

A. Background recognition of reparations claims: U.S. govt to interned Japanese Americans; German govt, European banks and corporations to Jews for Holocaust

B. Corporate agents (corporations, nations, governments). Group victims (incl. individuals victimized as members of groups)

C. Possible forms of reparative compensation: monetary; programs and institutional reforms; "symbolic" reparations (public acknowledgment; museums; monuments; school curricula)

D. Basic moral intuition behind reparations: perpetrator has obligation to repair harm to victim, including later effects of harm. Acknowledgment of harm, apology, or being punished for the harm is not enough.

E. 753: Collective compensation. TM rejects individual in favor of collective reparation, because the harm was done to a collective group. Contrast J. Thompson view that groups that have no legal standing as groups (such as ethnic/racial groups) should not be compensated, that compensation should go only to individuals. TM: This view omits group nature of initial and ongoing harm, and need for group-based efforts to remedy historical inequities. TM says ultimate moral basis for reparations is nevertheless violation of individual human rights (756).

F. 755: Need for broader model than "tort" (A gives B something equivalent in value to what A took from B).

G. Reasonable assumption that had it not been for slavery, AfAms would be much more nearly equal to whites today. [extension of this: If freed slaves had been given land and political protection to work the land and vote, AfAms would be more equal. If New Deal housing policies had not favored whites..... etc.]

H. 756: Collective/corporate responsibility of legally constituted body that persist over time through changes in personnel—namely, U.S. as a nation-state, a political community. [Views of who is responsible that TM rejects: white people; descendants of slave-owners; descendants of white people who lived at the time of slavery {segregation}.]

1. Issue of immigration subsequent to end of slavery, or of segregation: responsibility is based on civic membership. Membership/citizenship in U.S. polity brings benefits and burdens; a new citizen takes on both. [TM also mentions that immigrants of color have benefited from struggles of African Americans for civil rights, although this point is not essential to his basic argument.]

2. National inheritance, from which all benefit (including contemporary AfAms, in a way) was unjustly acquired at the expense of AfAms

3. Model is *collective responsibility/liability* rather than *collective guilt/punishment*

I. 758: Argument requires showing that current inequities are a product of slavery and segregation. American individualist ideology gets in the way of this.

J. Argument can't dispense with slavery: hierarchy of privilege and respect, stigmatization of Blacks. (But reparations are not *only for* slavery.)

K. 760: Causal narrative includes the failure to rectify *previous* injustices as part of the cause of *current* injustices. TM focuses the causal narrative on urban black ghetto "underclass" (761-764). [Q: how does this focus square with his emphasis on *all* African Americans as being victimized by slavery and segregation?]

L. Value of public debate over reparations in raising level of, and reforming, U.S. historical consciousness. Dismal state of public awareness regarding slavery and segregation, as well as their legacy on the present. 3 criticisms of TM's view on value of debate: {What are TM's responses to these arguments?}

1. Racism is irrational and will not be affected by rational argument and information

2. pursuing reparations will exacerbate racial divisions

3. promotes sense of victimization in AfAms which is detrimental to their progress