

WHEN TRUTH IS JUSTICE AND NOT ENOUGH

Executive Summary to the Black Women's Truth and Reconciliation Commission Report

A PUBLICATION OF BLACK WOMEN'S BLUEPRINT

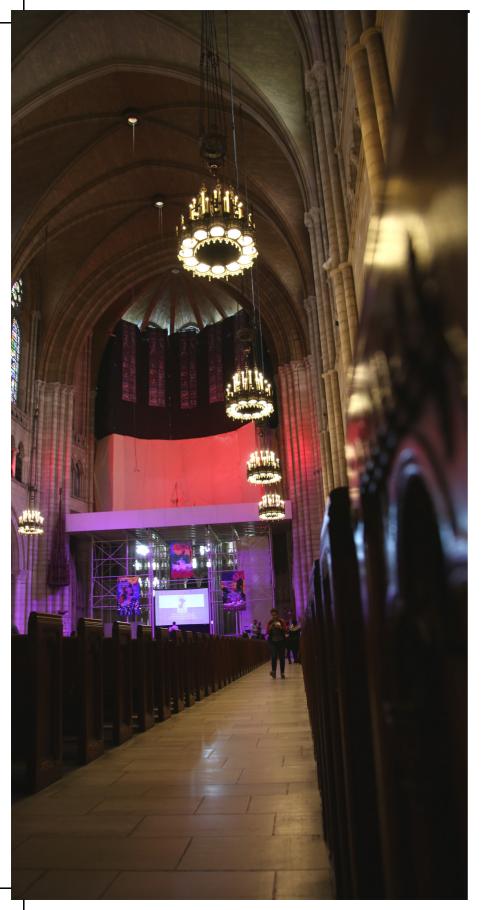
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When Truth is Justice and Not Enough:

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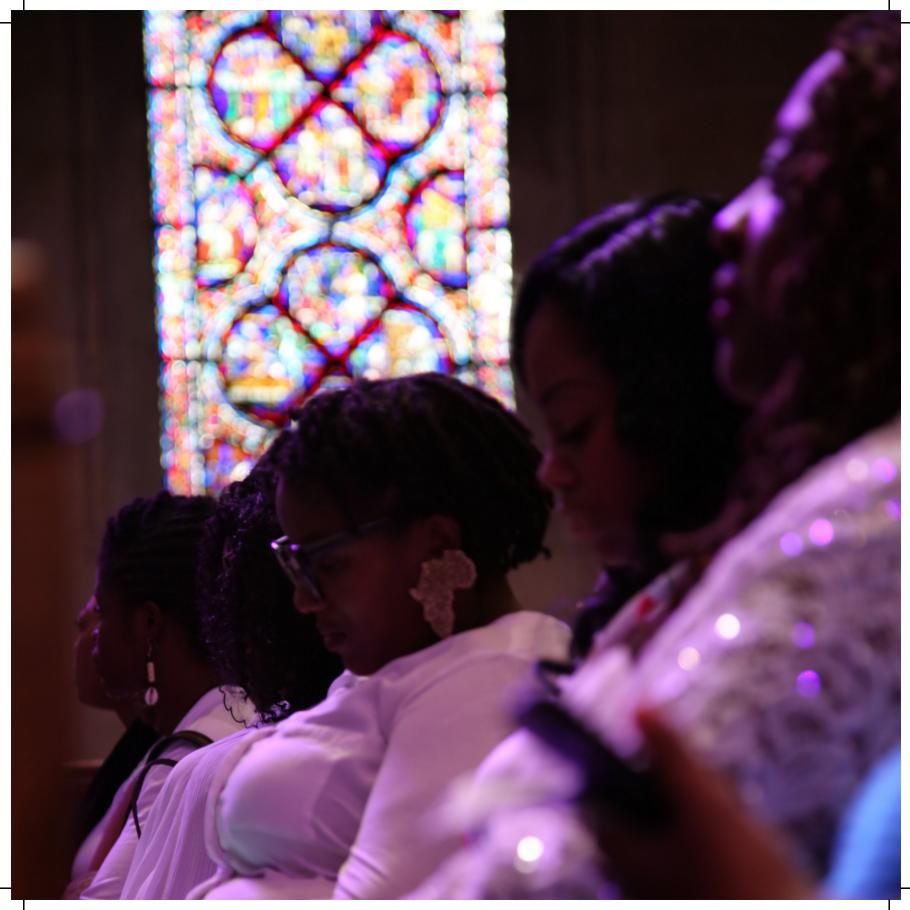
Maybelline McCoy

A Publication of Black Women's Blueprint



"I think about us, black women, a lot. How many of us are battered and how many are champions. I note the strides that have replaced the tiptoe; I watch the new configurations we have given to personal relationships, wonder what shapes are forged and what merely bent. I think about the sister no longer with us, who in rage or contentment left us to finish what should never have begun; a gender/racial war in which everybody would lose if we lost, and in which everybody would win if we won. I think about the black women who never landed who are still swimming open-eyed in the sea. I think about those of us who did land and see how their strategies for survival became our maneuvers for power."

Toni Morrison, "What Moves at the Margins"



Unfinished Business: Regarding The BWTRC and this Report

Launched in 2010, the Black Women's Truth and Reconciliation Commission is the first of its kind in the nation to focus on rape and sexual assault against Black women in the United States. Women and girls of African descent, many of whom were denied access and assistance from the criminal justice system, began to organize. We realized our own and collective transformation could not happen without public recognition and acknowledgment of the injustices and harms we had experienced. Out of these early discussions—first in New York City, and later in cities across the country such as Washington D.C., New Orleans, Mississippi, and Chicago—the BWTRC was born.

The United States is one of the few places in the world where mass rapes and brutal reproductive labor and exploitation have occurred systematically against an entire race of people—enslaved African women and girls in the U.S. South. These atrocities—racialized and sexualized in nature—occurred as the nation state laid claim to independence for white citizens, while proliferating an extortionist project which annihilated indigenous lives, colonized and extracted natural resources, and enslaved, coerced and forcibly bred African human beings.

Many people are aware of the atrocities, yet there has been little to no public outcry, no formal governmental process of recognition, no national process for justice or acknowledgement of such violations and the ongoing post-war, post-traumatic impact on survivors and their descendants. The case of Harriet Jacobs, Celia and other Black women under chattel slavery are among hundreds which can be found in U.S. archives. The case of Recy Taylor, Joan Little and other Black women under Jim Crow are somewhat documented. Recent cases like Jannie Ligons and dozens of Black women raped by a white Oklahoma City police officer, Daniel Ken Holtzclaw and the nearly 400,000 untested rape kits sitting on evidence shelves throughout the U.S. today, disproportionately belonging to Black women and girls are testament to the ongoing sexist and racist war using Black women's bodies as battleground.

This executive summary to the Black Women's Truth and Reconciliation Commission (BWTRC) report is a personal invitation to the public to be in conversation with a piece of history. Using art as diplomacy and relying on images of moments which can only be visually conveyed, this booklet unearths the painful history of rape and sexual assault against Black women and girls in America. It takes us to the place where we can change the conversation and the dominant narrative. Survivors continue to dare all of us to engage in more liberatory visions for our community, define justice on our own terms, celebrate the ways in which we have survived and describe the truth telling which took place through this groundbreaking work by Black women.

It was our grounding in the words of Beverly Guy Sheftall, Maya Angelou, Ida B. Wells, Johnetta B. Cole, Paula Giddings, Patricia Hill Collins, Pearl Cleage, Loretta Ross, Akasha Gloria Hull, bell hooks, Deborah Gray White, Barbara Smith, Angela Davis, Beth Richie, Myriam Merlet, Fania Davis, Elsa Barkley Brown, Patricia McFadden, Ruby Sales, Julianne Malveaux, Demita Frazier, Cheryl Clarke and Byllye Avery, that we learned we could deploy a host of voices and ideas and pre-existing truths to scaffold our stories of rape and sexual abuse.

The forthcoming report is for all the girls, the women, the sisters left in back alleys, in heaps on their bedroom or living room floors. It is for those left in building hallways, staircases, backroom parties and basement garages.

We stand with you.

Farah Tanis, Executive Director Black Women's Blueprint



The Commissioners

Our cadre of Commissioners are leaders specifically in gender justice and racial justice movements, transnational and Black feminists and womanists. This independent, representative, and competent cadre in collaboration with a BWB Steering Committee was charged with co-creating and leading the TRC. We strategically nominated and elected Black women and allies with visible track records in racial justice advocacy, cultural and academic production known to move beyond conversations almost exclusively informed by a paradigm, revolving around very valid but singular experiences of Black men and boys as victims of racist violence. We nominated and elected Commissioners committed to presenting fuller examinations, public debate and actions about racialized violations which include sexualized violence within and outside our communities against Black women, girls including those identifying as LGBTQ.

Recy Taylor, Civil Rights Icon, Anti-Rape Advocate, Inducted, Museum of Women's Resistance **Dr. Amrita Kapur,** Senior Associate, Gender Justice Program, The International Center for Transitional Justice (ICTJ) (2014-2016)

Dr. Beverly Guy-Sheftall, Black Feminist Scholar, Anna Julia Cooper Professor of Women's Studies and English, Spelman College

Ejim Dike, Executive Director, U.S. Human Rights Network

Lynn Rosenthal, Vice President for Strategic Partnerships, the National Domestic Violence Hotline. White House Advisor on Violence Against Women (2009-2015)

Monika Johnson-Hostler, Executive Director, NC Coalition Against Sexual Assault and National Alliance to End Sexual Violence

Loretta Ross, Human Rights and Reproductive Justice Advocate, Co-founder, National Coordinator of the SisterSong Women of Color Reproductive Justice Collective

Ruby Sales, Civil Rights Activist, Writer, Mobilizer, Founder, Spirit House

Jamia Wilson, Movement Builder, Storyteller, Feminist Activist, Executive Director, Women's Media Center **Quentin Walcott**, Movement Maker, Anti-Violence Activist, Co-Executive Director CONNECT, NYCStephanie Colon, Community Organizer, Anti-Oppression Activist, Poet, Artist

Agunda Okeyo, Author, Writer, Activist, Women's Media Center, Salon, The Daily Beast, and Indiewire **Alisa Del Tufo**, Activist, Oral Historian, Founder, Threshold Collaborative

Alicia Garza, Activist, Speaker, Organizer, Co-Founder, #BlackLivesMatter

Farah Tanis, BWTRC Chair, Co-Founder, Black Women's Blueprint and Museum of Women's Resistance

The Commissioners: Truth Keepers



Jamia Wilson

Quentin Walcott

Loretta Ross Ruby Sales Farah Tanis



Farah Tanis, Chair, BWTRC and Recy Taylor (1919-2017), Commissioner, BWTRC in Abbeville, Alabama

In January of 2016, Black Women's Blueprint rode down to Alabama to meet with Recy Taylor to obtain her blessing as we prepared for the day of public tetstimony of the BWTRC.



In Memoriam CASSANDRA Q. BUTTS 1965-2016

Cassandra Butts, lawyer, policy expert, Senior Advisor to the U.S. Mission to the United Nations, former Deputy White House Counsel and a nominee to the ambassadorship to the Bahamas, died after a brief illness on May 25, 2016, three months after public testimony of the BWTRC. She was just 50 years old. To us Cassandra Butts will always be remembered as the way-maker who took our calls and called members of the U.S. Mission leadership to the table with Black Women's Blueprint. One of the few African-Americans at the U.S. Mission to the U.N., Cassandra was the women's rights advocate and the visionary pioneer who opened the doors for Black women and girls, trans women, survivors of sexual violence and reproductive violation in the U.S. so they could stand within the walls of the United Nations both to speak their truths and exert their full rights.

Reckoning with Grief: Writing The Report on the Black Women's Truth and Reconciliation Commission

The truth still looms large and as we write this report and we echo what we suspect many transcribers of Truth Commissions the world over have themselves exclaimed: "As you type, you don't know you are crying until you feel and see the tears falling on your hands."

-Chief Transcriber, Truth and Reconciliation Commission, South Africa.

The grief experienced while writing this report cannot be overstated. Several persons and consultants have attempted to write this report, but the act of examining and translating the stories, the terrifying experiences of survivors, reading their responses to "What will it take to end rape?" has not only been daunting-- it has on several occasions engulfed writers in profound states of grief and desolation.

To avoid retraumatization, we gave ourselves permission to wait, to pause and to break at several points in time, sometimes to re-engage in our healing journeys once again. For those writers and transcribers who did not identify as survivors, the task of holding the stories of survivors, the review of video footage from the BWTRC, all at once, inspired compassion, triggered memory, but most of all, evoked despair and immobilization. The report illustrates the truth-telling which took place through this groundbreaking work by Black women.

Through the report we share a blueprint with people who want to reckon with the Black past and present. Central to that Black past are the experiences of Black women and girls. This report will never be able to tell all our stories though they exist in books, film, plays, archives and repositories across the country. Find the whole truth. Tell your children. Use this report as a resource for telling part of our history, and never forget ours is a history of the most vast stories from diaspora to diaspora, and from survivor heart to survivor heart.

Our Mandates Truth, Justice, Healing and Reconciliation

As an independent body led by survivors and comprised of civil society, the Black Women's Truth and Reconciliation Commission set out to examine the history, context, causes, chronology, and consequence of rape/sexual assault on Black women. The Commission established mandates in the pursuit of truth, justice and healing for survivors of sexual assault and to reconcile them to themselves, to their communities or to their families if they desired such a process. The pursuit of recognition of human rights violations against Black survivors of rape underpins each of the mandates.

Truth: Unearth the truth of survivors by providing a platform for speaking and sharing their narratives. Part of this mandate has included critical participatory action research and multi-media (film, audio, photo) documentation of survivors lived experiences across three-generations beginning with the watershed case of Recy Taylor in 1944 to 2016 marking the year Barack Obama, the first Black president of the U.S., left office.

Justice: Strengthen our voices and capacity as women of African descent to develop and set our own standards of social and economic justice, as well as advocate for state and systemic change.

Healing: Create a safe space and programs for survivors of sexual violence to recover and engage in strategies for healing.

Reconciliation: Provide the spaces and tools needed for survivors to engage in processes of reconciliation with themselves, family and community, and create opportunities for organizing on issues of restoration, repair and reparations. In these strategies, survivors will lead the way in determining inter-racial partnerships or partnerships with Black men to promote intra-community reconciliation and public deliberations using antiracist, feminist and human rights frameworks.

Using Art and Culture as Survival and Vehicle

Every February, from 2011-2016 we engaged our communities in creative, artistic events that centered sexualized violence squarely within the context of civil rights and women's lives. These events aimed to provoke an expanded notion of racial justice within the celebration of Black liberation struggles and campaigns within Black History Month each year.

The use of African drums, blues, jazz, contemporary dance and vocals were among the art forms used to garner Black community support for our endeavor—a Black Women's Truth and Reconciliation Commission on Sexual Assault. Poets, activists and actors joined our plight and offered inspiring accounts about sexual identity, intimacy, consent, agency, pleasure, desire and the erotic. All the while, "never forget we were sexually assaulted, and most of us the products of the rape of foremothers" was a forthcoming reckoning.

Over the five years, brazen and spellbinding annual performances of our *Mother Tongue Monologues* explored African-American women's complex histories of struggle and triumph, foregrounding the notion that a violation of human rights through the body of a Black women or girl, should provoke outrage in all of us. We adopted the words of Black feminists, womanists, sexual revolutionaries and shared feats towards sexual liberation that have taken place since the middle passage. We spoke of various prototypes and constructions of Black female sexuality from the "Jezebel", to the "Tragic Mulatto", the "Venus Hottentot" to the "Video Vixen".

Mother Tongue Monologues were hosted at the National Black Theater in Harlem, at the Brecht Forum, the Brooklyn Museum, Medgar Evers College, Roulette Theater and the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture.

Accounting for the Sexual Assault of Black Women

The narratives and accounts gathered by the Black Women's Truth and Reconciliation Commission affirms that while legal slavery has ended, the rape and sexual torture of Black women and the justification for this torture still continues.

From 2010 - 2016, The BWTRC collected evidence from a variety of sources including: public hearings and testimonies, small events and art-based theater performances like *Mother Tongue Monologues* held annually from 2010-2016 specifically to break silences about sexual assault from survivors and perpetrators. Additionally, we recorded disclosures made to us via social media and face-to-face in meetings. The BWTRC also relied on publicly available data sources. A four-year survey designed by survivors using a Community Participatory Action Research (CPAR) model, entitled "10 Questions About Rape" provided an opportunity for survivors to record their experiences with sexual assault and their recommendations for change.

Of the participants surveyed using this survivor led CPAR instrument:

70% had been sexually assaulted before the age of 18.

Of that 70%, the most commonly reported age of a **first sexual assault was 5 years old**.

91% of the Black survivors who took the survey identified the harm doer as Black.

11 times - the most number of times one survivor was raped

6 years the most number of years a survivor was raped until she lost count

These numbers are staggering. If nothing else they warrant further research into the prevalence of rape and other sexual assaults in our communities.

Today as 60 to 80 percent of rapes go unreported according a survey by the U.S. Department of Justice, we are under siege from within, at the hands of our fellow Black brothers. Eight out of ten rapes are committed by someone known to the victim. Moreover, the extent of the backlash by Black women against the survivors who accused R. Kelly, Bill Cosby and others of rape, kidnapping and sex trafficking indicates a perpetuation of rape culture which is sadly endorsed by too many in our communities. There is no pain as virulent as the one that is inflicted by our own.

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VICTIM OF WHITE ALABAMA RAPIST



First published photo of Mrs. Recy Taylor, victim of six white rapists in Alabama, and her little family is this picture received from their refuga in an Alabama

from their hometown of Abbeville, crime occurred. With the young modaughter, little Jayce Lee Taylor an

Our Pilgramage South: Visiting Recy Taylor in Abbeville, Alabama

As a part of the work of the Black Women's Truth and Reconciliation Commission, it was critical that we sit with Recy Taylor, the grand-lady of the BWTRC whose assault marks the watershed moment in the BWTRC's imperative for calling for truth and justice for survivors of sexual violence. We sat with Recy Taylor to obtain her permission to continue with the work of our Truth Commission.

Black Women's Blueprint's regular visits to Recy Taylor were critical precursors to the first transnational convening of the Black Women's Truth and Reconciliation Commission (BWTRC). This historic event commenced a transnational dialogue and reckoning between survivors of violence; their advocates; international and national policymakers; activists; artists and other cultural influencers on how to end sexual violence against Black women and girls once and for all.

In 2011, the Alabama House of Representatives issued a formal apology to Mrs. Recy Taylor for the brutal rape she sustained at the hands of six white men in 1944. No charges were ever levied against her attackers and two grand juries failed to indict them. Taylor's advocacy since has been the primary source of inspiration in shaping the Black Women's Truth and Reconciliation Commission (BWTRC)'s values; honing political strategies; and providing hope to thousands of Black survivors around the country over decades.

The BWTRC committed to unpacking the impact of racialized and sexualized violence over three generations since 1944 precisely because it was a specific turning point when Recy Taylor became a sister-survivor and sparked the early Civil Rights Movement, joining the ranks alongside Rosa Parks and so many unnamed Black warrior women fighting for the right to bodily and spiritual integrity. To us, 1944 represents the casting off of 400 years of slavery and the exploitative and brutal sexual terror experienced at the hands of White supremacists, and the articulation of a civil rights politic based on the leadership, vision, and spiritual brilliance of Black women and girls specifically.

"Who come to see me," - Recy Taylor

"Who come to see me?" Recy looked over her glasses at us as she said this to the attending nursing staff who guided us to where she was watching a game show on television amidst other residents at her nursing home. She smiled as we walked up to greet her. She exclaimed with excitement and presented a quiet but fierce smile in silence for the first sacred moments of our visit. A hum landed between us. Recy had a voice that was butterscotch sweet, and she used it to sing praises to God and tell stories about her "baby brother" Robert. Her voice was sweet yet stern--she knew how to communicate exactly what she wanted and exactly how she planned to go about getting it. She spoke of her daughter, of raising her siblings, and of Rock Hill Holiness Church--where she was abducted from by seven white men, six of whom are responsible for her gang-rape. In all we know about Recy, her love for God could not be missed. In fact the lifeblood of Recy's survivor narrative is in her relationship with God.

Recy joked with us and kept a tune going as we talked. She asked us if we liked her hair and nails-she had just gotten them done for the holiday and wanted them to be noticed, she remarked while fluffing the lapel on her leopard print blouse. She had wit that was spellbinding. These remarkable ways of Recy had us not only by her side from the beginning--but also inspirited our determination in holding sacred, Recy's story.

That afternoon, an overcast day in July, we sat in the cafeteria of the intimate nursing home in Abbeville, Alabama where Recy Taylor told us of her healing and recovery following the traumatic 1944 fall day when she was kidnapped and raped by six white men. Between hymns, laughter, and casting prayers, Ms. Recy's memories emerged, easefully pouring in and out of our conversations like honey escaping through a comb. She shared intimacies and even the major life-long consequences of the assault and snapshots of life after rape fell like polaroids from her mouth.

Her act of resistance is in and of itself a home truth and theology. Her full story is a pedagogy for this movement. For us, it is critical that we examine the way this nation, and the current feminist movement, is choosing to remember Recy Taylor. As survivors and leaders of the Black feminist organization Black Women's Blueprint, we gathered at the feet of Recy Taylor on multiple occasions, bowing to her bold act to come forward and share her story with the world.

We see this work as a witness statement, a cultural ledger, and symbolic eclipse of the legacy of the Black Women's Truth and Reconciliation Commission and Recy Taylor's advocacy, serving as a pillar of communal ceremony in tribute to the long life that Recy lived and dedicated to survivors. The testimonies of Black women and girls who share the struggle and survivorship of rape speak of the miracles we have created and built between diasporas of memory.

We are honored to ensure Recy's legacy is both re-membered and the wave of revolution continues to meet us on the shores of truth and justice.

Alabama Committee for Equal Justice

P. O. BOX 1589, BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA

Hon. Chauncey Sparks, Governor of Alabama State Capitol Montgomery, Alabama Dear Governor Sparks:

I wish to commend you for the action you have so far taken on the Recy Taylor case of Abbeville, Alabama. As a citizen of Alabama, I urge you to use your high office to reconvene the Henry County Grand Jury at the earliest possible moment. Alabamians are depending upon you to see that all obstacles, which are preventing justice in this case, be removed. I know that you will not fail to let the people of Alabama know that there is equal justice for all of our citizens.

Respectfully yours,
Rosa L. Parks
22 mill St. montgomery 5 Ala.

of 17

Recy Taylor was a 24-year-old mother when she was abducted at gunpoint and gang raped by a group of white men in Alabama in 1944. An activist named Rosa Parks was sent to investigate the attack. Taylor's case, and a number of others like hers, helped spark the civil rights movement.

"I just want him to know who I am..."

Recy Taylor in dialogue with the BWTRC regarding President Barack Obama, January 2016



Petition to President Barack Obama written September 13, 2016

President Barack Hussein Obama The White House 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue Washington, DC 20500

September 13, 2016

Dear President Obama,

We, the undersigned women of African descent across ethnicities including antiviolence advocates, survivors, activists, scholars, organizational, and spiritual leaders who convened the first Black Women's Truth and Reconciliation Commission on Sexual Violence between 2010 and 2016, wish to address the President of the United States, Barack Hussein Obama.

"I just want him to know who I am." This is what 96 year old Recy Taylor, a civil rights leader who worked with Rosa Parks to address rape in the Jim Crow South and a survivor of sexual violence herself, said after a visit to the White House and being asked what she wished she could say to you, given the chance Mr. President. Recy Taylor's 1944 rape case is well-documented in Alabama governmental and legal documents, the NAACP and research sources. Recy is an African-American woman from Abbeville in Henry County, Alabama. On September 3, 1944, Ms. Taylor, was leaving church when she was kidnapped and brutally gang-raped by six white men. Even though the men admitted the rape to authorities, two all-white grand juries declined to indict Taylor's assailants. Ms. Taylor's rape and the subsequent court cases were among the first instances of nationwide protest and activism among the African-American community and ended up providing an early organizational spark for the Civil Rights movement with Rosa Parks at the helm of the anti-rape movement.

In 2011, after decades of advocacy efforts put forth by her brother Robert Corbitt, the Alabama House of Representatives apologized on behalf of the state "for its failure to prosecute Recy Taylor's attackers." The failure to dispense justice in the 1944 case of Recy Taylor is not surprising, but symptomatic of the larger failing of a society where the intersection of racism and sexism has failed Black women and girls for over 400 years. For example, "We Charge Genocide," a petition submitted to the United Nations by the Civil Rights Congress in 1951, documented thousands of incidents of violence against African-Americans. While the modern Black civil rights movement if the 1960's ushered in a formal end to Jim Crow era segregation and violence, it has taken decades to gain a modicum of mainstream acknowledgement of the multiple and covert ways that racial apartheid functions in the United States. It is still not widely accepted or acknowledged.

When examined through a gendered lens, it becomes clear how Black women's unique experiences with violence are often seen as afterthoughts when addressed at all. A number of scholars and advocates, for example, have documented the ways in which the criminal justice system still functions as a form of a new Jim Crow. Yet, for all the acknowledgement of this new-era racial apartheid and pervasive abuse by law enforcement officials, it has mainly focused on the torture and killing of Black men. The result is that violence against Black women and girls, especially sexual violence, often remains invisible and this non-recognition serves to perpetuate the harm being done. However, Mr. President, whether by police or non-state actors, the rape and sexual torture of Black women and the justification of this torture still continue. The U.S. continues to be one of the few places in the world where rapes have occurred systematically against an entire race of people, especially the Black women among these people, and there has been no outcry, no processes for justice, and still little to no acknowledgement of such violations officially and its impact on Black women and girls today."

We, the undersigned, ask you, Mr. President, to do what no other president before you has done -- acknowledge the history of sexual violence against Black women and girls during slavery and the sexual violence that has been maintained through the enforcement of Slave Codes, Black Codes, and Jim Crow segregation laws, forming the basis of de jure and de facto discrimination. We ask you to acknowledge the rapes which continue to occur, whose motivations are rooted in the structural racism and sexism of today. In an era when human rights are being championed by courageous leaders worldwide, we have witnessed countries fulfilling their obligation of the duty of memory to the most systematically marginalized members of their societies. Taiwanese President Tsai Ing-wen recently issued a statement acknowledging the human rights abuses that the indigenous peoples suffered at the hands of colonialism and imperialism, and Germany recently formally acknowledged their role in the Herero genocide in Namibia.

As the nation that is looked upon as a beacon and model for human rights, we in the United States have also witnessed you, Mr. President, acknowledge Black women and girls' plight during your 2015 remarks at the 45th Annual Congressional Black Caucus Phoenix Award Dinner. We have also read about your position on feminism in Glamour Magazine with a declaration that "this is what a feminist looks like." We know that never before has a president of the United States been such a champion of women's human rights. No other president has come so close to the much needed recognition and national apology for the systematic sexual humiliation and dehumanization of Black women and girls in the United States.

To make a public statement means to acknowledge that the violence needs to stop. If we as a nation refuse to talk about it, if we as a nation continue to be silent, we as a nation cannot move forward. For you see, Mr. President, one of the horrors of rape is the silence of victims and survivors. Another is the silence of bystanders and loved ones. However, one of the most deafening horrors is the silence of a nation and its leaders. Silence only serves to support the ones who cause harm. First Lady Michelle Obama has already broken one silence, inspiring us during the Democratic National Convention when she said "every morning, I wake up in a house that was built by slaves."

Everyday Black women and girls wake up, exist, live, survive and thrive in a nation built by our enslaved ancestors' hands and birthed by their wombs.

We the undersigned, understand that recognition does not equate with justice, and for many of the testifiers, and survivors more broadly, justice in the form of of the legal system will never be adjudicated. However, recognition does facilitate healing, both personally, as stated by a testifier that who shared that "once I broke through that invisible barrier of denial, I was ready to acknowledge the transition from victim to survivor," and collectively as a nation.

Like Recy Taylor, we, too, just want you to know who we are Mr. President. Mr. President, let 2016 be the year where Black women and girls across the nation, not just those in the White House, hear our President say: "Black women survivors of America's past and those living today, I hear you. I see you, and you are recognized."

The following signatures are listed as they were obtained after circulation by Black Women's Blueprint. We thank and acknowledge those who signed once, twice, or as their heart led them.

Ericka Dixon Sevonna Brown Christi Ketchum Sofia Groopman Farah Tanis Shawnda Chapman Brown Portia D. Brown Lynn Roberts Albert Delaado Darnell Moore Ahmad Greene-Haves Lvnn Mercerdi Dr. Tvffani Dent Brittany Wright Hari Ziyad Kathryn Rolland Rebecca Browne Yolo Akili Sara K. Sarah Noble Ana Barreto Beatrice Anderson Ruben Kennedy Christina Jaus Johndalvn Armstrona Cynthia Kitt Verushka Gray Erica T. Domoniaue Freeman CT Shim Kenisha Cov Luciana Polney Beverly Guy-Sheftall Efe Osaren Tasha Robinson Cassandra Ritas Tiffanv McFadden Benjamin Griffith Aileen Smith Tynesha McHarris Cheryl Currie Yaneris G. Sheba Lo Lenelle Lewis Lavon Morris-Grant

Janisha Gabriel Daniela Zarate Jill Humphries Nvle Fort CeCelia Falls Sher Tillet Zachary Miceli Monica Dennis Nina Anaela Mercer Danielle McGuire Isabel Abraham-Raveson Anaela Mvers Carla Patterson Jad S. Dorothy Patterson Imelda B. Maurern Silverman Joanne Smith LeConte Dill Michael Wiseman Terri Herring Jacob Brown Shapel LaBorde Melody Ledwon Marilvn Louis Amber Aldredge Sarita Smith Ashlev Terrell Tanim Awwal Bettv Bolden Alexandra Wilcox Alexa King Sally Laskey Keslie Spottsville Seanniece Bamiro Yvonne Holmes Justin French Tammie Ross Tonya Lovelace-Davis Monet Phillips T. DeWitt Smith, Jr. Kerlisha Broomes Linda Dixon Vanessa Green Jelani Anglin

Chervl Springs Genesis Aquino Mariko Meyer K.C. Washington Alexandra Keegan Portia Brown Tasasha Henderson Alexis Posev Jan Christiansen Taina Bien-Aime Nicole Lilian Stephen Fitzstephens Janine Abuvuan Sheila Rainev Emily Parker Tahir Della Irviennne Goldson Lisa Richardson Sarah Washinaton Cashel Campbell Brienne Colston Maria Ramos-Faulkner Donna Holland Mira Yusef Michellle May-Curry Shawnee Benton Gibson Chris Riega Monica Simpson Kira Aiken Michelle Adzido Jacqueline Johnson Marlene Ware Claudine Saliba-Rawls Monica Casper Reaina Lanalev Terra Brown Deborah Hope Dayanara Marte Erica Flashman Betty Reardon Kathy Pierce Carmen Williams Yamil Anglada Kelsey Koger Delores Murphy

Capricia Davis Dora Howard M. Scott Shriellva Stallinas Crystal Jones Tara Daniels Waffivah Saleem Christine Nemeth Selena Jones Raven Ealev Victoria W. Joelle Schofield Corvnn Loebs Darvl Fortson Jane Parker Sally MacNichol Rasheena Perrv Michelle Jenninas Charisse Audra Collier Beatrice Santa-Wood Leah Dirkse Masani McGee Ever Saskva Aida Fitzaerald Chanelle Helm Brigid Turner Jamila Childs Steve Petrev Siobhan Dinawall Gloria Jones Domineek Martin Latoria White David Canton LaTova Anderson Cassidy Green Ugochuku Nwachuku Jay Sterrenberg Angela Lee Aaliyah Cobbs Angela Blount Erica Flashman Betty Reardon Kathv Pierce Carmen Williams Yamil Anglada

We the undersigned.....

Amanda Bartell Shannon Heady Walter Barillas-Schwartz Rachel Bryson Keisha Varnell William Thomas Trish Smith Arlene Spark Belva Flowe Mary Catherine Benge Verna Edwards Sharon Johnson James Edward Heck Michelle Ravenell-Henderson Khourin Wilkins Mishawn Glover Sabrina Cowan Wendy Cartwright Rachael Clifford Blaise Ormond Dionna Campanella Christine Schmidt Rahel Tebo Ebony Graves Candace Riddlev Melody Stone Noelle Fries Cydney Taylor Quilli Musgrave Mayra Salgado Sherri Sturgis Ha Tran Maxcine Ellis-Lopez Charity Woods Michelle Moore Nancy Morisseau Domonique Charleston Andrea Ritchie Marc Pilisuk Amerah Henrene Shabazz-Bridges Lisa Evans Janine Lue

Janisha Gabriel Lena Williamson Naomi Imbroano Anita Casev Stacia Frederick Rae V. Rebecca Lee Alvssa Shaw Kim Catchinas Maureen Silverman Georgia Berry Kimberlv Hevliaer Michelle Curry Jovce Smith Kathy French Denise Neal Kimberly Sweeney Olivia Dowd Akeel St. Vil Lucero Jorge Stephanie Mitchell Gabriele McAdory Carol Olson Brittany M. Chiquita Williams Joyce Taylor Alma Thornton Olumide Adenivi Kirsten Vega-Tatterfield Gregory Manning Stephanie Battle-Horsky Rev. Dr. Lorena Parrish Rachael Kaufman Taih Sutton Mathilde Milteau Karen Tronsaard-Scott Jessica Violetta Patti Seger Mishy Lesser Gerni Oster Deborah Haynes Mihika Sapru Alexis Stanley Mike Serpe Sue Lob Tracy Hobson

Ann Ellman Linda Winston Kristen Miller Lindsav Mapp Courtney Aucone Thomas Beauford Kimvatta Caldwell Anne Smith Allison Bones Rev. Vickve Robinson Pennie Mevers Michaelah Valentine Mary Fontanazza Chani Waterhouse Hannah Silverstein Anneliese Brown Clarise McCants Kenneth Wenger Andrea Eitelman Cassandra Ferrell Nicolas Frias Lana Nelson Barbara Webster Autumn Burke Bradlev Adams Shirnell Lewis JE Filipello David Ruffner Bertha Guerra Linda Manning Lani Grigsby Jeri Altman Tyesha Crawford Sarah Ohmer Rodney Wood Henry Smith Cat Ransom Arelis Figueroa Barry Lockwood Phyllis Keun Laura Grimes Rve Jackson Mareah Madison Sarah Shalewitz John Washington Terrell Portwine-Nurse

Alexis Akridae Leila Macbeth Leigh-Anne Francis Elijah Wallen Rachel Gibson Roe Owolewa John Hanriaht Bobbi Gaane Portia "Zeus" Walton Susana Fried Jazzika Matthews Edwina Dickey Meridith Baier Katharine Lloyd Trista Pior Elizabeth Giffen Chinvere Okunii Jim Phillips Shannon K. Jeremiah Rvle Jessica Price David Blanchard Richard Huss Jerlyne C. Tavlor Lamb Lorena Estrella Samantha Scott Esperanza Dodae Keelia Riegg Thasfia Chowdhury Ericka Dunbar Carol Grannum Rachel McCave Gillian Sobocinski LaTisha McGee Jasmin Myers Abby Cabrera Kathryn Little Sharon Hinton Alyce Tyler Alia Phelps Omnia Tucker Kiara Smith Renada McGuire Clifton McMillan Jr Yolanda Johnson



The Black Women's Truth and Reconciliation Commission exposes the systematic rape of women and girls of African descent over the last four centuries as an intentionally suppressed, and state-sanctioned practice with lasting implications on the possibilities for Black women and girls to achieve social equity and improved quality-of-life.

Some of us have been holding our breath for 400 years.

Farah Tanis, Chair of the Black Women's Truth and Reconciliation Commission

The BWTRC was not an attempt to document all the violations against Black women. It was a commitment to bring to light what has been largely missing from public discourse in America: the root causes of sexual violence against women of African descent in the United States.

Rape in the United States is a systemic crisis that began before the formation of the nation-state. Historically in the United States, Black women were subjected to sex-specific violations such as rape, forced pregnancies, and other gender-based violations. As Black women, they were subjected to chattel slavery and were therefore reduced to being viewed, treated, and consumed as property, and not as human beings. There is a plethora of literature on this dual burden placed on enslaved women.

A review of the colonial period revealed a litany of sexual offenses and atrocities committed by slave owners against Black women. According to Priscilla B. Hayner, a leading transitional justice scholar, "[it] is impossible for any short-term commission to fully detail the extent and effect of widespread abuses that took place over many years, or, for most, to investigate every single case brought to it." Even still, we worked tirelessly to name the harm, violations and assault against Black women and girls across four generations.

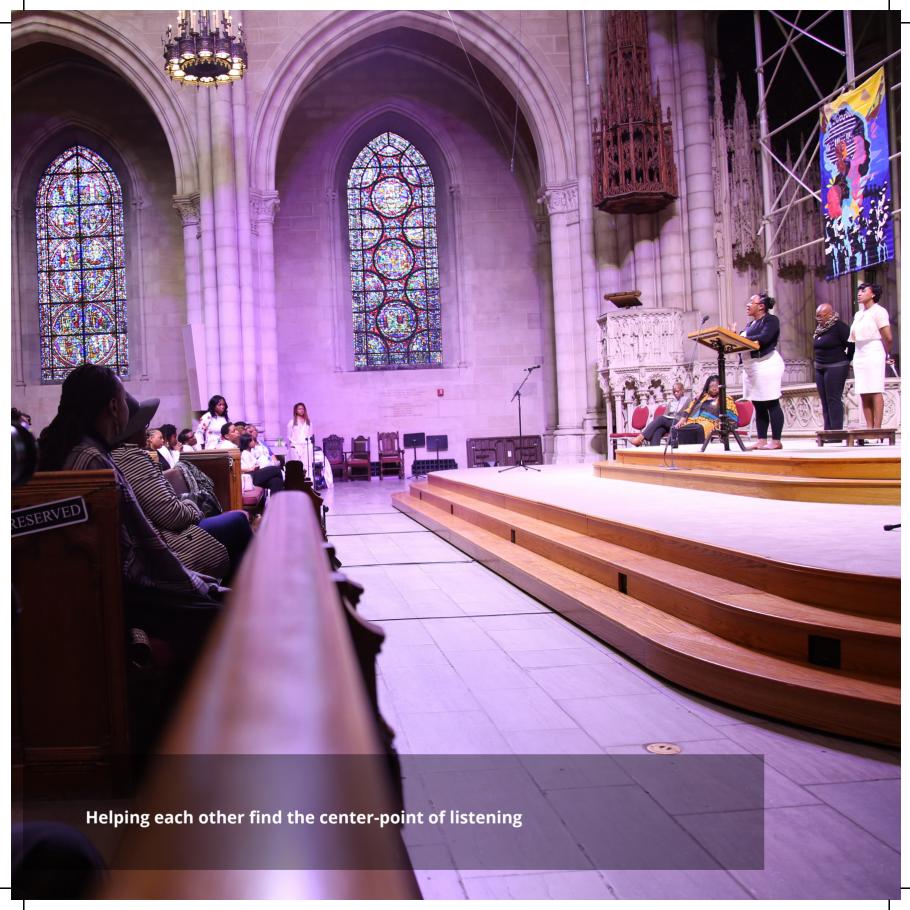
The BWTRC documented human rights violations against Black women during slavery, Jim Crow, the Civil Rights Era and the Violence Against Women Era to record the truth as told by the survivors. The Black Women's Truth and Reconciliation Commission creates space for witnesses and testifiers to understand, learn and address these historical wrongs. Because, "without some form of accounting, past atrocities inevitably fuel future ones."











A Litany of Sexual Offenses-Testifier

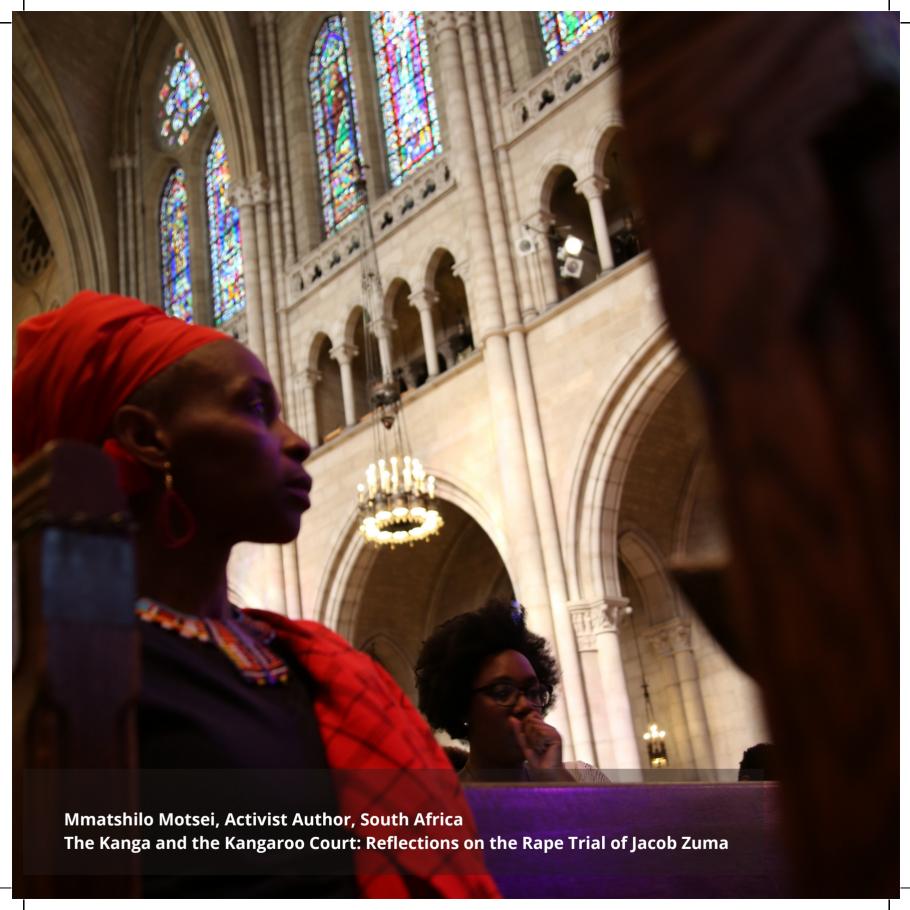
I remember it like it was yesterday! My mom's new boyfriend always looked at me funny. One night he snuck into my room and made me take off my clothes and told me to be quiet. His weight was heavy. When I realized what he was doing, I tried pushing him off but he was too big. It hurt like hell, I cried but I was embarrassed. Why didn't I say something? This happened for about a year, and when I did get the courage, he threatened to kill me. Why didn't I say something? Why did God take me through that? Why did this happen? Why didn't I say something?

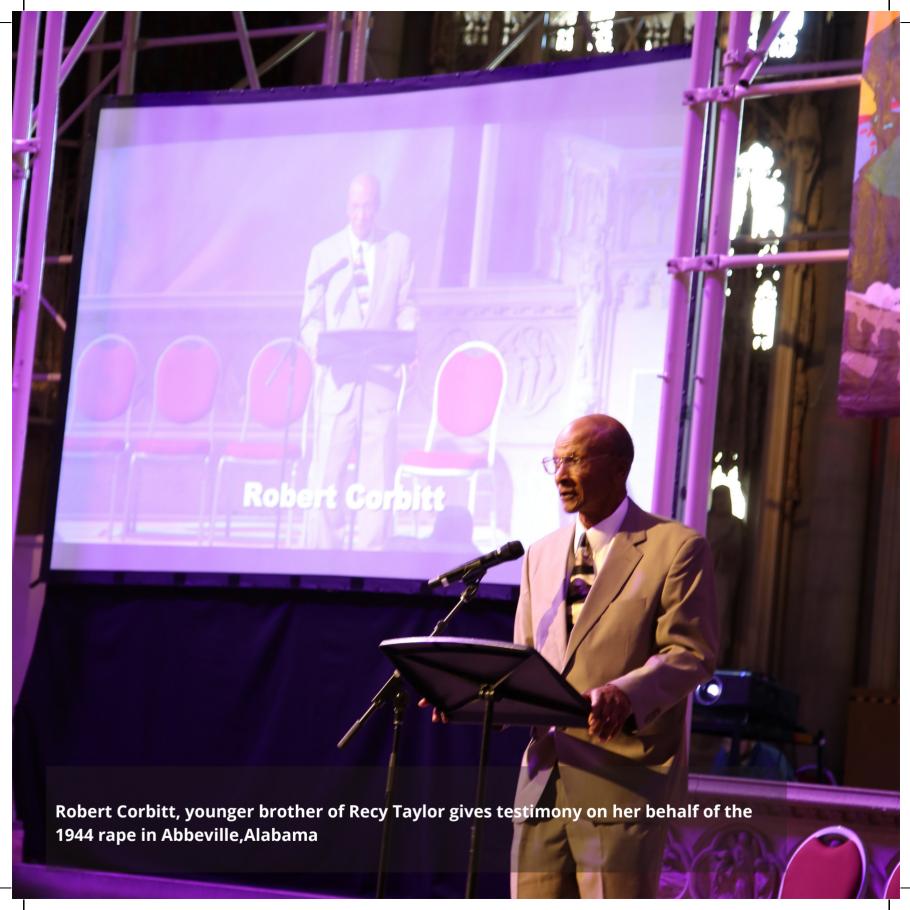
Q1. What Will It Take to End Sexual Assault?

"The Return of Christ"

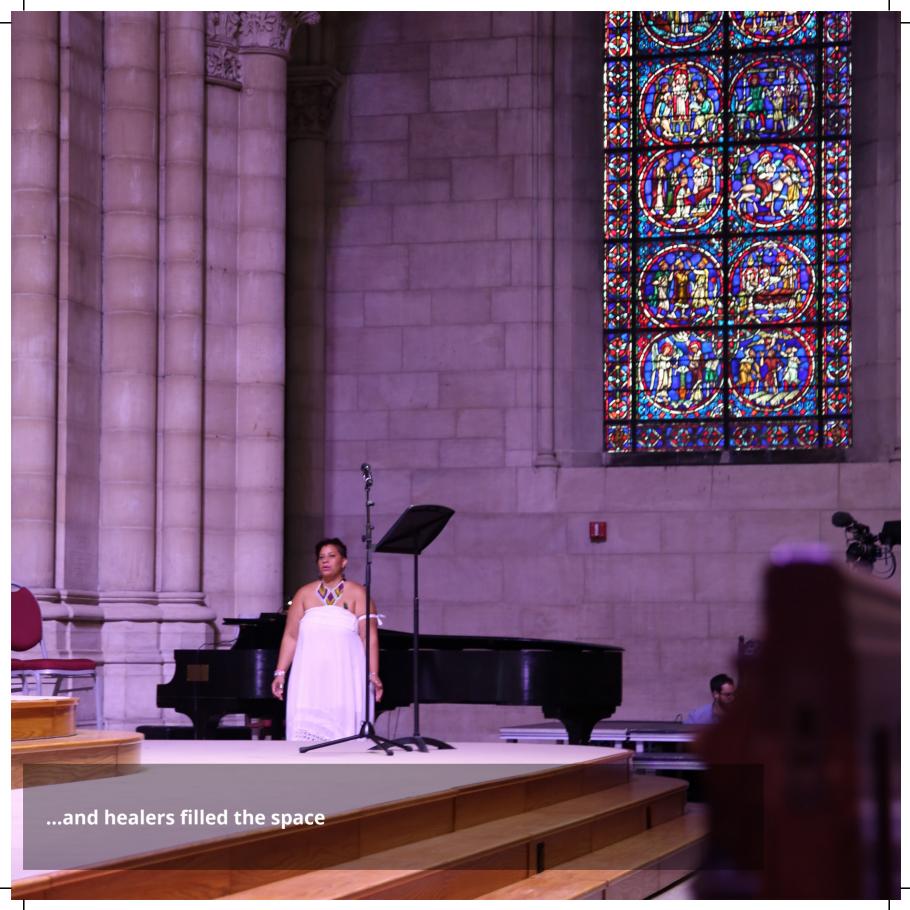
Survivor, Black Women's Truth and Reconciliation Commission Survey Respondent















It is time that this nation finally give voice to survivors in order to ask "what does justice mean to you?"

Conjuring Justice with Our Own Hands

"...we wanted justice, without which there could be no healing for many of us."

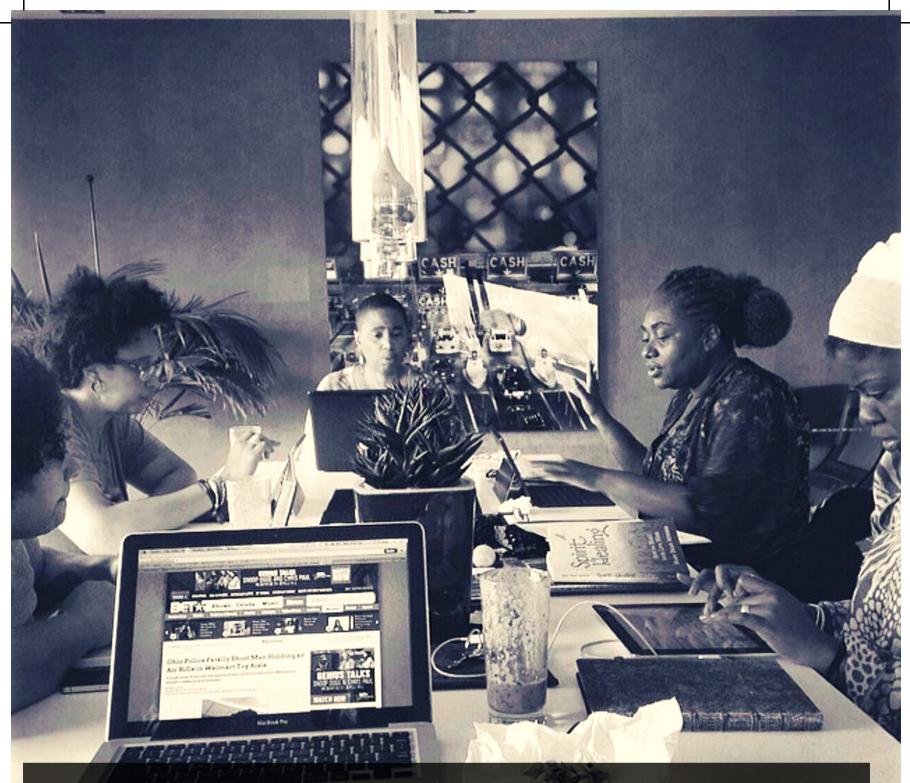
Black Women's Blueprint contends that ending sexual violence against Black women demands new and effective responses geared towards accountability through: targeted and relevant organizing; political advocacy; and alternative justice mechanisms-- not only within African communities in the U.S. but also the global community.

As survivors, we had been seeding an anti-rape movement and a project of transitional justice to coincide with the election of the first Black president of the United States, President Barack Obama, with the formation of a Black Women's Blueprint in 2008. Most of us had just embarked on the journey of piecing our precious, broken lives back together with little to no prospect for accessing mainstream justice systems and conversations on healing from sexual assault were still nascent. We knew we needed to heal. We knew we had been wronged and continued to run the risk of re-victimization. There was no precedence in the U.S. for mass apology to African-Americans, let alone African-American women, for the innumerable atrocities committed against them.

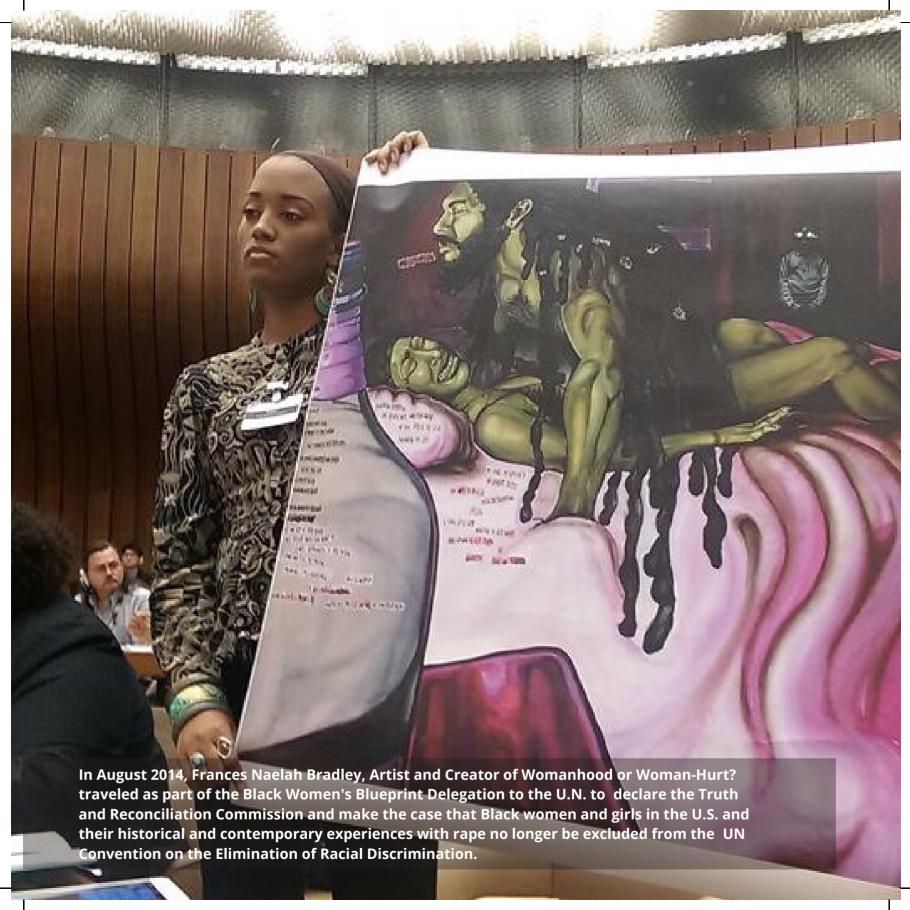
The battle for reparations, though it still raged on, had been marginalized and relegated to the domain of Black nationalists and not discernibly part of a Black anti-rape agenda. We were also fully aware that we could have solely focused our attention on the implementation of more common and traditional strategies to call attention to the rapes of Black women in the U.S. and to the get our voices heard. We could have engaged in more congressional hearings, listening tours and other political meetings, which would have garnered some attention by policy makers, however we had a broader goal in mind. We not only wanted to ensure policies were proposed or laws passed, we wanted justice without which there could be no healing for many of us. We wanted to expose on the world stage, the racialized/sexualized and reproductive rights abuses against us and our foremothers.

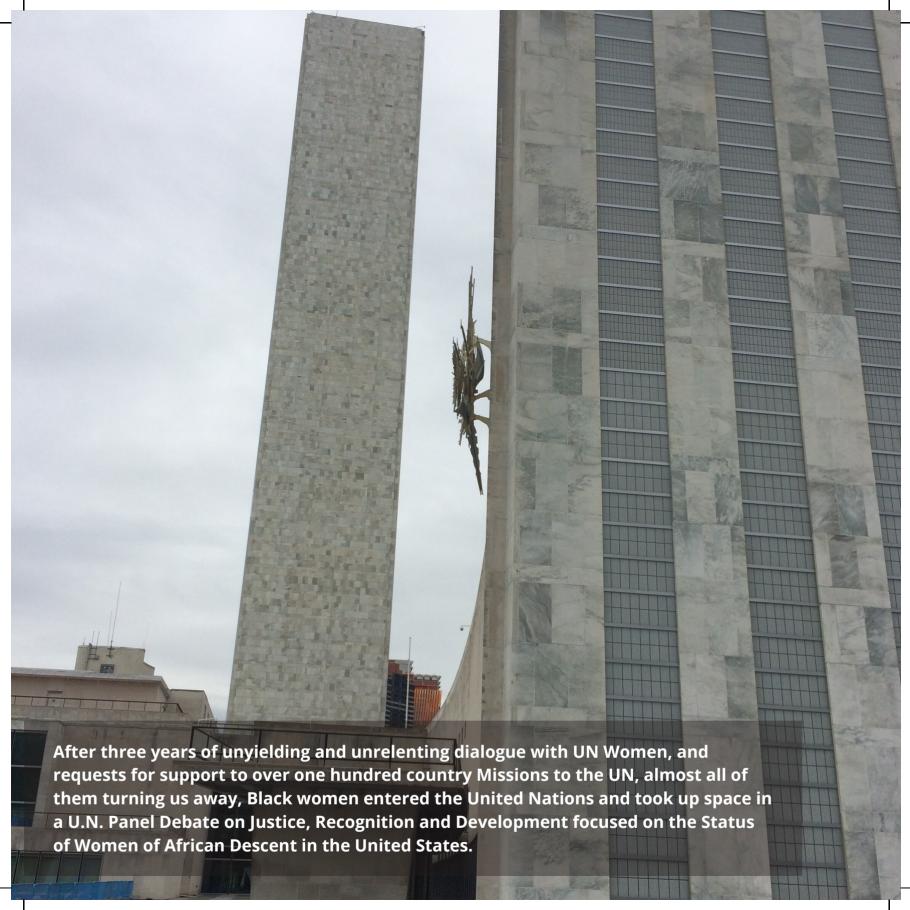
We followed what our civil rights activists predecessors had done in the W.E.B. DuBois and the NAACP 1947 "An Appeal to the World: A Statement of Denial of Human Rights to Minorities in the Case of citizens of Negro Descent in the United States of America and an Appeal to the United Nations for Redress"; as well as "We Charge Genocide", a petition filed to the United Nations in 1951 that documented 153 racial killings and other human rights abuses. We issued a plea to the world and we insisted the world hear us, and they did.

After three years of unyielding and unrelenting dialogue with UN Women, and requests for support to over one hundred country Missions to the UN, almost all of them turning us away, Black women entered the United Nations and took up space in a U.N. Panel Debate on Justice, Recognition and Development focused on the Status of Women of African Descent in the United States.



August 2014, Nikki Patin, Christina Jaus, Aishah Shahidah Simmons, Farah Tanis and Sherley Accime, (pictured here from left to right) traveled as part of Black Women's' Blueprint's delegation to the U.N. as writers, archivists, advocates, testifiers and healers, to declare the Truth and Reconciliation Commission and give testimony regarding centuries of abuse against Black Women and Girls.



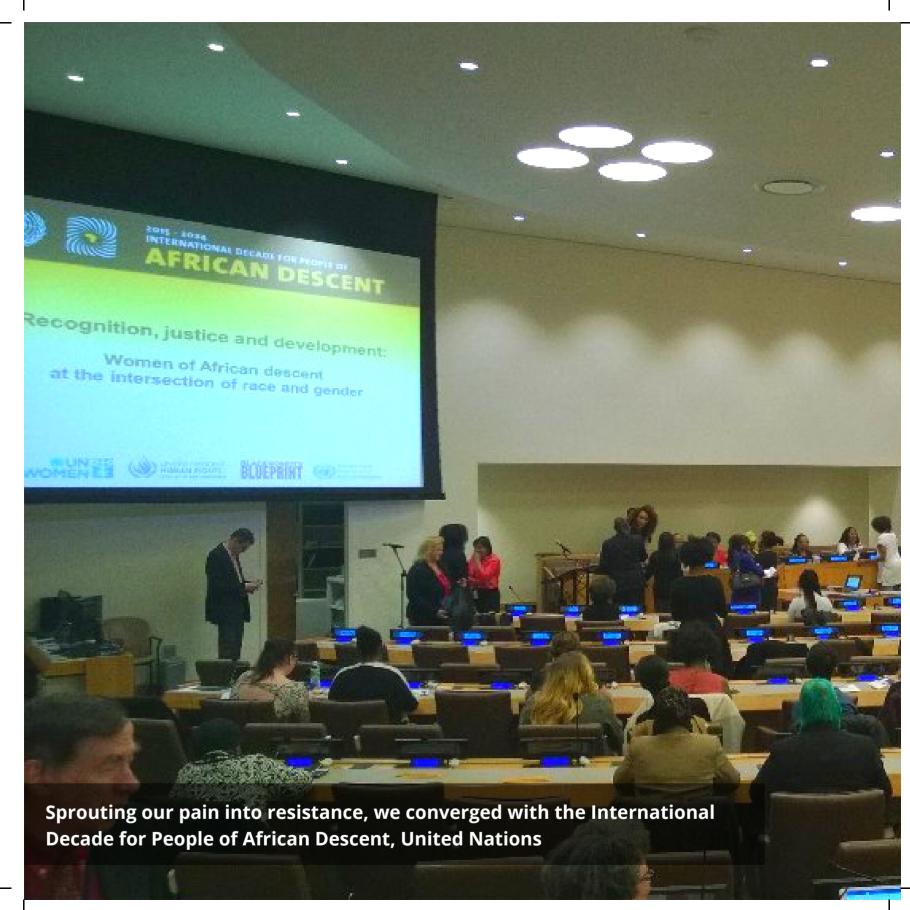




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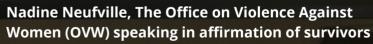






















What makes lack & support ??

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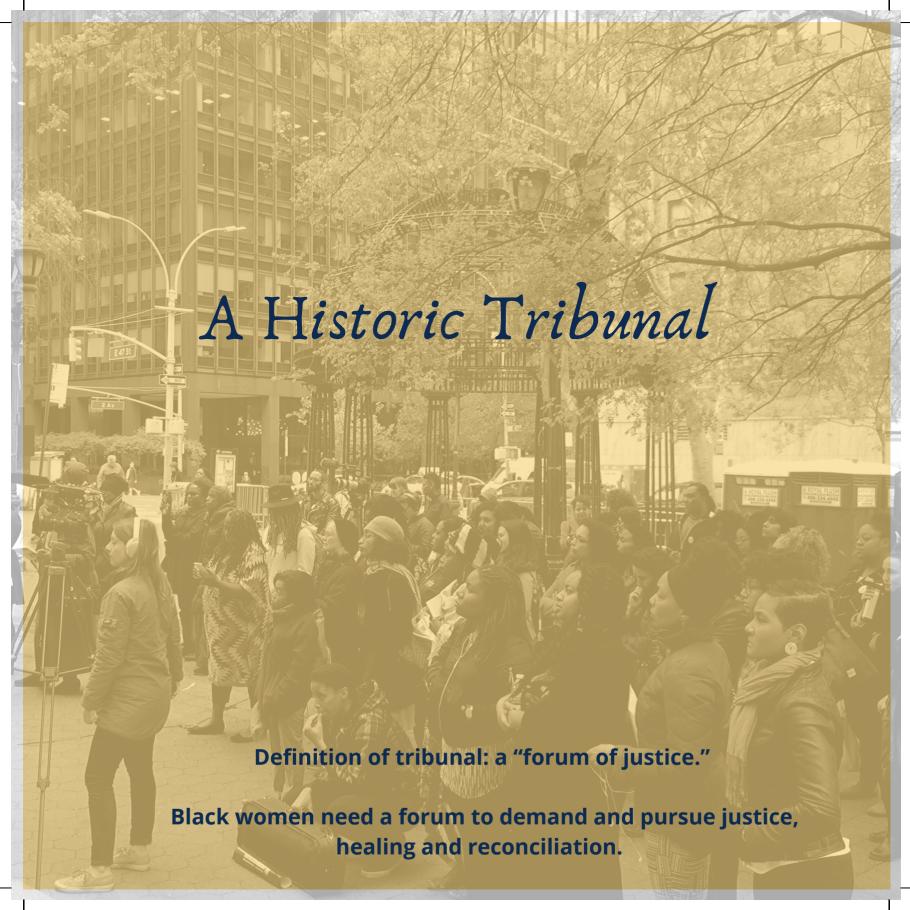
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Q1. What Will It Take to End Sexual Assault?

"A safe and secure platform for the victims to disclose who the criminals are. Thorough education to the younger women of what is considered unlawful touching or sexual assault. An effective system that brings the perpetrators to face the full weight of their atrocity as justice is served."

Survivor, Black Women's Truth and Reconciliation Commission Survey Respondent



Tribunal Hearings on the Sexual Assault of Black Women in America

The decision to culminate this Truth and Reconciliation Commission as a Tribunal is intentional

The United States of America is one of the few places in the world where mass rapes have occurred systematically against an entire race of people--African American women--with no outcry from human rights communities, no processes for justice, and no acknowledgement of such violations and its impact on the culture of violence against Black women today.

On April 29, 2016 in the State of New York, Black women convened a Tribunal, the first of its kind convening for recognition, central to a Black Women's Truth and Reconciliation Commission, in order to demand a reckoning.

We sought to name the names of those who are perpetrators and those perpetrated against - women of African Descent in this country who were raped and tortured, from 1700, through the 1944 rape of Recy Taylor, to 2016 and the rape of a young woman in Brownsville. We stood up to decolonize the decade and speak the truths embedded in the fabric of Black Women's lives.

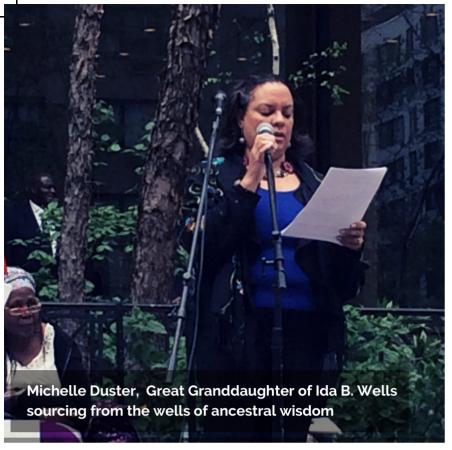
The vast majority of these cases were never brought to justice, nor was justice accessible. While we could not tell every single story, we acknowledged the thousands of unknown names, the sacred texts of Black women's lives, the whispered truths, and the silenced voices that pronounce themselves clearly and eloquently through our daily acts of resistance. We remember the sisters of the Transatlantic Slave Trade, the mothers who jumped ship with their babies, and the ones who stayed aboard. We procured acknowledgement for past and present suffering so that Black women and their communities could begin to heal. We sought justice on that day and we continue to seek it every day, hereafter.

WE ARE THE TRIBUNAL.

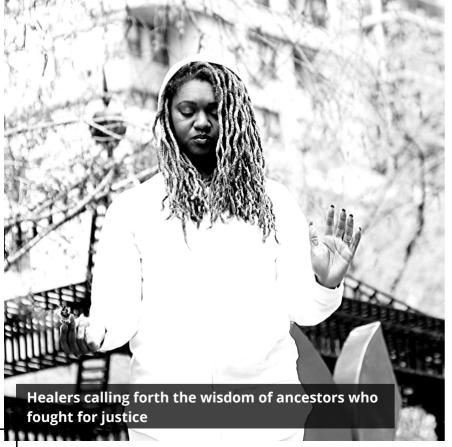
And in the cases of Black Women of African Descent, we find the defendants guilty.













healing





Create a safe space and programs for survivors of sexual violence to recover and engage in strategies for healing.

Healing As A Mandate

"We wanted justice, without which there could be no healing for many of us."

An essential component of the Black Women's Truth and Reconciliation Commission process is the imperative for healing for the trauma survivors experienced at the hands of both individual and institutional perpetrators of violence. We cultivated healing spaces for Black women and girls throughout our work. Indeed, addressing individual and collective trauma is fundamental to creating conditions in which reconciliation is possible. For Black women and girls, both in the US and throughout the diaspora, the trauma of sexual violence is both individual, as experienced through specific instances of trauma, and collective, experienced as generational trauma resulting from a history of systemic sexual abuse as a structural tool of the oppression of Black people. Adopting a framework rooted in an understanding of the necessity of healing allows survivors to free themselves of the aftershocks of violence and connect more deeply with themselves, their families, and their larger community. Healing the generational trauma of sexual violence catalyzes intracommunal conversations about gender relations amongst Black people globally. It is necessary for Black communities to have an honest, historically rooted conversation about sex, gender, and power.

The BWTRC particularly recognized the importance of rituals and spirituality in facilitating healing. For us as conveners, the reclamation of rituals, songs, recipes, and memory is the first step in healing and reconciliation. Spirituality was centered in all the work, with emphasis on the traditional and communal ways of being, knowing, healing, learning, and loving that had sustained Black folks as they were forced across the Atlantic. Black Women's Truth and Reconciliation Commission Chair, Farah Tanis, notes, "We ritualized everything. We added one part healing ritual for every part of organizing strategy." The issue of generational trauma also necessitates that entire communities be involved in the healing process. Systematic sexual violence against Black women and girls has both an individual component and a collective component. As a result, a process for healing the trauma of that systematic violence must also be both individual and collective.

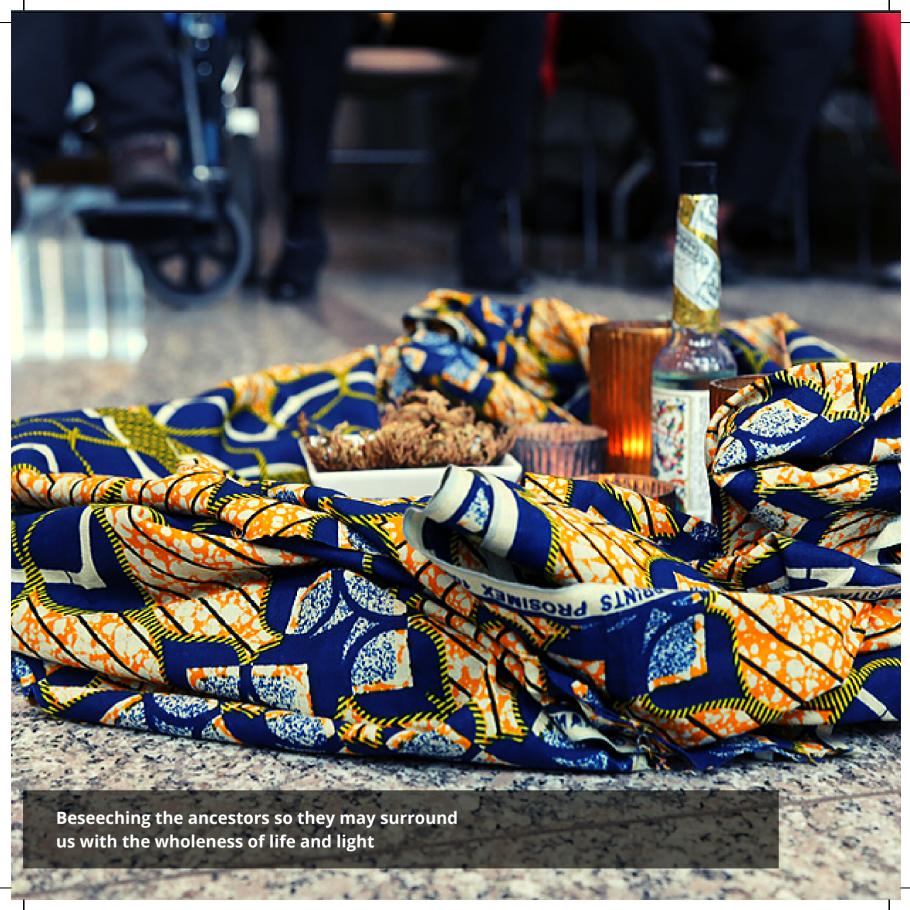
The BWTRC held space for the healing of Black women who had individually experienced trauma, while also holding spaces for the remembrance of historical instances of trauma that have impacted Black communities overall. This collective healing work was largely promoted through arts and culture work. The BWTRC was also intentional about drawing connections between the violence experienced by Black women and girls in the US and elsewhere in the African diaspora. Cultivating a sense of transnational kinship was important to the process of collective healing.

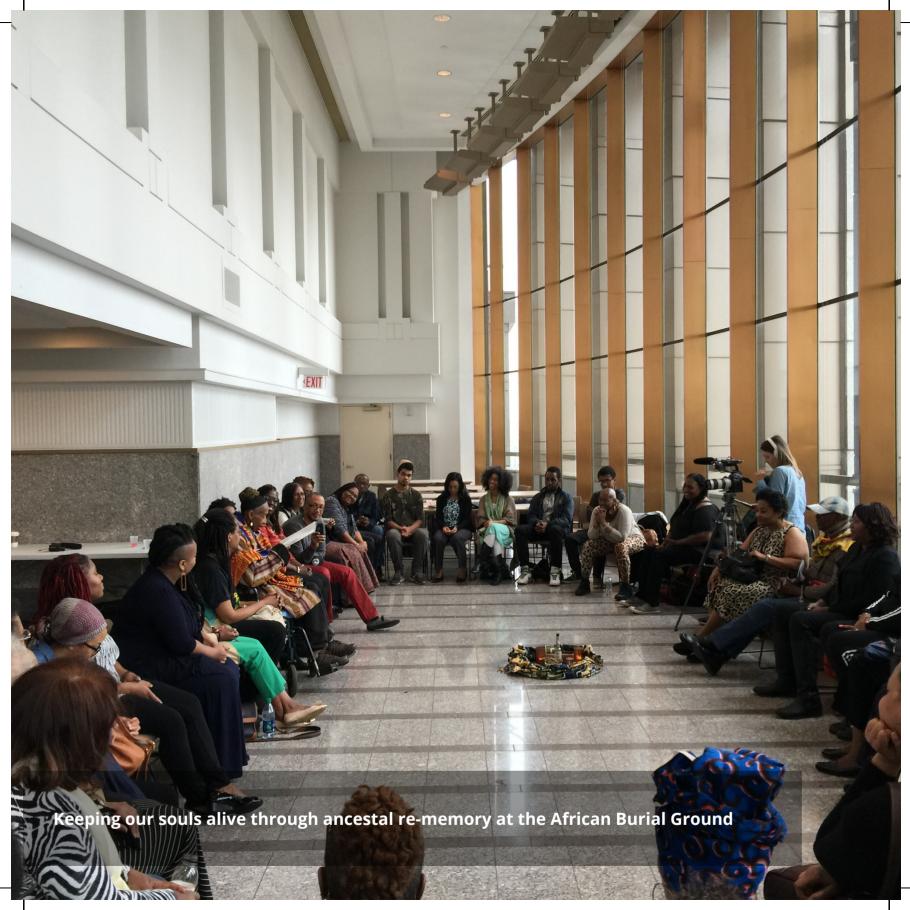
Q1. What Will It Take to End Sexual Assault in our Black communities?

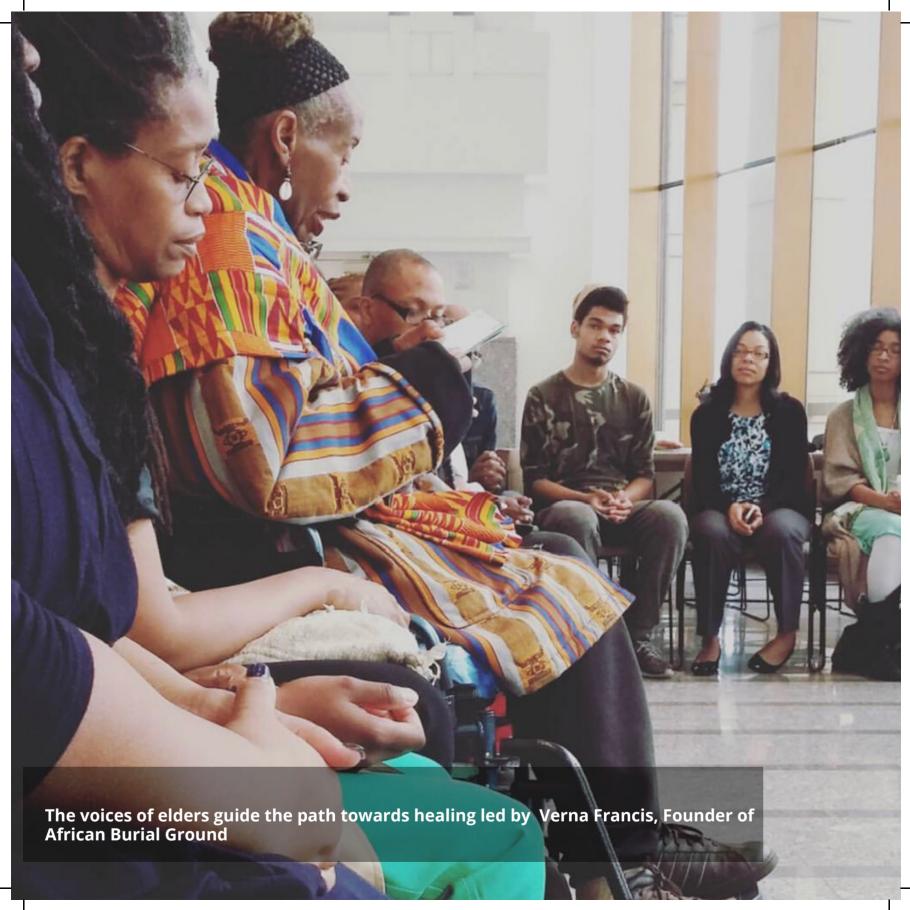
"Personal healing, communal healing, speaking out, exposing our personal stories to let them go, self-knowledge, self-respect, self-love, and to not interpret abuse or violence as love, nor respect nor as being desired."

Survivor, Black Women's Truth and Reconciliation Commission Survey Respondent











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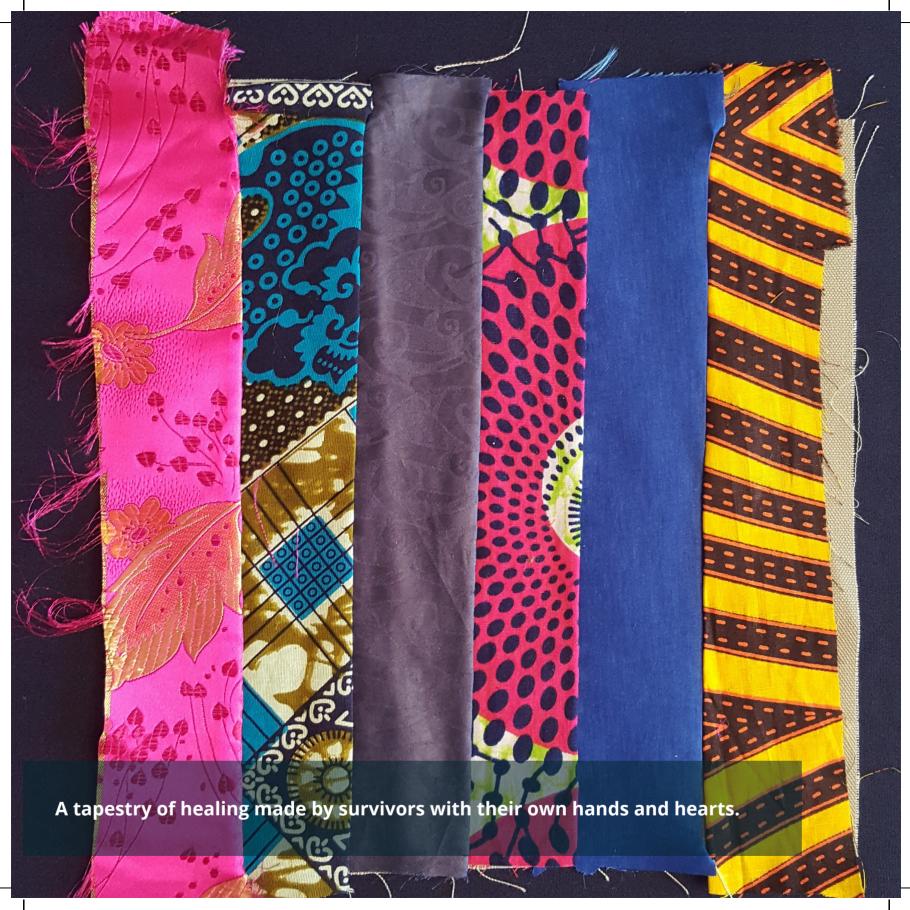
Provide the spaces and tools needed for survivors to engage in processes of reconciliation with themselves, family and community

Reconciliation Repair Restoration

The majority of survivors made it very clear they did not want reconciliation with any harm-doer, not the person who raped them, not white descendants of slave owners and not the state. Many did not believe racial healing or any healing could occur within a community that blames, ostracizes and silences victims. Several threatened not to come to the days of testimony at the Riverside Church, the UN or the Tribunal if we issued an invitation to any harm-doer, "rapists and child molesters" in particular. On this we did not compromise. The agency, volition and self-determination of survivors was paramount.

However, the question remained: How then, could we continue to call ourselves a Truth and Reconciliation Commission when reconciliation would not be considered? What emerged almost immediately through healing circles was the need for reconciliation with ourselves first. The intergenerational and immediate consequence of rape is disconnection—disconnection to the self and the body, mind and often spirit, disconnection from family and loved ones, disconnection from the ancestors and a full sense of what we owe to future generations.

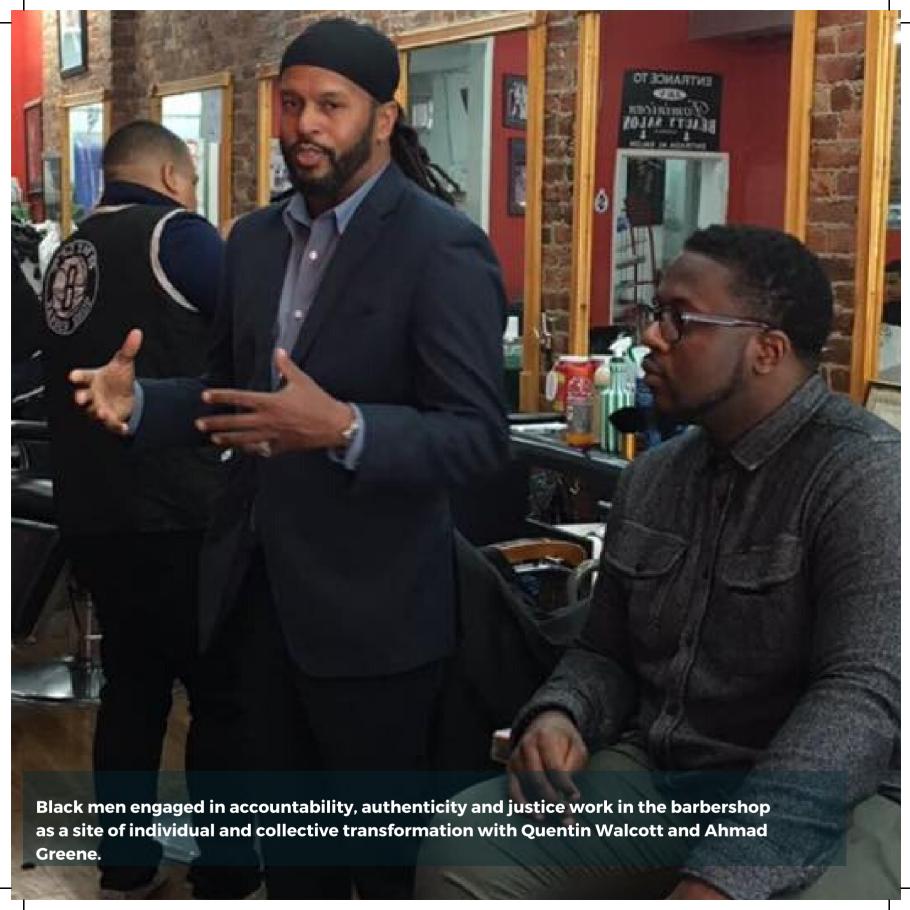
As a BWTRC, our decision as survivors to keep reconciliation as a mandate was rooted in the agency and volition several of us had already exercised to forgive and work toward forgiving. It was also rooted in the choice many made not to entertain the notion of forgiveness. We decided each of us would exercise their own self-will to determine how we would engage in our own healing, what we would gain from the BWTRC and what justice meant to each one.



Q1. What Will It Take to End Sexual Assault in our Black communities?

"Deeper communication among all members of society, men and women, starting by greater communication among our own families or closest circles. The kind of communication that allows the expression of suffering and that seeks for healing even beyond the closest communities. A profound awareness about the importance of a healthy sexual life."

Survivor, Black Women's Truth and Reconciliation Commission Survey Respondent











Our most important outcome has been the development of a liberatory healing model to address trauma

Outcomes of the Black Women's Truth and Reconciliation Commission

Our most important outcome has been the development of a liberatory healing model to address trauma which engaged more than 600 survivors of sexual assault in what we came to call the Liberatory Trauma Healing circuit. It was important for survivors to move from stages of crisis to full agency and liberation from the symptoms and consequences of trauma in their lives through self-determination.

A community of transformation, trust, and love was built through the liberatory praxis of healing for survivors. Survivors found home in themselves and one another, **reclaiming safety**, **reclaiming security**, **reclaiming hope**.

Survivors who engaged with the Liberatory Trauma Healing circuit **stepped into their power**, taking up leadership in the realms of advocacy, policy making, leadership organizing, and arts based healing. Their triumphs are a testament to survivor-led healing and interventions as well as the support and attentiveness they received while in counseling at Black Women's Blueprint. Survivors who participated in our healing programs are now opening businesses, going back to college, graduating as attorneys, creating families of their own, publishing books and starting independent healing circles themselves.

The BWTRC provided a platform within which Black women of the diaspora could use testimony to build power, shift discourse, and share best practices for survival. From culturally-specific curricula on bystander intervention against sexual assault at Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) grounded in Black feminism and womanism, to the prevention of the sexual abuse of girls under the age of 18, the BWTRC achieved its goals.

Through the BWTRC, Black women in the diaspora have learned and shared so much with one another, from the liberatory potential of the cultural and spiritual activism of Black women's cosmologies like Brazilian candomblé and Haitian vodoun in survivor healing, to the transnational frameworks of revolutionary feminism popular in Afro-Latina housing struggle.

The BWTRC achieved a renewed focus on increasing resources for meaningful primary prevention programs that focus on factors that impact both the risks and the consequences of sexual violence, including political structures, patriarchal systems of hypermasculinity, poverty, discriminatory policing and over-criminalization.

The BWTRC achieved an articulated demand for intra-community models for harm-doer accountability and transformative processes to address and eradicate gender-violence.

The BWTRC continues to organize so that the United States keep its commitments to the survivors of what the World Health Organization is calling "the most pervasive human rights violation in the world"—violence against women; and especially those from marginalized communities disproportionately impacted by rape and the spectrum of sexual violence. In particular, we refer to commitments made by the Obama Administration in VAWA 2014, the Guidance on Gender-Biased Policing of 2016, and U.S. periodic reports to the U.N. Committee on the International Convention on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (ICERD) and Convention Against Torture (CAT) to commit the necessary resources to intervene and prevent sexual assault.

Though a significant amount of work remains to be done, the **BWTRC** achieved a recognition of the centrality of the rights of women, girls and gender nonconforming people of African descent in particular, within racial justice concerns of all people of African descent.

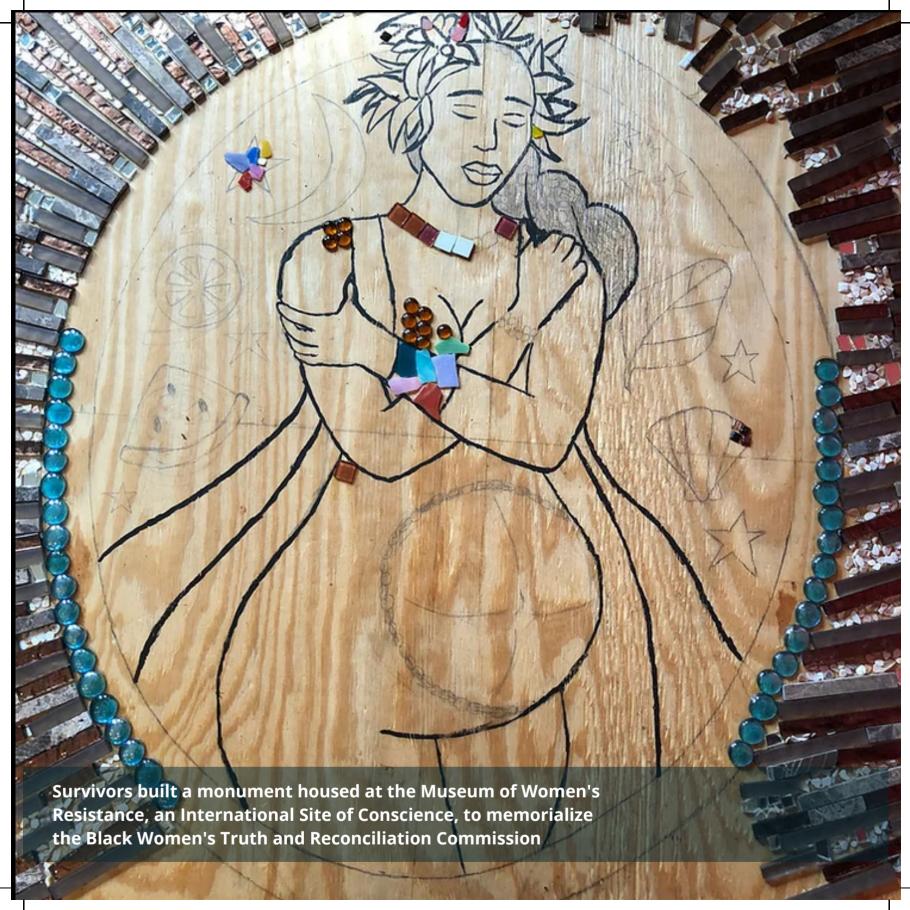
Memorializing the Black Women's Truth and Reconciliation Commission

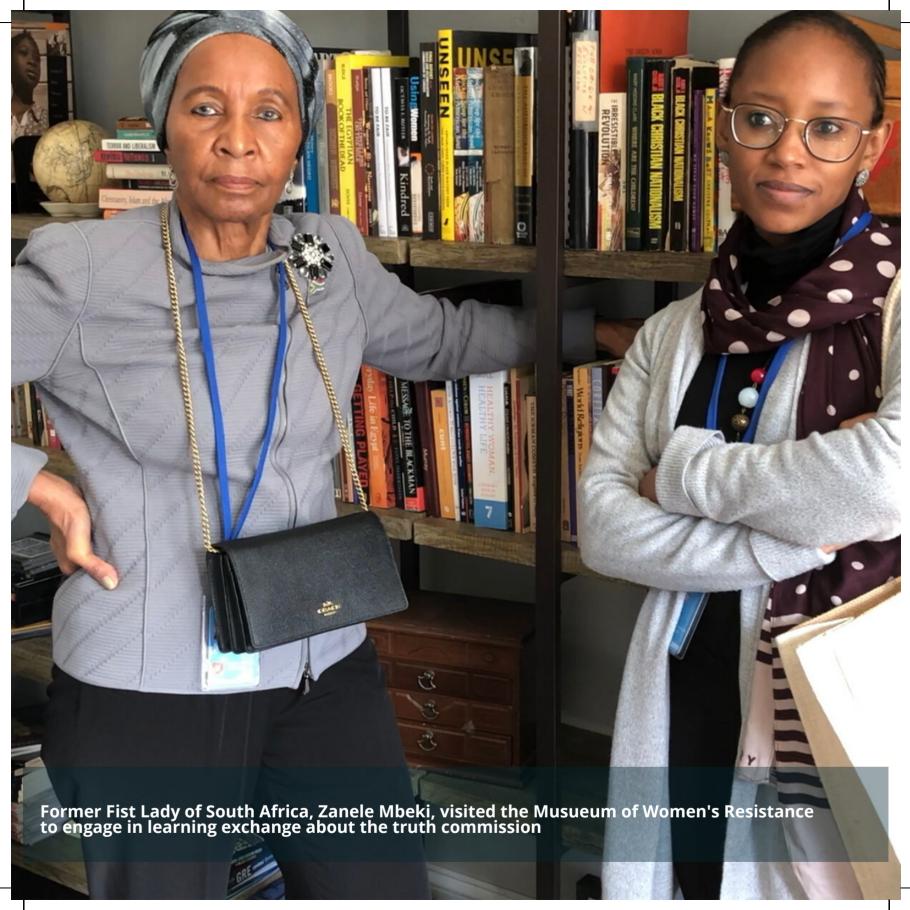
Black Women's Blueprint developed the Museum of Women's Resistance (MoWRe) out of its commitment to memorializing the narratives and celebrating the lives and resistance embodied in the testimonies during the Black Women's Truth and Reconciliation Commission. The Museum is a Site of Conscience recognized by the International Coalition of Sites of Conscience.

The museum archives the Tribunal, the work of Black women during the Black Women's Truth and Reconciliation Commission. It functions as a repository for video, texts, and other artifacts of the Black Women's Truth and Reconciliation Commission.

The Black Women's Truth and Reconciliation Commission works in partnership with the Museum of Women's Resistance to provide a home to truth-telling and memorialization initiatives poised to craft a new herstorical record that documents Black women's legacies of movement building, cultural production, and innovation.

The museum is a space for survivors to tell our narratives, and recognize that we are the embodiment of the memory of the violence of slavery that was enacted upon us. We are also the embodiment of resistance from slave ships to plantations, from Jim Crow to jail cells, and we will continue to tell our stories and to raise our voices. We will continue to pass these stories not only to our children, but to the world.







From the Ministry for Women in New Zealand



"Dear Museum of Women's Resistance (MoWRe) staff,

I am writing from the Ministry for Women in New Zealand. We are the New Zealand. government's principal advisor on achieving better results for women and wider New Zealand. The Ministry for Women's Chief Executive, Ms. Renee Graham, will be in New York next month for the United Nations Commission on the Status of Women. We are aware that MoWRe is an excellent site of knowledge about women, and as such would like to arrange a visit to MoWRe for Ms. Graham. We see this as a fantastic opportunity for Ms. Graham to learn more about United States' Black women's histories. traditions and campaigns for justice. This is particularly relevant to the Ministry for Women as we have a policy focus on women of diverse backgrounds. I would be very grateful if you could let me know whether it would be possible for a MoWRe representative to meet Ms. Graham to talk about MoWRe's work and possibly provide her with a tour. The dates Ms. Graham could visit the museum are Saturday 10 March or Sunday 11 March. I appreciate your consideration of my request and look forward to hearing from you."

Kind regards, Kate, Ministry for Women in New Zealand

The Last Mandate: Reconciliation

Black Women's Blueprint (BWB) a national Black feminist organization which mobilized civil society to convene the first Black Women's Truth and Reconciliation Commission (BWTRC) in the U.S. to locate women within the work of racial justice and pursue truth, justice, healing and reconciliation, invites all of the participating witnesses of this process to engage in the work of the last mandate.

Through the BWTRC, survivors of sexual assault were able to collectively create a healing paradigm that focused on their own needs as well as the larger scope of the global struggle for Black women. Based on this understanding, the BWTRC developed healing tools and mechanisms rooted in the cultural and spiritual practices indigenous to Black communities to support the healing of Black women and girls as we fight for justice.

The last mandate asks of us that we reconcile with our spirits, our ancestral lineage, the diaspora, and the fact we have survived for all generations forward and backward. What we need is to radically reclaim ourselves. We are meant to live in community. That is our inheritance as human beings. We are meant to live in harmony and interconnectedness, not as broken human beings who then proceed to break other human beings.

Within this last mandate, Reconciliation, we are called toward repair and restoration. This is the repair and restoration of ourselves as individuals, our societies, communities, institutions, environments, and even spiritual landscapes. It requires that if we are to engage in a conversation about reparations, that we look at all forms of reparations: Symbolic - apologies, memorials, monuments; material, financial, historical; Truth and Memory; Collective Reparations/Individual Reparations.

The Last Mandate grants us the opportunity to engage in the processes that ultimately leads us to the continued liberatory work that is imperative to our truth, justice, and healing. It is through the last mandate that we will reach the lighthouse needed for eradicating the human rights violation of sexual violence that impacts the entire globe.





The Reconciliation Bowl: Unfinished Business

West African author, researcher, and healer, Malidoma Patrice Some, offers the best narrative for how the bowl should be used. We heard the same instructions from community members at Manhyia Palace in Kumasi, Ghana.

It is the community's responsibility or the chief, of any gender, to maintain the shrine and ensure that crises are correctly handled. When a conflict occurs between two people, it is resolved by employing a ritual in the presence of the whole community. Divination is used to determine the nature and extent of the conflict, whether it involves only two people or the community as a whole.

The parties involved in the conflict come together in an ash circle. They sit facing each other, and the defendant listens to the story of the accuser first. The accuser tells the defendant about the impact of his or her actions. The chief and community support and guide the discourse. Of course, things may not always work out like this. It may be that the crisis, because it has been simmering for a long time, does not cool off in the circle of ash. When this occurs, healers are brought in to make an offering to the ancestors. The healers tune-up in the energies of the two parties in order to allow for a healing ash circle. So a failed ash-circle ritual means that the healers have a job to do -- to reduce the heat between the two people before they meet again. Should none of this work, it shows that one of the parties is not doing his or her part. When this occurs, the chiefs of all the elements will deliver their warning to the renegade party, making him responsible for the lingering of the circle.

The Ghanaian reconciliation bowl offers individuals who have been harmed and complicit in harm an opportunity to do peacemaking, peacebuilding, and to heal. Reconciled to each other as individuals, families, or community members, they break bread together and "eat" from the same bowl, creating harmony and unity where there once was trauma and pain. This is an ongoing collective process that requires a continued and courageous dialogue that is healing and liberatory. Healing for those who have caused harm, requires taking a risk with the backing of Spirit. At Black Women's Blueprint we are reclaiming ancestral practices that were lost as a result of historical trauma. The reconciliation bowl ritual, a technology of healing which now lives at Black Women's Blueprint, provides an opportunity to restore and revive our broken relationships.

Freedom Bound: Choosing Human Rights

We chose to pursue human rights. We grounded the BWTRC in the credo of universality and interdependence, the principles of our rights as inalienable and indivisible. The human rights principles in which Truth Commissions are grounded offered us as survivors, the promise of dignity. It offered the kind of recognition which did not have to be granted by any nation-state or civil rights decree.

We were convinced that the right to truth, to be believed, to seek justice, to dignity, integrity and security were already ours by virtue of being human. This allowed us to divest our energies from the constant quest to be recognized by the state as a legitimate truth and reconciliation commission. We suspected, given the extent to which rape culture and racism permeated every level of our society, and given the issue we were raising—rape between 1944-2016, we would not gain the formal governmental recognition we deserved. However, we appreciate the individual allies that emerged out of governmental agencies to offer support for the Black Women's Truth and Reconciliation Commission, support for the important healing component, support for recognition, reparations and efforts at seeking justice.

We hope that the Executive Summary to the full report for the Black Women's Truth and Reconciliation Commission, serves as the beginnings to a replicable model and toolkit for gender/racial healing and reparations projects across the country that centralize sexual violence and its impact on Black Women.

The forthcoming report will offer language and provide a roadmap for individuals and movements across the globe, and feminists in particular who have been searching for a model for engaging in transformative processes and work around accountability and justice.

We see the forthcoming report and our continued work as a step toward the realization of the last mandate (Reconciliation) of the Black Women's Truth and Reconciliation Commission on Sexual Assault.

It Continues: A Call to Action

The Black Women's Truth and Reconciliation Commission continues to organize so that the United States keep its commitments to the survivors of what the World Health Organization is calling "the most pervasive human rights violation in the world"—violence against women; and especially those from marginalized communities disproportionately impacted by rape and the spectrum of sexual violence.

In particular, we refer to commitments made by the Obama Administration in VAWA 2014, the Guidance on Gender-Biased Policing of 2016, and U.S. periodic reports to the U.N. Committee on the International Convention on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (ICERD) and Convention Against Torture (CAT) to commit the necessary resources to intervene and prevent sexual assault.

Though a significant amount of work remains to be done, the BWTRC achieved as an outcome, a recognition of the centrality of the rights of women, girls and gender nonconforming people of African descent in particular, within racial justice concerns of all people of African descent.

To continue engaging in the work of the Black Women's Truth and Reconciliation process with us, join us in the following:

Center women of African descent within the International Decade of People of African Descent.

Give to the Gender Justice Fund at Black Women's Blueprint

Engage in the continued provision of collective apologies by harm-doers and survivor allies. **Read** the Apology Toolkit by Chair, Black Women's Truth and Reconciliation Commission, Farah Tanis

Elevate the visibility and momentum in communities of African descent across the globe about the incidences of human rights violations--mainly the historical and contemporary patterns of rape against women of African descent.



THE BLACK WOMEN'S TRUTH & RECONCILIATION COMMISSION

www.blackwomensblueprint.org