of Curacao.

[3]Active in 2025: Antigua and Barbuda Reparations Support Commission, Bahamas Reparations Committee, Barbados National Task Force on Reparations, Dominica Reparations Committee, Grenada Reparations Committee, Guyana Reparations Committee, Haiti National Committee on Restitution and Reparations, Jamaica National Council on Reparations, St. Kitts and Nevis National Reparations Committee, Saint Lucia National Reparations Committee, St. Vincent and the Grenadines Reparations Committee, Suriname Reparations Committee, Trinidad and Tobago National Committee on Reparations, The UWI.

Vice-Chairs were selected. The following year governments accepted proposals from CRC for a Regional Strategic and Operational Plan which included the Ten Point Plan. It was defined as a conceptual and actionable framework for conceiving a comprehensive reparations programme that addresses the social and economic development needs of the community. It does not center reparations as a monetary transaction. Instead, it focusses on collective and community-based development repair and upliftment.

A Second Regional Conference, designed as 'An Experts Symposium on Caribbean Reparation: Scientific Engagement and Community Mobilization' was hosted by the Government of Antigua and Barbuda in September 2014. It brought regional and global policymakers, academics, and activists together 'to workshop and intensify the scientific and popular discourse on the Ten Point Plan. The CRC, and its national committee members, approved a programme of public lectures, symposia, publications, media engagement, outreach programmes, and informal events which have successfully increased popular knowledge and support by raising community understanding and consciousness.

Critically, The Ten-Point Plan was born of the same vision for development justice as the Abuja (Nigeria) Proclamation of 1993, the product of the inaugural Pan-African Conference on Reparations. Its intellectual and activist roots can also be seen in the inspiring African-American reparations movement that stimulated the revival of the CARICOM campaign. It drew deeply from these roots and pays homage to this history.

The original Ten Point Plan of 2014 was first revised in 2018. This second revision is intended to promote its global reach and solidarity. Greater focus is directed at critical issues such as gender dimensions, Africa-diaspora engagement, and the call for climate justice. The narratives outlining the various demands for reparatory justice have also been re-imagined within the changing global geo-politics context and expanded to reflect new and evolving historical and scientific evidence.

CHAPTER 1:
MATURITY OF A MOVEMENT

The over-arching objective of the CARICOM reparations movement is to achieve material, social, cultural and financial justice for sustainable development. Victimised and exploited for centuries by European military colonisation conquest, the region continues to experience the negative legacies of criminal domination. The destruction of indigenous civilizations, deceptive indentureship of Asian people, and the unpreceded chattel enslavement of Africans.

Chattel enslavement underpinned the financial core of colonialism. It was a highly successful commercial enterprise for European and other enslaving nations. With Emancipation legislation in the 1830's, Britain and other European nations for example, replaced chattel Africans with the deceptive indentureship of thousands of poor and dispossessed workers from Asia, most notably from colonised India and China. They too experienced the sting of some aspects of slave-like conditions. Those who were deceived and forced into violent indentureship have a pathway to a claim of reparatory justice.

Indigenous communities were decimated by the enslaving and genocidal practices and policies of colonisers. It is conservatively estimated that over 15 million Africans were stolen from their homes and forcibly transported to the Caribbean. It was the largest forced migration in human history, and is considered by the United Nations the "gravest crime against humanity."[4]

Africans were denied by enslavers legal recognition as members of the human family. This is now recognised by the United Nations as the "gravest crime against humanity." Such laws derived from the parliaments and palaces of Europe. Africans were classified by law as non-human, chattel, property, and real estate. Systemic racist ideologies informed the passing of these laws. As a result of the genocidal conditions of chattel enslavement, at Emancipation in the 1830s, less than 20% of Africans imported over 200 years survived in the British colonies. These identified wrongs continue to have an aggressive, debilitating impact on community consciousness and social and economic development.

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[4]Joseph Inikori and Stanley Engerman, eds., The Atlantic Slave Trade: Effects on Economies, Societies and Peoples in Africa, the Americas, and Europe (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1992)

Such negative legacies have extended to the CARICOM diaspora in Europe and North America. Migration has been a major factor in establishing an effective diaspora. It grew significantly after the Second World War when approximately 500,000 people migrated from CARICOM nations. There are now millions of diasporans in the developed North Atlantic nations. They continue today to face racialised, institutional discrimination.

The reparations movement has a long genealogy. The policy and practice of reparations has been a feature of European and Caribbean history and jurisprudence for over two centuries. Clear precedents exist. Reparations is conceived as a way to redress historic wrongs, promoting peace and achieving reconciliation. The pioneers of the Caribbean movement were the indigenous people and enslaved Africans. In the immediate post-enslavement period, the emancipated continued the struggle, demanding a moral economy in their efforts to secure land, institutional access, and compensation for their stolen labour.

Prominent figures such as J.J. Thomas of Trinidad and Tobago, in the mid-nineteenth century and Marcus Garvey of Jamaica, in the early 20th century powerfully provided advocacy. Caribbean Pan African activists fought for reparatory justice globally. In this regard, special recognition should be given to Frantz Fanon, George Padmore, Henry Sylvester Williams. Claudia Jones, Shirley Chisolm, Kwame Toure, and Anton de Kom.

Popular rebellion against European colonialism across the Caribbean in the 1930s were intense expressions of the continuation of the post-slavery demand for reparatory justice. The emergence of the Rastafari faith in the region during this period symbolised a continuation of the Pan-Africanist campaign for freedom, democracy, redemption and reparations.

In the 1930's Sir Arthur Lewis conceptualised the call for reparations within the framework of social and economic development, earning him the wide recognition as a "father of the modern Caribbean reparations movement." His economic development theories were grounded in the belief that the 20th century economic transformation of the British colonies could not be realised without the coloniser acknowledging and honouring its 'black debt'.

Lewis insisted: "it is the British who by their action in past centuries are responsible for the presence in these islands of the majority of their inhabitants,

whose ancestors as enslaved persons contributed millions to the wealth of Great Britain." He further referenced the over two hundred years of unpaid labour Britain extracted from millions of enslaved people in the Caribbean as "a debt that must be repaid - and which the British have yet to repay."[5] The British have not yet acknowledged or attempted to repay its "black debt." Lewis was awarded the Nobel Prize in Economics in 1979 for his academic work in field of development economics.

The Lewis economic development paradigm influenced the CRC in the conception of the Ten Point Plan for Reparatory Justice. Dr. Eric Williams, former Prime Minister of Trinidad and Tobago, and author of the classic book, 'Capitalism and Slavery'[6] supported Lewis that it was the immense profits generated by the transatlantic trafficking in enslaved Africans, and the unpaid labour provided through the plantation economies of the region, that provided the surplus capital which financed Britain's industrial revolution beginning in the early 18th century.

Sir Ellis Clarke, the Trinidad and Tobago government's United Nations representative to a sub-committee on Colonialism, told the world in 1964 that "an administering power…is not entitled to extract for centuries all that can be got out of a colony and when that has been done to relieve itself of its obligations; justice requires that reparation be made to the country that has suffered the ravages of colonialism."

Caribbean political independence leaders showed unanimity in demanding of Britain a compensatory approach to development. In 1957, on the eve of the West Indies Federation, they demanded £200 million for economic development projects to be paid over ten years. Britain rejected the request as it did all subsequent demands for the financing of nation building.[7]

Professor Hilary Beckles, social and economic historian, and Vice-Chancellor of The University of the West Indies, published 'Britain's Black Debt' in 2013 in which he weaves detailed historical data on Caribbean enslavement with

[5] Sir W. Arthur Lewis, Labour in the West Indies: The Birth of a Workers' Movement, 1939.
[6] Dr. Eric Williams, Capitalism and Slavery, 1944.
[7] The West Indies Federation was a short-lived political union of British colonies from January 1958 – May 1962, which collapsed due to challenges in its viability, giving way to the independence movement in CARICOM, beginning in 1962.

legal principles and the politics of regional integration and independence. He concludes that 'Britain has a case of reparations to answer.'

Under the UN Declaration on the Right to Development, Caribbean States are encouraged to adopt measures aimed at guaranteeing meaningful participation by all citizens in development. Recognizing that poverty is both a cause and a consequence of under-development, States are asked to adopt and strengthen national programmes for eradicating poverty and reducing social exclusion. States should also expand their efforts to foster bilateral, regional and multilateral cooperation in implementing such programmes. Development includes access to quality education, health, employment and housing facilities.

Many strategies have been pursued by CARICOM in its efforts to overcome the poverty legacies of colonial exploitation. These include addressing socio-economic, environmental and political challenges following independence. Britain refused to provide the requisite financial resources to support development. Significant progress has been made without imperial investment but sustainable development continues to elude these countries.

The unpaid debt for over 400 years of native genocide, chattel enslavement and the extractive colonialism in the region is now well understood and known.

European Monarchies, Governments and Churches

Through a series of Royal Charters and Decrees, European monarchies were foundational architects of the transatlantic trafficking of enslaved Africans to the Caribbean.[8] They used royal and state authority to legitimise, organise and invest in the Crimes against Humanity which provided a major source of income to monarchy and state. They built colonial empires based on the labour of enslaved Africans in all Caribbean colonies. Those nations not directly involved in plantation enslavement in the Caribbean – notably Portugal, Sweden and Prussia, however, established slave trading markets in the region.

Christian churches - both Catholic and Protestant - across Europe, provided the theological justification and moral endorsement of the dehumanization and chattel enslavement of Africans. They reaped vast financial benefits through

[8] Notably monarchies of Britian, France, Spain, The Netherlands, Denmark and Norway.

investments in slave trading companies and wielded institutional power throughout the Caribbean.

In 1452, Pope Nicholas V issued the papal bull 'Dum Diversas' which granted Portugal 'the right to conquer, enslave, and convert non-Christians'. The Church of England, later the Anglican Church, was a shareholder in the British Royal African Company of 1672 and subsequently through its missionary organ, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG), owned plantations and enslaved Africans in Barbados. The Dutch Reformed Church was an important participant in the Caribbean economy based on enslavement in Suriname and Curaçao. The Lutheran Church supported and operated missions in the Danish Caribbean colonies built on African enslavement.

Crimes against Humanity

In April, 2026, the United Nations, by majority vote, declared the chattel enslavement enterprise the "gravest crime against humanity," while European enslaving nations abstained from voting on the resolution. Their denial remains as prominent today as it was during the 19th century emancipation decades.

The illegal and immoral persistence of Europe's colonialism in the Caribbean sets the people apart as the most economically exploited and politically dominated in global modernity. Today, they face a future that has been shaped and significantly determined by this legacy. The crime of chattel enslavement is now recognised as the gravest in recorded history. Europe's five centuries of colonialism in the region, beginning with the Columbus invasion in 1492, triggered the crimes of native genocide, chattel enslavement of Africans that also led to the deceptive indentureship of Asians. From Columbus to CARICOM, these crimes against humanity have consolidated white supremacy leaving victims to endure endemic poverty and racialized inhumane injustices.

The racial chattel slavery of Africans, as a Crime against Humanity was a systematic attack directed against a specific population. These include a range of offenses such as mass murder, extermination policies, enslavement, mass deportation and imprisonment, torture, sexual plunder and violence, persecution on political, racial, national, ethnic, cultural, gender and religious grounds.

A legal aspect of crimes against humanity is that they are not subject to a statute of limitations within modernity. No matter how much time has passed since the

commission of the crime, legal proceedings for accountability and justice can still be initiated. This principle is codified in various international instruments, such as the Convention on the Non-Applicability of Statutory Limitations to War Crimes and Crimes against Humanity, adopted by the United Nations in 1968. The rationale behind this is the recognition that crimes against humanity represent a profound affront to international legal orders and human dignity, warranting prosecution even decades after they ended.

The Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court (ICC) adopted in 1998, further solidified the definition and scope of crimes against humanity, marking a significant step towards universal consensus and legal codification. The Statute not only provides a detailed list of acts that constitute crimes against humanity but also establishes the International Criminal Court's jurisdiction over these crimes, reinforcing the international community's commitment to accountability and justice.

The concept of crimes against humanity, then, represents a fundamental principle of international law, aimed at safeguarding the most basic human rights and dignity against acts of severe inhumanity. In recent years, a universal consensus has emerged regarding the definition and condemnation of such crimes, reflecting the global community's commitment to preventing atrocities that shock the conscience of humanity. Such crimes were perpetrated by Europeans against Indigenous Peoples who faced enslavement and genocide, and against enslaved Africans in the Caribbean who were defined in law as non-human.

Four pillars of persistent pain and suffering represent the evidentiary basis – including legal and ethical frameworks – of CARICOM's case for reparatory justice against the citizens, institutions and states of Europe. The four pillars are Indigenous Genocide, Chattel Enslavement, Emancipation without Reparations and persistent Congenital Racialised Colonialism.

Indigenous Genocide

Genocide was an official formal strategy used by European colonisers to dispossess indigenous communities of territory by breaking their resistance. The official language was the clear expression of the intent to implement ethnic cleansing. Survivors of the Caribbean holocaust confront this legacy in everyday

living. Governments and civil society institutions have done much in recent decades to facilitate the survival of these broken communities.

The crime against humanity so effectively documented in the colonial records, cries out before enslaving nations for political recognition and legal remedy. A once vibrant and diverse Caribbean indigenous civilization still faces an existential threat.[9] Europe continues to turn its face away from the evidence of this crime and diverts its attention from the killing fields that were the sites of genocide.

Chattel Enslavement

This was an innovation of the English and adopted by all Europeans within their Caribbean colonies. It was an organised and intentional system based on the legal determination that enslaved Africans were non-human. The denial of the human identity of Africans, and their economic and social usage as 'property,' chattel and real estate, is now recognised by the United Nations as a Crime against Humanity. The legacies of this crime continue today to inflict pain and suffering upon the global African community. This action of extreme dehumanization was the basis of their violent and social oppression. The legacies of these management methods continue to serve as a mechanism of racial degradation and marginalization.

The English were the first to develop in the Caribbean and in England, the body of laws in which Africans were defined as non-human and chattel. The Barbados Legislature in 1636 deemed all enslaved Africans as the property of their purchasers and heirs forever. In 1661, this legal principle was fully developed in the first of a series of 'Slave Codes' known as 'Acts for the Governance of Negroes.' These were modified and domesticated in all European colonies in the region and the North American mainland.

Arising from the property principle was the operational apparatus that sustained enslavement. The children of enslaved women, for example, were deemed property at birth, and owned by the enslaver of the mother. As property, enslaved women could not, for example, be legally raped, as the package of rights of ownership included social and sexual benefits.

[9] This diversity is demonstrated in Suriname where the Indigenous People include inter alia, the Kalina (Caribe), Lokono (Arawak), Trio, Wayana, Akurio and Warau peoples. Each of these nations maintained distinct systems of governance, land stewardship and customary law, long before any European contact.

Enslaved children, as a result, were routinely alienated and sold away from mothers. Built into the economic and social model of chattel enslavement, therefore, were practices that negated and destroyed black family formation and sustainability. These market practices were considered the basis of profitability and black dehumanisation. The widespread pain and suffering in African and African descended diasporic communities are the legacies of the culture that defined the model of enslavement.

Emancipation without Reparations

European Emancipation Legislations affirmed four policy objectives:

(i) Enslaved Africans were non-humans, and legal recognised property;
(ii) the payment of property compensation, as a form of financial reparations, went only to enslavers and their allied investors;
(iii) no form of payment of reparations would go to the emancipated;
(iv) the social and economic structures of domestic colonial domination by white elites would be maintained, and the emancipated in every way subordinated.

In this regard, Emancipation Acts were racist in intent and design. The British Act of 1833 provided that the enslaved would join with the state in making reparations payments to the enslavers.

This was achieved by an overt deceptive financial strategy. First, approximately 700,000 enslaved people were deemed to have a replacement market value of £47,000 million. Second, the public treasury provided cash reparations of £20 million through the Slave Compensation Act of 1837.[10] Third, the emancipated were forced to work for free, after being freed, for a specified period (initially ten years, reduced to four years)[11] to provide the enslavers with £27 million from in-kind labour. The British Government, therefore, shifted some 50% of the emancipation costs to the enslaved.

[10] It should be noted that approximately £16.5 million or 82.5% of that sum was paid to enslavers in the British colonised Caribbean. Those in Mauritius and Cape Colony (South Africa) received the bulk of the remaining £3.5 million. Forty-six thousand individual payments were made, indicating the widespread involvement of the British public in the enslavement business and its importance to the British economy.

[11] With the exception of Antigua and Barbuda in the British Caribbean where the Apprenticeship was not implemented.

The deception in the British and European Emancipation legislation did not go unnoticed by the emancipated and their abolitionist supporters. These allies in Parliament and beyond called for reparations to be paid to the enslaved and not the enslavers. This call was ignored by Legislatures. In rejecting the hostile aspects of the legislation, the emancipated people opted, wherever possible, to develop free communities in the hills, forests, and towns.

Those who stayed on the plantations sought to negotiated wages and conditions of labour that reflected their notions of equity and reparatory justice. A minority also migrated between colonies in search of greater economic opportunities and social freedom. These responses generated hostile reactions from former enslavers who, with the support of colonial and imperial governments, unleashed repressive military and police operations against the emancipated.

No European country, therefore, compensated enslaved persons. France paid 126 million francs to enslavers in 1848 and The Netherlands 12 million guilders. Denmark, Sweden, Portugal and Spain also compensated enslavers, reinforcing racial and economic inequality that continues legacies of racial domination today.

In the decades that followed emancipation, tens of thousands of Asian workers, mostly from India and China, were imported into the plantation zones by the former enslavers. The objectives of pursuing contracted Asian labourers were to:

(i) supplement the plantation labour force in light of a refusal by many formerly enslaved people to offer plantation labour, thereby resisting the plantation system;
(ii) depress wages demanded by the emancipated by flooding the labour market with additional workers; and
(iii) to defeat the newly-found collective bargaining power of the emancipated.

Indentured labourers were colonial victims extracted from subjugated communities by the British in the East Indies. Policy provisions and laws were explicit – they were not to be legally 'enslaved' in the chattelised manner used in respect of Africans. They were not to be culturally treated as 'heathens' and 'primitives.' Their legal, cultural and social rights as mostly voluntary workers would be upheld. They would be entitled to wages; and facilitated with state funded repatriation at the end of their contract. Supportive laws were passed and monitored by a Protector of Immigrants.

Nevertheless, what was promised, and delivered, were often at odds. In reality, most indentured servants, especially females, while not enslaved, were deceived into accepting terms and conditions of work by the British Government and their agents. The evidence of their resistance, sometimes alongside and in collaboration with emancipated Africans, shows the extent to which they did not always accept the deceptive terms of their contracts.

Congenital and Persistent Colonialism

Europeans, and the United States of America (USA), continue to defend an alleged right to maintain colonial empires in the Caribbean. The British, French, Dutch and the USA function within the region's politics and diplomatic relations as colonial powers. Independent nations are therefore surrounded by colonised territories that serve as evidence of congenital colonialism. Today, the Caribbean is recognised as the most colonised region in the world. Consequently, the Caribbean diaspora is also comprised of millions of persons living in colonised communities.

The French, especially, who from the 1820s to the 1940s extracted massive reparations from Haiti under threat of military invasion, have been unwilling to entertain reparations conversations. They continue to suppress the independence aspirations of colonial inhabitants in the region. The British have listened with one ear and have proceeded to ignore or side-line what they have heard. European Imperial nations, most notably the British, French, and Dutch have remained resolute in their resistance; no reparatory justice for their Crimes against Humanity.

Rising Against Colonisation

Resistance was a constant feature of the period of conquest, colonisation, chattel enslavement and post-emancipation atrocities. Indigenous Peoples and imported Africans resisted at every stage of their subjugation. These acts ranged from everyday forms of defiance to large-scale freedom wars, all of which contributed centrally to the eventual destruction of colonisation and chattel enslavement.

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[12] They include: Petronille (Saint Lucia), Catherine Flon (Haiti, said to be the goddaughter of Jean-Jacques Dessalines); Victoria Montou, Marie-Jeanne Lamartinière and Cécile Fatiman (Haiti), Sarah (Dominica); Breffu (St. John), Mary Thomas (Antigua-Barbuda/St. Croix), Nanny Grigg (Barbados), Sally Bassett (Bermuda), One Nelly, Eliza, Sue, Sally, Phoebe (St. Vincent) Abenkina, Luce, Mary Ann, Aliza, Jeannette (Trinidad and Tobago) Susanna, Amba, Phati, Lucretia (Guyana) and Nanny and Mountain Lucy of the Maroons; Mary Ann Reid; Ann James, Eliza and Jane Whittingham, Whaunica (Jamaica), Negress Bellona and Negress Calinda (Suriname).

One of the most enduring forms of resistance was the establishment of maroon communities. Indigenous Peoples and Africans established independent settlements in remote forested and mountainous areas across the Caribbean. These large communities, such as those in Jamaica, Suriname, and Haiti, were described as maroon settlements and became symbols of freedom.

The Caribbean witnessed several significant wars and protest movements that demonstrated colonised people's courage, resilience, and desire for reparatory justice, starting with the Indigenous Peoples and African maroons. The Taino resistance against the Spanish invasion, for example, commenced instantaneously and the wars fought by the Cacique Hatuey's army in Hispaniola are well documented. This resistance was met with imperial brutality and a policy of genocide. The example of Taino freedom fighters, Baconao and Abama (husband and wife), who were thrown to their death over a cliff in Cuba, and the hanging of others, proved that the Taino did not accept their colonised fate.

The Kalinago war against European colonisers in the Eastern Caribbean was particularly fierce and protracted. The repression of the resistance in St. Vincent and the Grenadines was particularly harsh. Between 1795 and 1797, for example, around 4,338 captured Kalinagos were deported to the isolated Balliceaux Island, where only 2,248 survived. These were later shipped to Roatán, a desolate island off the coast of present-day Honduras, where they became known as the Garifuna people. They were expected to perish. They survived and today they are a strong and vocal part of Caribbean identity and resistance.

Africans who escaped to the mountainous interior to form maroon communities such as Accompong in Jamaica, waged successful wars for close to 100 years to attain and maintain their freedom and independence. In January 1678 in Suriname, an army of some 9,000 Indigenous warriors attacked the plantations. Under the leadership of Kaykoesi they were supported by African freedom fighters. The Maroons in Suriname also built forts to protect and secure their territories, from which they launched attacks on the slave plantations.[13]

In addition to the wars of the Indigenous Peoples and the Maroons, there were many anti-slavery African rebellions across the Caribbean. There was Chief Takyi

[13] Namely Fort Ganiment, Fort Bouou, Fort Gado Sabi, Fort Cosay, Fort Nomerimi, Fort Wii, Fort Broos, Fort Pennenburg, Fort Balakuun, Fort Kibrikondre.

war (Jamaica, 1760), Cuffee's war (1763, Guyana), Negre Marron's war, (1804, Saint Lucia), the Demerara war (1823, Guyana), the war of General Bussa and Nanny Grigg (Barbados, 1816), the resistance campaigns of Codjo, Mentor and Present (Suriname, 1832) and the 1831/32 Sam Sharpe War (Jamaica).

The most renowned act of anti-slavery warfare in the Caribbean by enslaved Africans was the Haitian Revolution (1791-1804) that led to the establishment of an independent nation. Beginning in the French colony of Saint-Domingue, the revolution was led by Toussaint L'Ouverture, Jean-Jacques Dessalines, and Henri Christophe. It resulted in the abolition of chattel enslavement, ending of French colonial rule, and the founding of the state of Haiti, the first Black Republic in colonial modernity and symbol of reparation and resistance for enslaved peoples everywhere.[14]

The courage and determination of the enslaved Africans forced the imperial European world to reckon with the moral abomination of chattel enslavement. As Professor Elsa Goveia stated: "... there is much to be learnt from the experiences of those who took part in these struggles for reform…who centred what ought to have been seen as universal tenets of liberty and equality and raised the fundamental question then … as to whether the rights of man [people] should be recognised and respected."[15]

Decolonisation in the Caribbean

The Caribbean remains entrapped within legacies of European colonization, a context that continues to shape its political, economic, and social landscapes. Despite achieving political independence, many people are still seeking to free themselves.

In some territories, the colonial system is still hegemonic. For example, several countries remain non-sovereign territories of European nations, such as St. Martin, Martinique and Guadeloupe (France), the British Virgin Islands, Montserrat, Cayman Islands, Bermuda, Turks and Caicos Islands (UK); the US Virgin Islands (USA), and Aruba, Curacao, Bonaire, Saba, Sint Maarten, Sint

[14] Indigenous name for Haiti.

[15] Elsa Goveia, A Study on the Historiography of the British West Indies, 1956, p 338
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Eustatius (The Netherlands). Residents of these territories live as second-class inhabitants. They have a legitimate claim to nationhood and freedom. Colonisers oppose their claims, and suppress movements and mentalities that idealise national sovereignty.

Persistent Hostility to Haiti

Within CARICOM, Haiti stands out as a country that continues to suffer intensely from the legacies and vestiges of French chattel enslavement. The nation remains projected globally as in a protracted state of insecurity, political instability, poverty and humanitarian crisis. It continues to be punished by France and other European nations for its historical reputation as modernity's first Free Republic, and the inspiration for Latin America's liberation movements in the 19th century.

Two hundred years ago, it symbolised the possibilities of reparatory emancipation. A free and sovereign nation was born in 1804 after a successful 13-year revolution. They broke their chains by defeating in succession Napoleon's armies of France, as well as those of invading Britain and Spain.

Afraid that the Haitian example could embolden the reparatory justice struggles in the Americas, the enslavers of Europe and the USA sought its isolation and defeat. In 1825, France demanded, as the price of official recognition, reparations

of 150 million francs (the equivalent of some $25 billion US dollars today), to compensate for their "loss of property", that included over 300,000 enslaved persons. Further, to add military intimidation to the criminal demand, France dispatched 14 warships to the territorial waters of the free country.

Jean-Bertrand Aristide, a former President of Haiti, called on France to repay this sum as reparations to his nation. This demand was officially made in 2001, specifically to enliven the bicentennial of the nation's independence in 2004. His call was rooted in the historical context of the 1825 French demand for reparation. This sum was a substantial burden on Haiti's economy for over a century. The debt significantly hindered economic development. It was forced to take out high-interest loans from French and American banks to make payments, effectively plunging the country into a cycle of debt and despair.

Aristide argued that the French indemnity was unjust and had devastating effects on the nation. His call for reparations was part of the broader movement seeking justice and compensation for the legacies of enslavement and colonialism. France rejected Aristide's demand, and the issue of reparations remains unresolved and contentious in the relationship between the two nations.
The global reparations movement owes a considerable debt of gratitude to the Haitian nation for paving the way.

Climate Justice

The case for slavery reparation and climate justice is inextricably linked and has been at the forefront of the regional development agenda as nations strive to attain the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). There can be no sustainable development without commitment both to reparatory and climate justice. Colonialism is an historical and ongoing driver of the climate crisis that has compounded the economic, social and environmental vulnerabilities of the Small Developing States (SIDS) of the Caribbean.

CARICOM concurs with the view expressed in the 2022 Sixth Assessment Report of the Inter-Governmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) that the vulnerability of ecosystems and people in the Caribbean to climate change has its roots in chattel enslavement and environmental degradation for plantation construction. It recognizes that historical injustices contribute to contemporary vulnerabilities to climate change.

CHAPTER 2:

THE CARICOM TEN-POINT PLAN FOR REPARATIONS AND ENLIGHTENMENT

The United Nation recognises that "…historical injustices have undeniably contributed to the poverty, underdevelopment, marginalisation, social exclusion, economic disparities, instability and insecurity that affect many people in different parts of the world, in particular in developing countries; and recognises the need to develop programmes for the social and economic development of these societies and the Diaspora, within the framework of a new partnership based on the spirit of solidarity and mutual respect."

(Durban Declaration and Programme of Action, 2001)

The rationale for the CARICOM Ten-Point Reparations Plan is based on an historical context in which Crimes against Humanity were committed in the colonisation of Africa and the Caribbean that continue to cause pain and suffering to its inhabitants. The evidence shows that European governments:

(i) instructed genocidal actions upon indigenous communities;
(ii) caused enchained, enslaved Africans to journey across the Atlantic Ocean in a manner designed to strip them of their humanity;
(iii) sanctioned and were complicit in the trafficking, legal ownership and dehumanization of over 20 million of enslaved African men, women, children and babies;
(iv) created the legal, financial and fiscal policies necessary for the enslavement of Africans who were classified under law as non-human and chattel;
(v) enforced African enslavement and native genocide as being in their 'national interest';
(vi) refused compensation to the emancipated at the end of their enslavement;
(vii) compensated enslavers for the loss of property rights in enslaved Africans;
(viii) imposed a further one hundred years of racial apartheid upon the emancipated;

(ix) imposed for over one hundred years policies designed to perpetuate suffering upon the emancipated and survivors of indigenous genocide; and
(x) have refused to acknowledge such policies and actions as Crimes against Humanity, and to compensate victims and their descendants.

CARICOM countries call on European Governments, and their subordinate participatory institutions and persons, to repair the damages through reparations for loss of life and uncompensated labour, loss of liberty, personal injury, mental pain and anguish and gender-based violence[16], of the victims of native genocide, the transatlantic trafficking of enslaved Africans and chattel enslavement, and for the lingering harms of these Crimes against Humanity.

CARICOM in addition, recognises:
(i) the failure of former colonial powers to apologise and make amends for their racist actions against Indigenous and African ancestors and their descendants;
(ii) the plunder and pillage of Haiti resulting in a protracted state of poverty, insecurity, political instability and a humanitarian crisis;
(iii) the legacy of the ideologies and practices of white supremacy, anti-black racism and sexism;
(iv) the denial of the right to sovereignty and development; and
(v) the resultant socio-economic underdevelopment of the former colonial states of the region and those that remain colonised;

As a result, representing the people of Africa and the Caribbean, CARICOM proposes this Ten Point Reparations Plan as a framework for reparatory justice. This plan of action outlines the path to reparatory justice, truth, restitution, compensation and satisfaction for the victims and their descendants. It is therefore a vision for human enlightenment in this twenty-first century.

[16] Framework for compensation elaborated in the P. Robinson and Brattle Group Report on Trans-Atlantic Chattel Slavery in the Americas and the Caribbean, June 2023.

1. A FULL AND FORMAL APOLOGY

CARICOM Governments demand official apologies on behalf of all Africans from former enslaving nations in Europe and beyond. They are called upon to accept responsibility for these crimes, commit to non-repetition and pledge to repair the harms caused to the victims and their descendants. Apologies should be issued either by the Monarch or Head of Government and their narratives should include:

(i) acknowledgement of the harms their nations, institutions, and citizens caused;
(ii) clear identification of the victims and perpetrators of the crime;
(iii) formal expression of apology to all victims and their descendants; and
(iv) a commitment to reparatory justice

The moral and ethical frameworks of all modern societies hold that criminal wrongdoing should be met with remorse and remedy. The legal imperative for a formal apology lies in conforming to this principle. The wealth and prosperity that Europe and other enslaving states enjoy today are, in large part, the results of the Crimes against Humanity.

A full and formal apology would serve as:

(i) acceptance of guilt for complicity in native genocide, the introduction and perpetuation of chattel slavery, and violent oppressive colonisation;
(ii) acknowledgement that the suffering and trauma endured by victims and their descendants were the result of state-sanctioned Crimes against Humanity;
(iii) admission of responsibility and an expression of remorse;
(iv) alignment with the principles of moral responsibility and the understanding that those who commit or benefit from criminal injustices should seek to make repairs;
(v) initiation of a process of healing and reconciliation aimed to bridge socio-economic and political divides, restore dignity to the victims and their descendants, and create a foundation for mutual understanding and respect;
(vi) ethical and legal acknowledgment of how present-day inequalities and racial injustices are rooted in the history of such criminal conduct;
(vii) commitment to addressing the harmful systemic white supremacy structures that have persisted as a legacy; and

(viii) an official stance towards promoting justice, equity, and inclusion for all citizens, particularly those whose ancestors suffered from genocide and chattel slavery.

An apology is a formal gesture of goodwill and will foster better relations between the states of Europe and the Caribbean. It would acknowledge a shared history and interconnectedness to be mobilised towards justice and mutual respect. Such an act will pave the way for collaborative efforts in addressing mutual challenges such as climate change, food and social security, public health, and economic development. While an apology cannot undo the past, it can significantly contribute to the mending of social fabrics torn by centuries of criminality.

Since the initial declaration of the Ten Point Plan, there has been a global tendency to accept the legitimacy and integrity of its principles and enlightenment vision for humanity. The last decade can justly be labelled and "Age of Apologies." Such statements represent a movement from earlier "statements of regret" that denied responsibility and accountability.

Apologies have come from the Governments of France and the Netherlands, the Bank of England and the Church of England and numerous civil society organisations, such as universities, commercial institutions and increasingly families whose wealth and status were built upon and sustained by the crime of enslavement. King Charles III of the United Kingdom has noted that the time for reparatory justice conversations has come. Pope Leo XIV should be commended on an initial statement denouncing the Catholic Church's role in the trafficking and enslavement of Africans issued in 2026, however an official, full apology is now required as a prelude to a reparations discussion.

The Ten Point Plan calls upon these states, institutions and families to participate in reparatory justice negotiations for repair and healing. These initial actions of apologies are commendable and should now cascade into creative reparatory conversations.

2. AN INDIGENOUS PEOPLES DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME

CARICOM Governments demand reparations for Caribbean Indigenous Peoples through an Indigenous Peoples Development Programme aimed at supporting these communities, rectifying historical injustices and ensuring that they can thrive. By prioritizing indigenous cultures, collective rights and knowledge, these programmes will contribute to a more inclusive and sustainable future for all indigenous inhabitants of the region.

For the purposes of this Plan, Indigenous Peoples are those who were present in the Caribbean at the time of the arrival of Europeans. There is a growing literature that suggests the arrival in the region of Africans before Columbus. This literature is being reviewed for integration into the popular historiography. That Indigenous people and Africans procreated in the early years of colonisation, producing creole offspring, is also recognised. Such persons have a right to recognise either their indigenous or African heritage – or both. Governments also have the right to determine the legal framework of such identities.

Caribbean Indigenous Peoples have been subjected to forced migration across the region, enslavement and genocide, all resulting from European official policies. Official instructions from imperial Britain, for example, to colonising military forces included orders for genocidal actions. Governments called for the 'extermination' of the 'natives.' Those who were not immediately exterminated had their ancestral lands seized.

The resistance to European invasion by both Taino and the Kalinago as individual groups was met with military brutality that was the signature of enslavement and colonialism. In 1511, for example, several Caciques in Puerto Rico, such as Agueybana II, Arasibo, Hayuya, Jumacao, Urayoán, Guarionex, and Orocobix, allied with the Kalinago and tried to oust the Spaniards. In addition, Hatuey, a Taino Cacique who had fled from Hispaniola to Cuba with 400 others to unite the Indigenous people was burned at the stake on February 2, 1512 for his resistance.

The estimated 3 million Indigenous Peoples in 1700 were decimated; currently less than 30,000 live in the Region. This depopulation has led to the destruction of their languages and unique cultural heritage. Their descendants remain traumatised and landless and are one of the most marginalised groups in the region. The struggle for reparations for the Indigenous Peoples has been hindered

by the myth of their extinction. Being made invisible in plain sight speaks to an invalidation, a conscious inhumanity that demands redress.

Despite the efforts of independent CARICOM Member States, that inherited the colonial holocaust, the rebuilding of these communities is also an imperial responsibility. European States must accept responsibility for repairing the communities that still exist.

The Kalinago today are predominantly found in Dominica, Saint Lucia and St. Vincent and the Grenadines. The Taino inhabited much of the northern Caribbean including Jamaica, and The Bahamas. Both the Kalinago and Taino who survived now constitute a scattered and culturally marginalised community.

The Garifuna are a creole, mixed-race people, descendants of West African enslaved and Indigenous Kalinago, originating primarily in St. Vincent. They now also reside in Belize, Nicaragua, Honduras and Guatemala. Their history is one of self-determination for more than 200 years before defeat by the British, who then stole 27,078 acres of their lands.

Maroon communities have existed in the region since 1512. These groups, Africans and indigenous, faced violent reprisals from colonial authorities. They survived through strategic alliances and by utilizing remote forested and mountain areas. There are also numerous descendants of other indigenous groups to whom reparations are due from colonisers. The proposed reparatory justice development programme is multifaceted, emphasizing economic development, cultural preservation, education, healthcare, and political empowerment.

The erosion of indigenous cultures is a significant loss for the entire world. Preserving the language, traditions, and after practices is essential not only for their identity but for the cultural diversity of humanity. Investment in cultural centres and museums, support for cultural and spiritual festivals, and the incorporation of native history and languages into the educational curriculum are vital steps in cultural preservation. Furthermore, recording oral histories and traditional knowledge can safeguard this information for future generations.

Access to quality education and healthcare are human rights which must be guaranteed to the Indigenous People. Promoting the principles of reparatory justice can enable them to manage their affairs and make decisions impacting their community.

The case for reparations from European nations and their agents is undeniable and clearly justified. CARICOM, on behalf of all Indigenous Peoples of the Region, calls on European institutions and governments to positively answer the demand for justice.

3. REPATRIATION AND RESETTLEMENT

CARICOM asserts that descendants of enslaved Africans have a right to repatriation and resettlement in Africa and demands reparations to honour and respect the human rights of a people forcibly stolen and removed from their homeland and enslaved. History is replete with evidence of their yearning to return and reconnect with their ancestral and spiritual homeland - Africa. This demand also includes those descendants currently constituting Caribbean diaspora communities mostly in Europe and North America.

It is from the diaspora that the Pan African movement of the twentieth century gained strength, reflecting the power of historical and ancestral ties that unite African people and their descendants worldwide.

Marcus Garvey was one of those leaders who championed the cause of reparatory justice for African liberation. He emphasised the need for self-reliance and cultural pride. He led the back-to-Africa movement advocating that stolen people have a right to be returned to their ancestral homeland. The Rastafari movement which originated in Jamaica in the 1930s, is heavily influenced by the philosophy and opinions of Marcus Garvey and emphasises repatriation to Africa as a core tenet of its reparation demand.

Africa symbolises more than a geographical origin for Rastafari and many CARICOM citizens. It represents liberation, heritage, and the potential to be free from the oppressive experience of colonisation. It also represents the reclamation of an identity that was severed by the trafficking of enslaved Africans and taps into broader themes of cultural identity and historical injustice. These sentiments have been echoed and amplified in various Caribbean cultural expressions, most notably in reggae and calypso music, in art and dance, in literature and in the academy.

Repatriation and resettlement are therefore not merely about physical relocation but rather represent efforts to repair and heal from the deep psychological and cultural harms inflicted on People of African Descent by the legacies of colonisation, enslavement and racism. The descendants of enslaved African peoples have a moral, ethical and legal right of return. The burden of funding the resettlement cannot be borne by the victims of the crimes.

CARICOM, therefore, calls on European Governments, financial institutions and other entities which profited from the theft and trafficking of Africans to accept the responsibility for repatriation.

4. RESTITUTION OF CULTURAL HERITAGE AND CULTURAL RECONNECTION

CARICOM, recognizing culture as a cornerstone of regional identity, demands reparations and cultural restitution for the restoration and preservation of Indigenous, African-Caribbean cultural heritage and the establishment of sustainable cultural institutions. Reparations hold extensive possibilities for fostering cultural reconnection, healing historical wounds, and promoting regional social and economic development.

Military conquest and colonisation were profound human tragedies and cultural catastrophes. The colonial agenda of cultural erasure systematically stripped Indigenous and enslaved Africans of their linguistic, spiritual, and artistic heritage. It also deliberately suppressed and marginalised Indigenous and African cultural practices, leaving long-lasting scars on communities.

The forced imposition of Christianity led to significant cultural erasure, psychological trauma, and systematic oppression, the effects of which persist today. Africans were racially depicted as an inherently inferior cursed race, justifying racial chattelization. African religions, cosmologies, and spiritual practices were labelled as satanic, pagan, and primitive, resulting in widespread persecution. This led to centuries of systemic racial discrimination. African knowledge systems, including healing practices, astrology, and oral traditions, were replaced by European Christian doctrines.

The restitution of cultural artefacts to their places of origin in the Caribbean and in Africa, would allow for a more profound educational experience for Caribbean, African and Indigenous school teachers, children and academic researchers, providing access to knowledge long held exclusively within European institutions. These artefacts would not merely be objects of display but powerful conduits for cultural reconnection, allowing present and future generations to engage with their history on their own terms.

Reparatory justice settlements, therefore, must include a programme of restoration of identity by intensifying efforts to build 'bridges of belonging.' Initiatives such the reconnection of diasporan Africans to their original kingdoms, clans and cultures through DNA testing would facilitate return and reunification in the most organic sense. Programmes such as school

exchanges and culture tours; community artistic and performance programmes; entrepreneurial and religious engagements; fostering international collaborations that empower African and African-Caribbean scholars, artists and cultural custodians; and political interaction, that are required to neutralise the void created by the trans-Atlantic human trafficking.

The development of creative industries in the region, in the visual and performing arts, fashion, culinary, literary and indigenous medicinal and cosmetics industries is another priority area of focus. Many globally acclaimed creative artists have emerged from Member States of CARICOM which have comparative advantage in the creative sector. The funding of cultural institutions and creative industries in the Caribbean is a reparatory justice imperative.

By acknowledging the past and taking decisive steps toward reparatory justice, Africa, Europe and CARICOM and other states built upon African enslavement, can move the world toward a future where cultural heritage is respected, histories are truthfully told and the identities of historically marginalised communities are fully restored. The call for cultural restitution is a call for justice, dignity and the reaffirmation of a people's right to their own history.

5. REMEDYING THE PUBLIC HEALTH CRISIS

CARICOM Member States demand reparations to address the existing public health crisis manifested in the high prevalence of non-communicable diseases, inadequate health care infrastructure and the health impacts of climate change. They assert that the crisis has its roots in the colonial experience of the mass enslavement of Africans.

Governments are committed, in accordance with their national, regional and international obligations, to provide adequate standards of health care for their populations. It is recognised that the prevalence of non-communicable diseases (NCDs) in particular constitutes a major financial risk to sustainable development.

NCDs are the leading cause of death in the Caribbean. The Pan American Journal of Public Health analysed mortality data from 22 Caribbean countries and territories over a decade (1999–2014) and in 2019 published a study asserting that 'every year 16, 000 persons prematurely succumb to non-communicable diseases in the Caribbean region…in fact, over 70% of all deaths in the region can be traced back to an NCD'. The study found that heart disease, cancer, diabetes, and cerebrovascular disease – of which hypertension and diabetes are major risk factors - collectively accounted for 39 - 67% of all deaths.

The African-descended population in the Caribbean has the highest incidence in the world of NCDs - hypertension and Type 2 diabetes. A 2017 study of twelve CARICOM countries yielded, inter alia, that 10 - 25% of adults have diabetes; and 20% to over 50% suffer from hypertension. In some countries there are particularly high rates of undiagnosed NCDs. For example, 50% of people in Jamaica do not know they have high blood pressure, 25% do not know they are diabetic, and 80% are unaware that they have high cholesterol.

The World Health Organisation (WHO) has issued its 'Saving lives, spending less' methodology that includes its 16 best buys – a set of evidence-based priority interventions for NCD prevention and control, which includes considerations of cost-effectiveness, feasibility, affordability, acceptability and potential for successful implementation. The evidence shows that 60% of the over-sixty years of age population in the Region has either diabetes or hypertension or both. Barbados is known as the global 'diabetic foot capital' because of the per capita

rates for amputation attributed to disease complications. Such a record has lasting social and financial effects, significantly stunting economic growth and productivity.

CARICOM, on the evidence provided by researchers in The UWI and elsewhere and through historical analysis has turned to epigenetic analyses to find solutions for the extreme prevalence in the Caribbean of NCDs. New medical evidence has shown that the nutritional experience, physical and emotional brutality and overall stress profiles associated with colonisation and its enslavement legacies have resulted in an intergenerational tendency towards chronic diseases.

Data published by the American Cancer Society (2022) show that the Caribbean records the third highest incidence of prostate cancer globally and also the highest levels of mortality, based on age standardised rates per hundred thousand (100,000) population. Prostate cancer is a testosterone-dependent cancer. Medical research in the Region has hypothesised that enslaved people who survived the Transatlantic Trafficking in Enslaved Africans, were more likely to possess testosterone-related attributes, the manifestation of which includes high prostate cancer incidence and mortality as evidenced in the Afro-Caribbean male population.

Remedying the health crisis requires the injection of science, technology, and capital beyond the capacity of the Region. The reparatory justice movement calls on the former enslaving states to provide funding for research and the manufacture of drugs created specifically for black communities. This is necessary for the prevention and treatment of eye diseases, orthopaedic conditions and prostate disease.

CARICOM therefore calls on the Governments and institutions of Europe and other enslaving nations, to accept their share of responsibility for the public health crisis in Global Africa. It exists today in the jet-stream of the criminal human legacy of chattel enslavement and colonisation.

6. CAPACITY-BUILDING AND DEVELOPMENT THROUGH EDUCATION AND TRAINING

CARICOM demands reparations to repair the education system they inherited from colonialism. The aim is to eradicate illiteracy and foster a population that can engage with historical truths critically and constructively. European States created and presided over a system of education that suppressed indigenous and African methods of knowledge development and intergenerational transfer. The legacies of the system still promote low levels of cultural identity among the people of African and Indigenous ancestry.

National Governments inherited a racialised education system, with basic facilities for largely illiterate black and Indigenous children. These structures were primarily designed to serve the racist interests of the colonizing nations.

CARICOM has worked diligently to reverse and correct the inherited racism. Indigenous and African children were over exposed to negative images of themselves and their ancestry. The system promoted self-hatred and admiration for people and things European.

The educational and scientific gap that persist today hinders economic energy, stifles innovation and limits the ability of the region to compete in the global economy. It leaves a significant portion of the youth unprepared for the workforce.

CARICOM States allocate a significant percentage of their national budgets to reforming this inherited education order. High levels of expenditures are necessary to counteract the historical injustices and deficiencies of colonial academic content. This financial commitment places a subversive strain on the small economies, especially as very scarce resources are allocated to meet other development needs.

Given the historical roots of the regional educational crisis, there is a compelling case that former colonial nations have a legal responsibility to repair these legacies. This reparations programme could include technology transfer in the area of artificial intelligence, digital technologies and infrastructure investment. Such reparatory steps would expand educational capacity and provide resources to foster community development.

7. COMPENSATION FOR GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE AND ASSAULT ON FAMILY

CARICOM pays special attention in the reparations movement to the specific violations against Indigenous and African women to ensure that the multiple harms of colonialism, chattel enslavement, and systemic racism perpetrated by European enslavers against them are fully acknowledged and repaired. Such reparations require a specialised approach due to the many intersecting layers of injustice women and girls have suffered, including systemic sexual exploitation, reproductive chattelisation, forced unwaged labour, institutional marginalization, racial discrimination and ongoing socioeconomic inequality in the private and public spheres. Not to be ignored is the psychological impact of seeing their fellow enslaved men, some boys, husbands and partners, dehumanised, violently brutalised and emasculated.

Demographic data reveal that women represented approximately 30% of the estimated 20 million Africans forcefully transported across the Atlantic Ocean, while historians have catalogued the general and specific ways in which enslavers' fury and property reproduction fell disproportionately on girls and women. The system of chattelization specifically targeted black women for their reproductive capacity. In order to protect the property of white men from claims originating from their children with enslaved women, the system provided that the status of a child at birth was based on the status of the mother. Only an enslaved woman could give birth to an enslaved child, irrespective of the status of the father. A white woman, then, could not give birth to an enslaved child even when the father was black. The status of the child therefore was not connected to the father. It was female gender specific in respect of reproduction. The enslaved women, then, produce and reproduce 'property'. In this specific respect she experienced the deeper and more dehumanising form of enslavement.

In all enslaving states, there were laws enacted to control and skillfully harness black women's production capacity and harvest their fertility. There was pervasive sexual violence, and management manipulation of the maternity. Forced child-bearing to replenish the enslaved populations became the norm as the abolition of the trans-Atlantic slave trade approached. The for Report on

Reparations Transatlantic Chattel Slavery in the Americas and the Caribbean (2023)[17], estimates that at least 1,200,000 enslaved women experienced sexual violence and opined that it was reasonable to assume that 100% of enslaved women over the age of 10 were subjected to sexual abuse by enslavers.

Gendered patterns of resistance emerged during and after the genocidal and enslavement periods to counter legal, economic, psychological, cultural and ideological oppression. 'Rebel women' used a variety of strategies to destabilise, subvert and/or eradicate systems of enslavement. In this regard they have been at the centre of the resistance movement.

Enslaved women fought wars of freedom everywhere. During the Dominica Maroon Wars, for example, nearly one third of the 577 Maroons officially listed as executed between 1813 and 1814 were women. Their anti-slavery subversion of the slavery system paved the way to emancipation. Nanny (Jamaica), Anacaona (Cacique of Hispaniola), Nanny Grigg (Barbados), Petronille (Saint Lucia), Queen Mary, Queen Agnes and Queen Matilda (Danish St Croix), Alba (Guyana), Bellona (Suriname) and Kitty (St. Vincent), are well known leaders of the anti-slavery movement.

International legal frameworks mandate reparations for historical injustices and special provisions exist for gendered and racialised crimes. The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) requires States to address historical gendered discrimination, including the impact of colonial and enslavement systems. UN Conventions and Human Rights Laws also dictate that women should be given special engagement reparations negotiations. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) prohibits slavery, discrimination, and violence against women. The International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (ICERD) 'obligates states to address the gender legacies of historical racial injustice'.

There have been precedents for specialised treatment for women in reparations settlements. Reparations for Japanese "comfort women" acknowledge gender-specific harms in historical injustices. The German reparations for the Herero and Namaqua genocide included gender-based reparations.

[17] P. Robinson and Brattle Group Report on Trans-Atlantic Chattel Slavery in the Americas and the Caribbean, June 2023.

CARICOM calls on European states to acknowledge and repair the gender-specific harms experienced by Indigenous and African enslaved women and their descendants. Reparations programmes must specifically address satisfaction and compensation for gender-based violence, unpaid domestic labour, and ongoing social and economic disadvantages.

Centuries of criminal abuse of black women bodies and minds by white enslavers had a long term devastating impact on the enslaved community's ability to develop and sustain domestic and familial structures and emotional bonds. Marriages was outlawed. Families were not recognised nor respected. Black children were recognised as a property asset of the enslaver. Slavery was hostile to the idea of the black family. Enslavers were not only sexual predators of black women, they claimed sexual rights over their bodies.

One of the greatest long term consequences of chattel slavery, then, was its destruction of organised family life within the black population as a normal, legitimate expectation. Black women were classified as breeders to replace the labour force with no right to social bonding with children and babies. There has to be a positive reparatory justice response by enslavers to the destruction of right to family lineage and the emotional harm that still affects black communities.

8. PSYCHOLOGICAL REHABILITATION

CARICOM Governments demand that all enslaving states adhere to international human rights law which recognises the principle that victims of gross human rights violations have a right to reparations. Africans and their descendants were classified in law as non-human, chattel, property and real estate. Both populations were subjected to criminal racial and human abuse. They were denied legal recognition as members of the human family. And even today in the twenty-first century, a remnant of that determination to deny full human status and rights to people of African descent is to be found in the calculated refusal to facilitate the decolonisation of many still existing European and North American colonies and to confer upon the colonised their inherent rights to nationhood and self-determination.

The genocide of Indigenous Peoples, the terror and brutalization of Africans as human chattel in the Middle Passage and the Americas, and the horrors inflicted on all victims, create massive psychological trauma in the collective memory and psyche of millions of citizens.

The physical brutality which caused so much psychological damage to Africans and their descendants was an expression of European racial practice and ideology. Some scholars even go as far as to argue that the effects of this historical trauma, labelled as trans-generational, may now be embedded in the genetic structure of the affected peoples. This physical brutality was accompanied by a concomitant erasure of cultural practices and identity. A major conduit of this damage was the demonization of African and Indigenous religions and sacred beliefs systems, which remains one of the most significant negative legacies. This has fermented an easily identified disconnection of descendants from their ancestral roots.

The cumulative impact of psychological trauma contributes to a higher prevalence of mental health disorders among Caribbean people. These pathological issues need to be treated like other manifestations of illness. However, cultural stigma, mistrust of the western healthcare system and under-resourced mental health services, often impede access to necessary care.

Psychologists have identified low self-esteem, racial self-hate and a propensity for anger and violence as expressions of intergenerational trauma. This is evident in daily Caribbean life. In 2022, there were seven CARICOM nations

listed by the World Population Review among the 'Top 10 Countries with the Highest Murder Rates per 100k people'. The violence against girls and women is endemic. Prevalence surveys conducted by UN Women in five CARICOM Member States between 2018-2020, demonstrate that between 30-55% of women 15-64 years have experienced some form of violence by an intimate partner, whether physical, sexual or psychological, during her lifetime.

CARICOM Member States have attempted to provide appropriate mental health rehabilitation support for the massive incidences of psychological trauma, but their efforts are limited by the scarcity of resources and other development challenges. Responsible former enslaving nations and those who benefitted from past injustices must repair the psychological trauma caused by the legacies of their Crimes against Humanity which have left deep mental and social scars. They must support through reparations, funding all initiatives that will promote cultural reclamation and provide a sense of closure and psychological healing to affected populations and communities.

9. THE RIGHT TO SOVEREIGNTY AND DEVELOPMENT: TECHNOLOGY, INNOVATION AND ENTREPRENEURSHIP

CARICOM demands the right to complete sovereignty and development with a special focus on technology, innovation, and entrepreneurship. This demand is a fundamental component of its reparatory justice claim, to be treated not as an act of goodwill, but as an enforceable right.

Colonisation was designed to control knowledge as well as to suppress, and ultimately deny technological innovation. These legacies are still key features of unbalanced modern day global economic and trade arrangements, as well as paradigms which still stymie entrepreneurial potential and intellectual property development. Colonisers monopolised education, scientific research, industrial production, and IP rights.

For over 300 years the trade and production policies of Europe could be summed up in the British slogan: "Not a nail is to be made in the colonies". This was a deliberate decision to ensure all manufacturing, use of scientific technology, impetus to innovation and enterprise, and the proceeds thereof, would benefit only the coloniser. This policy ensured the technological, innovative and entrepreneurial underdevelopment of the Caribbean. Reparations demands take account of these losses.

The legacy of denial of technological infrastructure in the Caribbean has left the Region at a great competitive disadvantage as it grapples with the challenges of underdevelopment. There are undesirable levels of access to technology and digital literacy, resource depletion, high unemployment, high foreign debt, international trade deficits, systemic inequalities and inadequate levels of higher education.

As new nations, they received political independence and entered their nation-building phases technologically, scientifically and entrepreneurially ill-equipped. They were excluded from the industrial age and left dependent on high-cost imported technology, causing increased debt burden. Their economies lack industrial capacity and remain non-competitive in the high-tech global economy. Technology, in this context, is a pivotal means of achieving competitiveness, offering opportunities to leapfrog traditional stages of industrial growth.

Enslaved Africans were brought to the Caribbean with considerable scientific knowledge in fields such as metallurgy, medicine, architecture and agriculture. In some instances, they were ahead of their European colonisers. During enslavement, Africans were disconnected from their indigenous knowledge, were generally de-skilled and de-educated for industrial development.

The "Right to Development," as presented in United Nations Resolution (41/128) of 1986, affirms that all peoples are entitled to participate in, contribute to and enjoy economic, social, cultural and political development. The purposeful technological underdevelopment strategy of European colonisers denied this entitlement to descendants of enslaved Africans. Technology transfer is therefore important to the process of repairing the massive generational economic and human resource development harms caused by the deliberate exclusion by European and other enslaving nations.

Compensation for this historical injustice must include investment capital in building scientific institutions and technological sovereignty in the Caribbean and Africa, which will require the transfer of industrial and digital infrastructure inclusive of innovation hubs, unrestricted access to scientific knowledge, patents and high-tech industries, capital for innovation and entrepreneurship and restitution of intellectual property. The modalities for achieving such restoration and transfer of knowledge form part of the reparatory justice negotiations.

Europe must be guided by a commitment to reparatory justice, acknowledging the need to support sustainable development in a manner that respects the autonomy and aspirations of former colonised countries. Reparations must be implemented as a structured, legally binding commitment, ensuring that European nations compensate for the theft of labour and suppression of knowledge development.

10. DEBT CANCELLATION, MONETARY COMPENSATION AND DECOLONISATION

CARICOM demands monetary compensation as reparations from enslaving nations, monarchies, churches, institutions, corporations and families, for loss of life and uncompensated labour, loss of liberty, personal injury, mental pain and anguish and gender-based violence,[18] for the victims of Indigenous genocide, the trans-Atlantic trafficking of enslaved Africans and chattel enslavement of Africans, which constitute grave Crimes against Humanity. CARICOM also demands reparations for the lingering related legacies of these crimes on the descendants of the victims, perpetrated through colonialism, and cancellation of all CARICOM-European bilateral debts accrued to repair the harms of the legacies of colonisation and colonialism.

High interest debt is suffocating Caribbean and African countries which were denied requested development support at independence. They inherited the burden of the legacies of indigenous genocide, African enslavement and colonialism which included the massive crises of community poverty and social inequalities. They were forced to fund basic development through international borrowings and therefore accumulated massive unsustainable debt. As a result, they have some of the highest debt-to-GDP ratios globally.

The high levels of indebtedness, aggravated by unfair and prejudiced global financial governance and international development systems, now constitute fiscal entrapment, where economies are in systemic stagnation and dependency. This debt profile properly belongs to the governments of the colonising European countries which have made no sustained attempt to deal with debilitating post-colonial poverty legacies.

The minimization of public investment due to high debt levels has had long-term detrimental effects on economic growth. Inadequate investment in education has created a workforce with a significant proportion lacking the skills necessary to compete in the global economy. Underdeveloped infrastructure deters foreign investment and hinders the development of local businesses. Under-investment in health undermines all foundations of sustainable development.

[18] Framework for compensation elaborated in the P. Robinson and Brattle Group Report on Trans-Atlantic Chattel Slavery in the Americas and the Caribbean, June 2023.

Existing debts are intergenerational and are ultimately and intimately tied to centuries of colonial extraction. CARICOM proposes complete cancellation of all CARICOM-European bilateral debt as a complementary mechanism to the demand for monetary compensation for the victims of indigenous genocide and chattel enslavement.

Through the racialised British Emancipation Act of 1833, a sum of £20 million was paid to enslavers for their loss of "chattel property." Approximately £16.5 million or 82.5% of that sum was paid to enslavers in the Caribbean. Those in Mauritius and Cape Colony (South Africa) received the bulk of the remaining £3.5 million. Forty-six thousand individual payments were made, indicating the widespread involvement of the British public in the enslavement business and its importance to the British economy.

There have been several initiatives to quantify the damages and determine the quantum of resources due to the region for trans-Atlantic chattel enslavement. From the Beckford Report in 2005 to the Brattle Group quantification in June 2023, estimates of Britain's black debt have ranged from £7.5 trillion (US$13.65 trillion) to US$24 trillion. Additionally, there are quantifications in the Socio-Economic Reparatory Justice Plans prepared by The Repair Campaign; the Indigenous Peoples' Rights International Report (2018); and Jason Hickel's "The Cost of Colonialism" (2020). The outcomes of these studies point to the scale and magnitude of the Crimes against Humanity committed.

Reparations for Haiti is central to CARICOM's reparations demand. Haiti, recognised as the first Black Republic in the modern world, continues to suffer intensely from the living legacies and vestiges of chattel enslavement. In addition, CARICOM supports the immediate restitution of the independence ransom levied against Haiti by France, taking into account damages, interests and lost opportunities. The historical injustice has had devastating effects on Haiti's economy and development.

More generally, CARICOM supports the notion that the process of decolonisation of the still existing European and North American colonial territories is an important component of the reparations cause. Colonised territories are economically constrained by imposed constitutional arrangements. Structural economic decolonisation and political autonomy should be based upon and infused with the principle and praxis of reparative justice.

CARICOM calls for urgent and decisive action to reform the international financial architecture that does not adequately take into account the development challenges of the Region and which was established at a time when the Member States of CARICOM were not independent. These issues are well articulated in the Bridgetown Initiative which was introduced by the Barbados Government in 2022, with strong support from the Caribbean Community.

CARICOM demands a negotiated settlement with European governments and their agents that allows both parties to contribute meaningfully to the restoration of respective dignity. Financial and other institutions that profited from Crimes against Humanity are also obligated by international law to pay reparations. Agreements should contain clear stipulations on the size of the compensation and the duration of the payments. The mechanisms for the management of funds, to include oversight and accountability, must be determined and made transparent.

Financial institutions that have historical ties to the trafficking of enslaved Africans also possess invaluable records and documents which can contribute to greater understanding of this period. Making these records available for academic and public scrutiny is part of their formal responsibility.

The Crimes against Humanity committed against African people by enslaving nations have left an enduring legacy of psychological trauma, financial dependency and socioeconomic disparities. The demand for monetary compensation and debt cancellation is a call for financial redress. The process of reparatory justice calls on Europe to confront its past, to accept responsibility and commit to reconciliation and repair of the harms inflicted on the victims and their descendants, which now challenge the sustainable development of the region.

APPENDIX:

A DECADE OF PROGRESS: CARICOM, THE AFRICAN UNION AND THE GLOBAL REPARATIONS MOVEMENT

CARICOM Governments are committed to a process that involves recognizing past wrongs, addressing current inequalities and implementing measures to restore dignity, rights, and opportunities to affected groups. This concept is grounded in the principles of justice, equity, and reconciliation, aiming to repair the social, economic, and psychological damages inflicted upon Caribbean communities.

The Heads of Government decision of 2013 to establish the CRC and the decade of work of that Commission, have created and consolidated a regional consciousness which transcends the limitations of narrow nationalisms. Regional integration has been prioritised, emphasizing the common history and humanity of descendants of Indigenous Peoples and enslaved Africans over existing cultural, geographical and linguistic differences. An army of citizens for justice and an ever-expanding team of Caribbean champions - as individuals, institutions or organizations - working for transformative change, have partnered in a grand alliance for progress, inspired and motivated by the noble principles of reparatory justice.

The reparatory justice activism in all CARICOM Member States spearheaded by the National Reparations Commissions or Committees, The UWI and other institutions of civil society, have placed CARICOM at the forefront of the internationalisation of the reparations movement and central to the growing global support for the cause.

There is a growing acknowledgment of the need to address the historical and ongoing impacts of enslavement and colonialism. Within the last five years, reparations groups and committees have emerged in the UK and several European countries. The CRC developed collaborative relationships with similar organizations in North America, Europe and Africa that include:

(i) The National African American Reparations Commission (NAARC) which credits the CRC for the inspiration which led to its formation. NAARC has a mission to create a unified push for reparatory justice and like the CRC

has issued a Ten-Point Plan for reparatory justice, focusing on areas such as economic development, education, housing, and criminal justice reform.

(ii) The Global Afrikan Congress (GAC) headquartered in Toronto, Canada which describes itself as an international network of Pan Africanist and Africa centred organizations and individuals and has in its objectives, the demand for reparations for the exploitation of people of African heritage, supporting policies to combat institutional racism and working for recognition and respect for Africans and people of African descent.

(iii) AIDO Network International – an international non-governmental organisation representing African traditional leaders (Kings, Queens, and Chiefs) and other stakeholders active in culture and human rights issues in Africa – now based in 11 countries in Africa and Europe.

(iv) The Repair Campaign - a trans-Atlantic network dedicated to securing reparatory justice for the Caribbean, which aligns its efforts with CARICOM's 10-Point Plan for Reparatory Justice and seeks to amplify Caribbean voices.

The CARICOM demand as encoded in the Ten Point Plan for Reparatory Justice (2013) has garnered increasing attention on the hemispheric and global stages:

(i) The calls for reparations have been endorsed by the Governments of Cuba, Venezuela, Costa Rica, Colombia, Panama, The Parliament of India and intergovernmental organisations including the Pan African Congress, The Organisation of American States (OAS) and the Bolivarian Alliance for the Peoples of Our America (ALBA);

(ii) Many prestigious universities in the Caribbean, USA and UK have made decisions to review their own history and relationship to the trafficking and enslavement of Africans. They include, Brown, Columbia, Princeton, Harvard Law School, University of Chicago, Georgetown, University of Virginia, Rutgers, Oxford, Cambridge, Bristol and the University of London. The University of Glasgow signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) with The UWI in 2018, for the establishment of the Glasgow-Caribbean Centre for Development Research and the development of a Masters degree in Reparatory Justice Studies; the UWI established a Centre for Reparations Research, providing evidentiary data to the CRC.

(iii) Private corporations such as the Bank of England, Lloyds of London, the Bank of Scotland, Greene King, UK Trust and others have acknowledged their role and participation in the trafficking of enslaved Africans and enslavement and some have issued public relations statements to redress their crimes;

(iv) Two prominent families in the United Kingdom, namely the Trevelyans and the Gladstones, apologised for their family's role in slavery and the trafficking of enslaved Africans, serving as catalysts for apologies from other families that profited from enslavement. They have also led the formation of the group 'Heirs of Slavery' which describes itself as a "group of people who have learned that their ancestors acquired significant wealth from, or helped organise, the industrialised enslavement of African people in the Americas." Critically they have announced their support for the CARICOM Ten Point Plan and continue to encourage the UK Government and other former colonial powers to engage in a dialogue with CARICOM concerning the Plan;

(v) King Wilhelm of The Netherlands in July 2023 issued a formal apology for the role of the Dutch Monarch in enslavement, colonization, and indenture. His apology follows the formal apology in December 2022 by then Prime Minister Mark Rutte who issued an apology on behalf of the Dutch government stating 'For hundreds of years, people were made into merchandise, exploited and abused in the name of the Dutch state…Dutch governments had not done enough to recognise that slavery has had lasting negative effects';

(vi) The Church of England apologised in June 2020 and asked for forgiveness for its role as enslaver on Caribbean plantations which it owned, and for its investment in a company that transported enslaved Africans for over 100 years across the Atlantic. The Archbishop called the links to the trafficking and owning of enslaved Africans "abominable" and "a source of shame". The Archbishop also apologised for the Church's denial that black Africans are created in the image of God. In January 2023, the Church proposed to establish a fund of £100 million, to provide redress to the communities affected by enslavement in the Caribbean;

(vii) The Communiqué issued by the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting held in Samoa in November 2024, included paragraphs on

reparatory justice – which inter alia reads – 'Heads, noting calls for discussions on reparatory justice with regard to the trans-Atlantic trade in enslaved Africans and chattel enslavement… agreed that the time has come for a meaningful, truthful and respectful conversation towards forging a common future based on equity. Heads further agreed to continue playing an active role in bringing about such inclusive conversations addressing these harms, paying special attention to women and girls, who suffered disproportionately from these appalling tragedies in the history of humanity';

(viii) King Charles III of the UK has asserted in public utterances that the conversation about slavery 'is a conversation whose time has come'. In April 2023, he granted researchers full access to the Royal Archives and the Royal Collection to conduct an independent study exploring the relationship between the British monarchy and the trafficking of enslaved Africans in the 17th and 18th centuries.

The Community of Latin American and Caribbean States (CELAC) has shown support for the CARICOM nations' call for reparations. CELAC, a regional bloc that promotes the integration and development of Latin American and Caribbean countries, has recognised the need to rectify historical injustices of enslavement and colonialism and the lasting impact these injustices have had on the Caribbean nations and their populations. Its underlying solidarity reflects a broader consensus on the importance of acknowledging the enduring effects of colonialism and enslavement in the Region. Support from CELAC also highlights the interconnectedness of Latin American and Caribbean histories and the shared legacy of colonial exploitation across these Regions.

The European Union's (EU) official approach to the issue of reparations for chattel enslavement has been more indirect, focusing broadly on recognizing the historical injustices and promoting racial equality and anti-discrimination within its Member States. It has enacted directives and frameworks aimed at combating racism and xenophobia and passed a Resolution on the Fundamental Rights of People of African Descent (Resolution 2018/2899 RSP), on 26 March 2019, which calls on the EU and its Member States to implement measures to address structural racism that affects 15 million people of African descent in Europe. The resolution specifically urges EU institutions and Member States to officially acknowledge "past and ongoing injustices and crimes against humanity, such as slavery and transatlantic slave trade, or committed under European

colonialism," and to take action which may include "some form or reparations such as offering public apologies and the restitution of stolen artefacts to countries of origin".

The European Parliament subsequently adopted a Resolution on 19 June 2020 on the anti-racism protests following the death of George Floyd in the United States and articulated a plan titled: A Union of Equality: EU Anti-racism Action Plan 2020-2015. The June 2020 Resolution designated 2 December as the European Day Commemorating the Abolition of the Slave Trade.

The European Parliament has not issued formal statements specifically supporting financial reparations. It however supports its Member States in their endeavours to reconcile with their colonial pasts, including support for commemoration and education initiatives that acknowledge the horrors of the trade in enslaved Africans and the brutality of chattel enslavement.

The UN has played a committed and pivotal role in addressing the legacies of genocide of the Indigenous People, chattel enslavement of Africans and promoting the discussion around reparations through various conferences, declarations, resolutions and statements including:

(i) The landmark 2001 World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia, and Related Intolerance held in Durban, South Africa;

(ii) The Durban Declaration and Programme of Action (DDPA) which recognised the forced removal of Africans from their homeland and the transatlantic trafficking of enslaved Africans as "a Crime Against Humanity;" and called on States to adopt measures to counter its lasting effects and laid the groundwork for nations to consider reparatory justice in various forms;

(iii) Two United Nations International Decades for Indigenous People (1995-2004 and 2005-2015), established by Resolution 48/163 and Resolution 59/174 respectively;

(iv) Proclamation of the first International Decade for People of African Descent 2015-2024, advocated for by the Working Group of Experts on People of African descent, with States and civil society and aimed at promoting respect, protection, and fulfilment of all human rights and fundamental freedoms of people of African descent;

(v) Establishment of the United Nations' Permanent Forum for People of African Descent in August 2021. This represents a concrete, significant and historic international initiative aimed at providing a platform to improve the safety and quality of life and livelihoods of people of African descent and addressing the global issue of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia, and related intolerance that people of African descent face;

(vi) Observance of March 25 as the "International Day of Remembrance of the Victims of Slavery and the Transatlantic Slave Trade."

(vii) Proclamation of a Second International Decade for People of African Descent (2025-2034), to continue and consolidate the work of recognition, justice and development for Africans.

All of these initiatives underscore the UN's commitment to addressing through legal and diplomatic frameworks and mechanisms, the systemic racism and inequalities stemming from historical enslavement and colonialism, which was acknowledged in statements of the United Nations, General Secretary, António Guterres: 'laid the foundations for the violent discrimination system based on white supremacy, which continues to poison communities and societies.' He reiterated that there was a need for reparatory justice frameworks to help overcome generations of exclusion and discrimination.

The African Union (AU), while focusing on broader continental issues, supports the principles of reparatory justice for historical injustices, advocating for the acknowledgment of the effects of colonialism and the trafficking of enslaved Africans on the continent. Momentum has been building in the African Union with milestone convenings including the Continental Experts Workshop on Restitution of Cultural Property and Heritage held in November 2021 in Senegal; the Africa-Diaspora Summit on Reparations held in Ghana in August 2022; the high level AU Study Tour to the Caribbean, which focused on developing stronger AU-CARICOM cooperation on reparations and racial healing, held in Barbados in July 2023; and the Accra Reparations Conference (ARC) hosted by the Republic of Ghana in November 2023.

The outcomes of the Accra Reparations Conference which centred on the theme of "Building a United Front to Advance the Cause of Justice and Reparations to Africans," led to the African Union Assembly's decision on the theme for 2025 as "Justice for Africans and People of African Descent through Reparations." In

its formal Declaration, the conference outlined a number of key commitments, including:

(i) Establishment of a Committee of Experts on Reparations;
(ii) Creation of a Global Reparations Fund;
(iii) Identification of an AU Special Envoy on Reparations;
(iv) Engagement with African Civil Society groups;
(v) Strengthened partnerships with the global south, especially with CARICOM, Latin America and the African diaspora;
(vi) Exploring legal and judicial options to advance reparations;
(vii) Establishment of an AU Legal Reference Group;
(viii) Organising an international conference on reparations in the context of the UNt;
(ix) Reform of the global financial system and highlighting persistent neo-colonialist structures;
(x) Increased role for the AU Organs and Regional Economic Commissions;
(xi) Addressing climate justice in the context of reparatory justice;
(xii) Repatriation, restitution and safeguarding cultural artefacts; and
(xiii) Convening regular international conferences on reparations.

These African-based initiatives and developments reached a climax at the Second Africa-CARICOM Summit held in Addis, Ethiopia, on 7 September 2025, which issued the ground breaking "Addis Ababa Declaration on Transcontinental Partnership in Pursuit of Reparatory Justice for Africans and People of African Descent through Reparations." The Declaration endorsed the introduction of the AU Decade of Reparatory Justice (2026-2035); made provisions for the establishment of a joint AU-CARICOM reparations mechanism for implementation of the Declaration; the elaboration of an African common position on reparations taking into account the CARICOM Ten Point Plan for Reparatory Justice; restitution of stolen African cultural property; organising an annual reparations conference alternating between the two regions as well as a fellowship programme; establishment of a global reparations fund; greater involvement of the African diaspora in Latin America, North America and Europe in the reparations movement; expressed solidarity with Haiti and recommended strengthened collaboration with the United Nations system.

The European Union, the United Nations, the Commonwealth and other inter-governmental and international organizations that have acknowledged and supported the historical justification of CARICOM's call, have been cautious about

making direct resolutions or formal statements endorsing reparations. However, they have emphasised the importance of acknowledgment, education and efforts to rectify the enduring disparities caused by centuries of exploitation and made significant declarations and proposed actions that contribute to the reparations discourse.

On March 25, 2026, the International Day for the Remembrance of the Victims of Slavery and the Transatlantic Slave Trade, the UN General Assembly, sitting to debate and decide on a resolution led by Ghana and co-sponsored by the AU and CARICOM, adopted the landmark Resolution A/RES/80/250 "Declaration of the Trafficking of Enslaved Africans and Racialised Chattel Enslavement of Africans as the Gravest Crime Against Humanity." This was a major achievement for the Africa-CARICOM Coalition that took shape with the Accra Declaration in which both parties agreed to speak with one voice on the subject.

Twenty-five years ago at the World Conference Against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance, held in Durban, South Africa in September 2001, the chattel slavery system was defined as abhorrent and "should" have been a Crime against Humanity, but was not so at the time. The 2026 resolution rejection of the legal concept of "should" and its replacement with "is" constitutes a tipping point for the reparations movement. CARICOM governments must be congratulated in securing the support of the AU with Ghana in the African lead, as tremendous political power has been added to the campaign.

EPILOGUE:

THE COMING ENLIGHTENMENT: REPARATIONS AND HUMANITY'S FUTURE

Caribbean nations have inherited deeply unequal societies structured by racial hierarchy and institutionalised white supremacy. Social structures were defined by vast differentials of wealth and power as a result of indigenous genocide, chattel enslavement and colonialism. The reparations movement envisions a future of sustainable development for the progeny of the Indigenous People, deceptively indentured servants, and enslaved African peoples.

The call for reparations continues to gain momentum in the Region and around the world, reflecting a changing international consensus on addressing historical injustices. A recent public opinion poll by the Repair Campaign found that 60% of the British public believe Caribbean nations and descendants of enslaved people should receive a formal apology from the government, the royal family, corporations and families that profited from the exploitation.

CARICOM's Ten Point Plan for Reparations: A Manifesto for the Coming Enlightenment, is a development plan that encompasses many of the issues facing the Caribbean and its diaspora. An apology, for example, will cover the diaspora as European and other states are asked to apologize to the descendants of Africans who were trafficked and enslaved in the Caribbean.

An Indigenous People's development Plan addresses many of the issues faced by CARICOM's Indigenous populations including those living outside the region. This includes the Garifuna who are a distinct Afro-Indigenous people with a unique culture, language, and history, primarily residing along the Caribbean coast of Central America in Honduras, Belize, Guatemala, Nicaragua, and North America.

The Ten Point Plan also addresses health, education, restitution of cultural heritage, psychological rehabilitation, violence against women and the destruction of the family, debt cancellation and monetary compensation. The focus on sustainable development will apply to a better living standard and future opportunities for the descendants.

The Caribbean remains the most colonised part of the post-modern world

with seventeen islands still without sovereignty. The demand to the European and American nations that maintain these colonies is to listen to the calls of the African-descended and Indigenous populations of those colonies for independence, self-determination and reparations. Reparations and decolonisation are bound by the hip of justice.

The CARICOM Ten Point Plan for Reparations, then, is a call for an Enlightenment that offers humanity an opportunity for healing and repair. It represents more than a framework for discussion and negotiations. It opens a window of hope in humanity's quest to repair and prepare for the coming twenty-first century Enlightenment.

CARICOM