

1. Why Wachovia Should Pay

1.1 Wachovia and Its Enabling Predecessors

Wachovia Bank Corporation has been selected as the subject of this divestment campaign because of its deeply rooted connections to the enslavement of African people in America. Wachovia's enabling predecessor, the Bank of North America, directly and indirectly financed the American Revolution through lending money to, receiving deposits from, and investing in the institution of slavery with complicity from the 2nd Continental Congress. This is the historical record. [There are other financial institutions with the same enslavement legacy and should be included in a divestment campaign.](#)

Wachovia's enabling institution, the Bank of North America, was founded in the City of Philadelphia in 1781. Its founders and chief executive officers were Robert Morris and Thomas Willing, both Philadelphia residents.

These two individuals were the renowned slave merchants of Philadelphia of their day. Their mercantile enterprises included trans-Atlantic shipping, railroads, cotton, tobacco, and indigo plantations. These enterprises were the central economic engines in many of the 13 Colonies and the new United States at that time. One of their ads, published in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, May 1762, announced:

'Just imported from the Coast of Africa, in the Brig Nancy (slave ship), and to be sold at Wilmington, in New Castle County, by Willing, Morris, and Company, of Philadelphia, ONE Hundred and Seventy Fine Gold Coast NEGROES.'

Both Morris and Willing served on the Second Continental Congress. Willing was the Mayor of Philadelphia in 1793, served a term as Justice of the Pennsylvania Supreme Court, and also served as president of the Bank of North America.

Robert Morris was the Bank of North America's first president. Once the Articles of the new Constitution were ratified, the Congress of the new United States appointed Robert Morris as the Superintendent of Finance. He is the person after whom the term "conflict of interest" was said to be coined.

Wachovia was founded, by name on June 16, 1879. Wachovia and First Union Corporation, whose history dates back to 1908, merged in 2001 to create one of the nation's top financial holding companies. Both Wachovia and First Union have their roots in the Moravian Church and the North Carolina tobacco plantations, Wachovia Valley, where Africans and African descendents worked

from “can’t see in the morning to can’t see at night.” This place is now known as Winston-Salem, Forsythe County, North Carolina.

Ari, look for a graphic to use from tobacco fields - this is from cotton fields



Tobacco Plantation with Europeans and enslaved Africans

On June 1, 2005, Wachovia, represented by its CEO, Kenneth Thompson, made a public apology for slavery. An accompanying disclosure report provided findings that Wachovia Corporation and its predecessor institutions (hereinafter referred to as Wachovia) owned African-Americans as property – slaves, and supported the commerce of slave buying and selling throughout the South, and in Pennsylvania.

The History Factory, a profit-making corporation, hired by Wachovia, created the disclosure report entitled, *Wachovia and its Predecessor Institutions, Findings Report*. Wachovia’s disclosure report is full of contextual deceptions and major omissions. For example, in researching the Bank of North America, the History Factory’s researchers “only viewed 20 linear feet of microfiche material at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, leaving approximately 130 linear feet of microfiche account ledgers unviewed.” Wachovia Bank Corporation, including the Bank of North America, has approximately 400 predecessors. The 102-**paged Wachovia Report only covered 19 of Wachovia’s predecessor institutions and omitted information about approximately 381. This means that 85% of researchable records of Wachovia’s predecessors were not reviewed. Eleven predecessors disclosed were founded in Pennsylvania, eight in Philadelphia.**

From the findings report, Wachovia knew or should have known of the existence of corporate records that indicate their profiting from slave labor. Wachovia has failed to provide said records. The fact is that the History Factory obfuscated the

true picture of Wachovia predecessors' involvement in the slave trade by leaving data on the research floor, in microfiche trays, on hard drives, and in file drawers and boxes.

According to the historical record, the Bank of North America was founded as a way and a means to finance the American Revolution and to get the Continental Congress out of debt. At the same time it financed the slave trade through its various mercantile ventures, such as ships, railroads, plantations, and auctions. The Bank of North America was the "Federal Reserve" of its time.

1.2 N'COBRA's Case against Wachovia

In June of 2005, the National Coalition of Blacks for Reparations in America (N'COBRA) developed a case statement which said that Wachovia directly and indirectly subjected the ancestors of African-Americans to a holocaust of inhumane treatment: kidnapping, murder, slave labor, physical and mental torture, rape, starvation, hangings, and subjected generations of African descendants in America to the continued effects of these original acts, including but not limited to: Jim Crow, Klu Klux Klan, race discrimination, affirmative action, and racial disparities in lending and investments. The historical record is replete with instances of Wachovia's predecessors using slave labor, and profits there from, to build the infrastructure of America. In so doing, it furthered the commission of crimes against humanity and peace - destroyed the human infrastructure of a people through crimes such as: kidnapping, murder, slavery, physical and mental abuse, economic conversion and discrimination.



Wachovia financially benefited and inherited huge sums of money and property from the Bank of North America and other predecessor institutions. Thus, it was unjustly enriched at the expense of African descendants. This was accomplished with the approbation and support of the 13 Colonies, the 2nd Continental Congress, and the U.S. Congress.

Just as Wachovia Corporation reaped huge profits from its predecessors who participated in the enslavement of African people, the corporation should also

inherit the debt of the human and social aftermath of its legacy of slavery. It is a matter of corrective moral justice that Wachovia, along with other corporations and other units of government, pay the debt they owe to African descendents for the holocaust of enslavement, by repairing and rebuilding the human infrastructure of Black people in America via reparations.

1.3 Philadelphia Slavery Disclosure Law

In March 2005, City Councilwoman Blondell Reynolds-Brown and Councilman W. Wilson Goode, Jr. introduced to the Philadelphia City Council a slavery disclosure ordinance that required all companies wishing to do business in the city of Philadelphia, PA to disclose any historical connection to the enslavement of African people. In July 2005, the slave disclosure ordinance was signed into law by the mayor of Philadelphia, Mayor John F. Street. Later that year, Councilman W. Wilson Goode, Jr. amended the ordinance to finally read:

*An Ordinance, Amending Section 17-104 of the Philadelphia Code, entitled "Prerequisites to the Execution of City Contracts," by requiring any City Depository authorized to accept City deposits under Section 19-201 of the Philadelphia Code to annually certify compliance with section 17-104 and, if such depository has disclosed slavery policies sold by it or its profits from slavery, **to provide the City with a statement of financial reparations; all under certain conditions.***

On December 13th, 2005, the mayor of Philadelphia, Mayor John F. Street, signed the amended bill into law making Philadelphia one of the first cities in the United States to demand reparations from banks that have benefited from slavery.

In 2006, Wachovia's disclosure statement submitted to the Philadelphia City Council intentionally and willfully, omitted the significant predecessors who had monstrous direct and indirect ties to the holocaust of enslavement of Africans and African descendents. These omissions witness to and prove how Wachovia was unjustly enriched by converting the labor of Africans and their descendents into inherited wealth across generations and centuries resulting in impoverished communities in almost every social indicator, also known as vestiges of enslavement, today. The cover letter, accompanying Wachovia's disclosure statement, dated December 30, 2005, stated without any sense of admission, atonement or regret:

*"Also pursuant to Bill #050615,
Wachovia does not intend to make reparations."*

Such arrogance and contempt for the law on the part of Wachovia is reprehensible and must be challenged. Wachovia, while continuing to do

business with local governments, has not fully accounted for and disclosed its direct and indirect involvement in the holocaust of enslavement and has refused to make any reparations for said involvement.

1.4 Engaging Wachovia

N'COBRA is in the best position, with standing from historical discussions of reparations initiatives from the twentieth century to the present, as the premier and nationally recognized reparations coalition, to lead the coordination of this moral, political and legal case against Wachovia.

Under the agency of its Philadelphia Chapter, N'COBRA established a five person negotiating team, consisting of Minister Ari S. Merretazon, Ron Johnson, Jaki Mungai, Milton McGriff, and Kibibi Tyehimba. Merretazon, Johnson and Mungai are members of N'COBRA Philadelphia, and McGriff and Tyehimba are the National Co-chairs of N'COBRA.

The negotiating team sent a letter to Wachovia requesting, amongst other things, the funding of an independent study on Wachovia's participation in slavery, its resulting impact on present-day African Americans, and a determination of appropriate remedies. Wachovia agreed to start the dialogue with a conference call on January 12, 2006; however, its representative Ms. Georgette "GiGi" Dixon, Vice President, Community Relations, ended the dialogue prior to the January 12th call by saying: "Wachovia will not discuss or pay reparations."

N'COBRA Philadelphia launched the Divest from Wachovia Campaign on April 4, 2006. This was the historical marker for the roll-out of the nation-wide campaign based on the historical South African Divestment Campaign to end apartheid. At its 17th Annual National Conference, N'COBRA membership passed a resolution on the 24th day of June, 2006, authorizing a National Divest from Wachovia Campaign and designating the Philadelphia Chapter as the lead agency.

2. The Divestment Process

2.1 About this Divestment Guide

This is a *guide* for divestment, inspired by the successful South African Divestment Campaign of the 1960's. It is not only directed at Wachovia, but at any legal entity with predecessors that benefited or profited from slavery directly or indirectly. It is written and constructed to provide as many organizations as possible with a tool to take the lead in starting divestment campaigns targeted at Wachovia Bank Corporation and its subsidiaries, affiliates, and entities within its

investment portfolio. This *divestment guide* provides directions and ideas to activate **Divest from Wachovia Campaigns**, and helps to build effective campaigns based on capacity of scale.

The guide is constructed as a direct action resource for activists and supporters of reparations for Blacks in America, who are engaging the U.S. Congress and corporations benefiting and profiting from the enslavement of African people in America and abroad.

Specifically, this guide is for:

- N'COBRA chapters that plan to lead local direct action campaigns and engage the dialogue on reparations with other groups with a focus on ethics, morality, politics and justice.
- Students who are working or will work to get America to atone for its crimes against humanity – African people and their descendents -- throughout the African Diaspora – and make America a safe place for all of its children, and those yet to come.
- Mainstream organizations such as fraternities, sororities, labor unions, foundations, chambers of commerce, business, professional associations of all types who no longer want to be collaborators with enslavement in America, and the vestiges of enslavement in America.
- Grassroots organizations of all types that wish to work for reparations and no longer want to be involved with collaborators of enslavement in America and the vestiges of enslavement in America.
- Local municipalities, state and federal units of government to be informed about the demands of its citizens who no longer want to see their tax dollars, revenues and investments deposited in financial institutions with ties to enslavement. This divestment guide will give morally and politically responsible elected officials support for good stewardship of government funds.
- Religious organizations, that choose to atone for their role in the holocaust of enslavement and work for a just and ethical reversal of the most calculated and deliberate perpetuation of white supremacy in the world.

It is not the purpose of this divestment guide to negotiate the economic debt owed, the process of repair, or the infrastructures needed to coordinate inputs,

activities, outcomes and impacts for reparations to Blacks in America. The economics and administration of reparations will be negotiated in the details of the win-win reparations agreement for which full disclosure and honest dialogue are the foundation stones.

By no means is this guide the last word or end-all about how to do a successful divestment campaign. Every **Divest from Wachovia Campaign** has the liberty to plan and design its approach to the divestment target, and to use innovative and appropriate tactics to carry out successful divestment to achieve the goal of reparations for Blacks in America and abroad. The reality is that we will learn more about how to do a successful 21st century divestment campaign as it is being done.

The important thing to remember is we can do this no matter how long it takes. This work-*guide* provides directions and ideas to activate **Divest from Wachovia Campaigns**, and helps build their capacity to be effective.

Each **Divest from Wachovia Campaign** will be unique because of its selective target, and the commitment of its activists. Therefore, the guiding principle for the Divest From Wachovia Campaign is: no one Divest from Wachovia Campaign strategy/tactic is greater than all of the Divest From Wachovia Campaign strategies/tactics being used at any given time. The common elements, however, of all strategies/tactics are: integrity, fidelity, synergy, wisdom, ingenuity, commitment, and responsibility.

The sharing of lessons learned and mid-course corrections of all the divestment campaigns will provide the reparations movement with a more comprehensive approach as to what the task involves, and better prepare activists of the **Divest from Wachovia Campaign** to deal with developments hindering and contending with their efforts. Share this work-guide with young people, as it will give them another morally and socially responsible activity to do.

It is vital, without a doubt, that local efforts, successes, and mistakes, be developed into learning models. To de-mystify our efforts, successes, and mistakes, members of active Wachovia divestment campaigns must share their experiences, successes, and mistakes using the tools and techniques of oral presentations, case studies, articles published in reparation movement publications and/or on the World Wide Web and email. This will build the capacity for a successful movement.

2.2 What We Want Wachovia to Do

Fundamentally, we want Wachovia to engage in the process of repair and

reparations by participating in:

- 1) Full disclosure of its profiting from the enslavement of African people.
- 2. National Dialogue** to uncover the truth about how this country was made the richest in the world on the backs of African peoples, and the true contribution of African descendants to the forward flow of this country.
- 3) **Multi-generational Financial Reparations Agreement, which must include compensation in as many**, forms as necessary to truly heal, repair and restore African descendants.

3. Divest From Wachovia

3.1 The Essence of Moral and Political Responsibility

The successive endorsements, resolutions, and boycotts by socially responsible organizations, universities, student organizations, religious organizations, foundations, and labor organizations in support of the South African Divestment Campaign are testimonies to the power of instinctive moral and political responsibility, and the power divestment holds for correcting injustices. For African Americans, correcting injustices means reparations for the vestiges of enslavement inherited by African descendants in America. Similarly, endorsements and resolutions will mobilize the at-large society to divest from corporations whose predecessors benefited and profited directly and indirectly from the enslavement of Africans and their descendants in America. The successful South African Divestment Campaign took 30 years. South Africa was a nation state. Wachovia and other financial institutions are not nation states so our successful Divest from Wachovia Campaign can be done in considerable less time.

Morally and politically responsible divestment for reparations is a resolve to have America atone, apologize and pay reparations for its crimes against humanity conducted in the name of human superiority and inferiority; enslavement and the slave trade. The advancement of divestment as a tool to achieve reparations for Blacks in America has re-energized the long demand for reparations in a way that is developing exponentially.

This new energy came a little more than a year from June 2005 when Wachovia Bank Corporation submitted its disingenuous, incomplete, and manufactured disclosure of its predecessor's ties to the holocaust of enslavement of Africans and their descendants in America, and less than six months after the first Reparations Town Hall Meeting in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

3.2 Philadelphia Speaks

N'COBRA Philadelphia's divestment campaign rang the divestment bell around America by identifying the inextricable facts and circumstances mentioned below:

a) the Bank of North America, Wachovia's enabling institution, was founded in Philadelphia as the first chartered bank in America. It was known un-officially as the 'federal reserve' of the 18th century. Its founders were the big merchants of their day, who traded in slaves, owned slave ships, plantations of all types, and rail road lines, amongst other enterprises;

b) Robert Morris, as a citizen of Philadelphia, and the founder of Bank of North America, was appointed by the 2nd Continental Congress as the first Superintendent of Finance, with the sole task of financing the American Revolution.

c) N'COBRA Philadelphia identified Philadelphia in 1830 as the home of the race scientist Samuel George Morton in, who doomed Blacks to inferiority and dedicated himself to proving Blacks were not even of the same species as whites.

d) N'COBRA Philadelphia lobbied successfully for a slavery disclosure law with the requirement of the submission of a "financial reparations plan" after disclosure.

e) N'COBRA Philadelphia developed a case statement against Wachovia, entitled, *Should Wachovia Pay, A Local Case for Reparation*

f) N'COBRA Philadelphia established the Case Against Wachovia Committee and initiated reparations dialogue with Wachovia via letter and several calls in preparation for negotiations.

g) N'COBRA Philadelphia participated in ongoing direct divestment actions in front of different Wachovia banks in Philadelphia.

As the **Divest from Wachovia Campaign** grows, the divestment movement for reparations will target many other financial institutions, insurance companies, et. al. already identified as divestment targets. There will be successful and far-reaching *morally* responsible resolutions from religious organizations, labor, student organizations, colleges and universities, fraternities and sororities, socially responsible organizations, divesting from Wachovia Bank Corporation wherever it and its portfolio of affiliates, clients, and subsidiaries are located.

Divestment as a strategy in the struggle for reparations for Blacks in America is appealing to all sectors of a *morally responsible* society. It will have tremendous growth and success as it attracts new advocates and resources. Their dedication and passion will move reparations to the public square in the first quarter of the 21st century.

We will continue to work and develop leaders along the reparations continuum to last throughout the century. We will continue this good work and fight the right fight until reparations are paid for the injustices stayed. The reparation movement will not be compromised. It is under-girded by commitment, integrity, fidelity, synergy, and righteousness.

The following pages of this work guide are meant to be the building blocks for those beginning reparations divestment campaigns. These building blocks will sustain momentum via cooperation, coordination, collaboration, and build the great pyramid of coalition, shoulder to shoulder with the morally responsible ideal of reparations. We will develop a plumb line to evaluate, improve, and evolve new tools and techniques for harvesting the fruit, much fruit, and more fruit of victories, which will bring about new possibilities. Reparations is our answer to injustice.

4. Divestment for Reparations

4.1 Pro-Active Strategic Engagement

The divestment strategy came forward as a means of getting Wachovia to re-new dialogue with N'COBRA on the principle of paying reparations for their predecessors' involvement in slavery and the slave trade in America. Because Wachovia has stated verbally and in writing to N'COBRA, and to the City of Philadelphia, "Wachovia does not intend to pay reparations," divestment became a public responsibility of morally and politically responsible citizens.

It is important to know that the rationale for divestment is not easily understood by the general public because of the professional media spin, disinformation, misinformation and erroneous information Wachovia is positing in the public domain. So there must be much education and re-education designed and done by those starting a **Divest from Wachovia Campaign**.

The public education must address the systemic and institutional root causes of the injustice of enslavement, and depict the future of both Blacks and Whites in America. This will give divestment for reparations tremendous potential and appeal.

Our work will draw from the processes, mid-course corrections, and successes of the South African Divestment Campaign, and the knowledge that it took over 30 years for the divestment campaign to bear the desired fruit. South Africa was an apartheid nation. Wachovia is a financial corporation without national authority and power. In this regard there, it is reasonable to project, assuming similar resources are mobilized, that the **Divest from Wachovia Campaign** will bear the desired fruit within 10 years or less. This campaign, like the South African campaign, will be successful because of the involvement and leadership of students at colleges and universities across the country.

Divestment is initiated by requests for institutions to rid their portfolios of investments in corporations with ties to enslavement of Blacks in America, and closing accounts with financial institutions with inherited wealth from predecessors who directly and indirectly profited and benefited from slavery in America. Remember, however, the ultimate goal of the divestment campaign is to cause Wachovia Bank Corporation to come to the reparations negotiating table.

Student, professional, labor, fraternal, religious, and community organizations that adopt divestment campaigns are presented with a great opportunity to restore their base of support and generate new interest in the demand for Black reparations. Further, it must be understood that this ultimate goal can be achieved through other means of peaceful direct actions inside and outside of Wachovia's banks as exemplified in the following section, **Establishing a Divest from Wachovia Campaign.**

4.2 Direct Divestment Actions or Establishing a Divest from Wachovia Campaign.

According to Wachovia's public information, it provides "a broad range of banking services, including asset management, wealth management, mortgage loan services, credit card services, trust services, investment consulting and security brokerage services, financial planning services, bank account aggregation services, revolving credit services, and corporate and investment banking services." Wachovia also provides financial seminars, and distributes analytical data on equity investments, and periodical publications concerning banking, investments and other financial topics.

Ultimately, a reparations divestment campaign would target any and all companies or universities benefiting and profiting from slavery, directly or indirectly; however, **your focus should be on those financial institutions with identifiable ties to slavery simply because "that's where the money is."**

In order to be victorious, the Divest from Wachovia Campaign must focus on addressing the deep roots of America's racism and white superiority. This must be done by applying truth and justice to the reality of "two Americas, one black and one white."

Divestment for reparations starts with individuals who understand that enslavement of a people is a crime against humanity for which reparations must be paid to repair and make that people whole again. It is these individuals who will make up the first wave of divestment for reparations from Wachovia in your city.

Divestment is initiated by requesting institutions to rid their investment portfolios of institutions found to have benefited and profited from enslavement of Blacks. Your N'COBRA chapter, or organization, must set the example by polling the members to see which members have accounts with Wachovia. Then do the following:

- Have your chapter or organization pass a resolution adopting a Divest From Wachovia Campaign strategy. If you are not able to achieve this, establish an organization, and if you are a student, a student organization, with the primary purpose of divestment for reparations.
- If your chapter is in a city where Wachovia does business, start developing your divestment strategy by collectively reading and analyzing Wachovia's national slavery disclosure report entitled: Findings Report, Wachovia and its Predecessors, by the History Factory. This report is on the Internet at: http://www.wachovia.com/files/Full_Research_Report_The%20History%20Factory.pdf You should also familiarize yourself with the History Factory, the contractor who Wachovia paid to do the report, at www.historyfactory.com/.
- From this initial search, you will see that only 19 of its 382 predecessors were mentioned. The other 363 were not even listed (there are probably more). For sure, the others include predecessors in states located in the North as well as the South. So, this is the starting point for making your reparations divestment case because the report is misleading, woefully incomplete, deceptive, and it conceals by omission and suppression the true involvement of Wachovia in the enslavement of Africans and African descendents in America.

- If there is no N'COBRA chapter in your city, start one. It only takes five members to establish a chapter, with the goal of reaching a membership total of 75 members in the first year. N'COBRA regional representatives are ready to help you with this task. You may call 215-885-3758 if you need our assistance.
- If your group is a college or university student group, or you desire to form such a group, make sure you go through all of the appropriate channels for approval and recognition. Being precise in going through all of the university's channels will allow your group to have the same privileges as other student groups.
- With your initial research done, start organizing the division of labor amongst members of the chapter/group. Tasks will include letters to the Wachovia Chairman and CEO, petitions, press releases, press conferences, articles in student newspapers and/or the major media, community and student education, face-to-face meetings with elected officials, letter-writing campaigns, leafleting in front of Wachovia Banks, and other creative peaceful direct actions.
- If Wachovia is not currently doing business in your city or state, and you are a student organization, you will want to review the investment portfolio of your university. Also identify and research the banks in your area for ties to slavery. Contact N'COBRA and talk with the Divest From Wachovia Campaign representative. Develop a divestment strategy for these financial institutions as well. The rule of reparations is, **if they have predecessors that existed prior to 1865, they benefited and profited from slavery de jure, directly or in-directly, and if they existed after 1865 to 1965 (the Civil Rights Act) they benefited from slavery de facto.**
- It is critical that you record and document your research and write a case statement so that those who come after you can carry on the work after you leave. While your research may be focused on your local financial institutions with ties to slavery, please remember it is an in-extricable part of the growing divestment for reparations campaign, and needs to be shared with supporters everywhere. The results of your research should be sent to the Divest From Wachovia Headquarters, posted on the internet, circulated by email, and published so others can be informed and possibly add to it and develop it further.

- If your research turns up the fact that your city has a slavery disclosure ordinance requiring corporations doing business in your city to disclose their predecessors' ties to slavery, you must then research to see what the ordinance requires the corporations with ties to slavery to do. Then you must determine whether or not they are in compliance with the ordinance.
- If your city does not have a slavery disclosure ordinance requiring corporations doing business in your city to disclose their predecessors' ties to slavery, you can petition your city council to pass such an ordinance.
- Most city-based slavery disclosure laws simply require corporations to disclose. While many corporations with ties to slavery will apologize for their involvement, they are not obligated to do anything else. However, in Philadelphia, corporations disclosing their ties to slavery must take the next logical step and, *"...provide the City with a statement of financial reparations."*
- If the corporation is a bank and it is a depository for city money, you will want to lobby city officials to revoke the depository status of that bank. If you are successful, this will be a major victory for divestment from Wachovia and other financial institutions disclosing their ties to slavery.

5. Coalition Building is a Must

At this point you should have already identified a black-owned bank, community-based credit union, church credit union, or another financial institution without ties to slavery in your city in which to deposit your money when you divest from Wachovia. This work-guide includes a national list of black financial institutions. (See Appendix)

- When you have completed the steps outlined in section 4.2 of this guide, you will have joined the Wachovia National Divestment Campaign. You are now ready to set a date, time and bank location for having a press conference to say why you are divesting from Wachovia and answer media questions, and then peacefully go inside the bank to close your account. You must check your local area for black-owned banks. If there is a black-owned bank in your city and it is not on the attached list, please submit the contact information to us so it can be added. If there is no black-owned bank in your area, identify a community or faith-based credit union.

- The next level of divestment for reparations is to get cities, counties and states, businesses, churches, unions, universities, and other corporations doing business with Wachovia to divest. Participants on this level will pass resolutions authorizing divestment from Wachovia. You can help them develop their resolutions with pertinent facts about Wachovia's benefiting and profiting from slavery. (See Appendix N'COBRA for resolution with pertinent facts.)

It is important to recognize that the goals of the Divest From Wachovia Campaign can be achieved through other means of boycott and isolation, such as boycott of goods and services from corporations and businesses doing business with Wachovia and academic boycott. The campaign can be further expanded and broadened to reach all possible segments of society through other creative methods.

Religious organizations can coordinate divestment blasts by getting their members to divest their church deposits at the same time. For example, all the Christian churches, Islamic Mosques, and Jewish Synagogues, can coordinate a day (Monday) and time (12:Noon) to divest from Wachovia.

Ballot initiatives are another creative method. You can follow the common procedure in your city to put an issue on the ballot.

It is important that all participants and organizations involved in the Divest from Wachovia Campaign understand the difference between cooperation, coordination and collaboration in the coalition building process.

In coalition building the concept of "collaboration" is commonly interchanged with "cooperation" and "coordination." Unlike in general coalition building, research reveals that the concepts of cooperation, coordination, and collaboration have distinct meanings and indicators you should remember:

Cooperation is characterized by informal relationships that exist without any commonly defined vision, mission, structure, or planning effort. Information is shared as needed, and authority is retained by each organization so there is virtually no risk. Resources are separate as are rewards.

Coordination is characterized by more formal relationships and an understanding of compatible missions. Some planning and division of roles are required, and communication channels are established. Authority still rests with

the individual organizations, but there is some increased risk to all participants. Resources are available to participants and rewards are mutually acknowledged.

Collaboration connotes a more durable and pervasive relationship. Collaborations bring previously separated organizations into a new structure with full commitment to a common vision and mission. Such relationships require comprehensive planning and well-defined communication channels operating on many levels. Authority is determined by the collaborative structure. Risk is much greater because each member of the collaboration contributes its own resources and reputation. Resources are pooled or jointly secured, and the products are shared.

Understanding these “three Cs” of coalition building with the goal of working collaboratively with others and N’COBRA will assure operational unity amongst all of the participants no matter where they are located, and no matter the level of commitment participants are ready to make. Work with people and organizations, and units of government where they are, and as the divestment campaign grows, you will have developed a working relationship that will get stronger.

Thanks for your commitment to justice and repair of a people who are still suffering from the effects of the Holocaust of African Enslavement, ie., kidnapping, murder, lynchings, segregation, and racism, as evident in our tortured psyches , broken families and devastated communities

You have permission to copy this booklet for the purpose of organizing a divestment campaign against any financial institution with predecessors who benefited and profited directly or indirectly from the enslavement of Africans in America. Contact N’COBRA at ncobraphiladelphia@comcast.net for further guidance and always check the website of the Philadelphia Chapter of N’COBRA, www.ncobraphiladelphia.org, for updates on the Divest from Wachovia Campaign.