

Reparations for Slavery in the United States of America:

A Bibliography of Resources

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Abstract:

The truth is that we in the United States have an issue to face: Do we address historical errors that have arisen out of our nation's past, and if choosing to do so, how do we address those errors? The primary focus of this article is confined to the issue of reparations for slavery within the borders of the United States, and its relevance to the citizens of the United States. By limiting the focus of this article to slavery reparations in the U.S., clear foundations can be developed for rational debate, and to work toward a resolution that may serve as a model for other reparations cases. This bibliography is thus presented to enrich the debate and to enlighten the interested in the varied, oft unconsidered, complexities of the issue of reparations.

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Introduction

Although the title of this article refers to reparations for slavery in the United States, this issue is only one area where reparations may be expected by citizens of our nation. Most notably, Indigenous American citizens may see some reflection in the issues discussed in this national conversation. The primary focus of this article is confined to the issue of reparations for slavery within the borders of the United States, and its relevance to the citizens of the United States. Citations in this bibliography that discuss slavery reparations on a global level are included to raise awareness of the global nature of this issue. By limiting the focus of this article to slavery reparations in the U.S., clear foundations can be developed for rational debate, and to work toward a resolution that may serve as a model for other reparations cases.

Why write about reparations for slavery? Because, this issue is the most contentious of reparations debates on the table, and the most in need of clarity and deliberation. The truth is that our nation has an issue to face: Do we address historical errors that have arisen out of our nation's past, and if choosing to do so, how do we address those errors?

The issue of reparations isn't about punishing one segment of the population for ancestral crimes committed against another. Nor should the issue be used as a divisive stroke to polarise our people into "Yea" or "Nay" camps. Offering her opinion, this writer believes that reparations represents an opportunity for growth, and can serve as a restorative tool for reconciliation, education and opportunity for all our citizens.

This bibliography is thus presented to enrich the debate and to enlighten the interested in the varied, oft unconsidered, complexities of the issue of reparations. In writing this article, the author's intent is not to debate the issue. Rather, she intends to present material that will promote research on the issue and to help interested individuals to develop a strategy that can address the issue with reason and inclusivity.

This Complex Issue

Reparations present complex and varied aspects that require a broad understanding of the philosophy, history, law, education, economics, and politics surrounding the issue, but it also requires some understanding of problems faced by ordinary people that are affected on a day-to-day basis by slavery induced social disparities that continue to exist in our national reality. In this day of "sound-byte" rhetoric, and simplistic approaches to issues, complexity isn't a vice - it's a challenge.

The Bibliography

Since the discussion of reparations balances upon a variety of topics, this bibliography is organised into several subtopics that lead ultimately toward the debate itself:

Race

The first of these is related to racial concepts and how they have shaped the social landscape. Whether viewed in terms of biological differences, or in terms of politically motivated social divisions, racial concepts (real or imagined) have created social disparities within U.S. citizenry, and require careful analysis to understand the full impact that this foundation of racism has created. As Joseph L. Graves, Jr. observes in *The Emperor's New Clothes*, "Like the emperor in Anderson's fable, the "emperor race" has paraded through history naked for everyone to see. All we need do is observe biological diversity carefully, report it faithfully, and not fear the consequences of the truth that is revealed." ¹

History

Nothing takes place in a vacuum, and this is no less true of American slavery than of any other circumstance. In order to understand slavery in America, it must be viewed in terms of its place in history and on the global scene. American slavery would not have taken place if it had not been facilitated in some way through previously established slave trade. And, to understand that facilitation is to understand how it could have begun, and then have gone on to develop into one of the worst genocides in human history. (The reader may note the 915 CE writings of Arabian geographer Abu'l-Hasan Ali al-Mas'udi reporting of the slave trade at Mombasa and Kilwa, and Pope Eugene IV's 19 December

1442 CE bull Illius Qui giving the enslavement of Africans the blessing of a crusade, as two of many antecedents. ²⁾

Education

During the slavery era, laws were passed in the United States making it illegal to teach a slave to read. Slaveholders realised that if a slave could read they could also use this knowledge as a tool for gaining freedom. ³ Education was then, and continues to be the primary source of freedom, independence and opportunity. While *Brown v. Board of Education* brought sweeping social changes, continuing disparities in education remain in place, perpetuated by de facto segregation in many localities even though de jure segregation was rendered illegal by *Brown* fifty years ago. According to Victor Goode, “These two versions of *Brown*, as moral compass and unfulfilled promise, are both accurate. Seldom has the Supreme Court issued an opinion with such profound implications for the direction of our country, and seldom has a court order been so persistently evaded by a combination of determined opposition and eroding judicial support.” ⁴ The dynamic of education in the reparations debate is one of developing opportunity, to be sure, but it also represents a bridge that can span the cultural divide. In considering the issue of reparations, education is an essential factor.

Affirmative Action

Attempts at addressing some of our American social disparities were put forward in affirmative action efforts. Understanding this valiant attempt is part and parcel to the debate on reparations. Both opposition to and support for affirmative action centers upon a point of impartiality and consistency in how a member of one group of people is received as opposed to the reception of a member of another group. In her book *Affirmative Action is Dead; Long Live Affirmative Action*, Faye J. Crosby notes the observation that, “Not only does affirmative action call for people of color to be treated differently from White people, it also calls for people of color to be treated one way in some situations and another in other situations.”⁵ Proponents of affirmative action cite systemic biases in selection procedures that tend to eliminate individuals based on circumstance rather than on merit. As Crosby expresses it: “Once problems are detected, solutions can be found. Affirmative action promotes the effective detection of problems through the regular and systematic review of information. Affirmative action also encourages effective solutions”

⁶ The scope and status of affirmative action and arguments for and against echo those of reparations, and in this direct relationship affirmative action must be considered as a subset, at least, of the larger reparations issue.

Law

The legal issues of bringing parties to court to redress slavery, expressed as a tort, have not met with much success, largely due to statutes of limitation and jurisdictional doctrine.

Addressing this issue is the case of Farmer-Paellmann v. First Boston.⁷ Response to litigation in this venue can be explored through U.S. District Court, Northern District of Illinois Case No: 1:02-cv-7764.⁸

The legal landscape has only slowly and tentatively been approached, and may, or may not achieve the desired results. Laws begin as legislative intent, and are only enforceable within the language of the law. In this arena of reparations, the courts may not have the competence to address the issue. Judicial hands may be tied, making reparations into a much more difficult issue to address. Still, the ground has not been extensively traversed, and exploration here may yield interesting results. Compensatory justice may offer some opportunities for slavery reparations as they have in cases related to Japanese American internment during World War II, and in compensations rewarded to victims of the NAZI Holocaust. But, these reparations have been made to living victims of these injustices, and their immediate descendents. Between five and seven generations have passed since the end of slavery in the U.S. and individual's cases have blurred into larger issues of class disparity. Ellen Frankel Paul, in "Set-Asides, Reparations, and Compensatory Justice (*Compensatory Justice* edited by John W. Chapman) reflects: "This is an opportune time to reexamine preferential programs, not with the intent of retreading well-worn philosophical ground, but rather with the purpose of reflecting on the cogency and coherence of the concept of compensatory justice itself."⁹

African Americans

The state of modern African America; how participatory African Americans have or have not become, person for person, in the benefits of being American, and where ethnic disparities continue to disenfranchise segments of the American citizenry; should bring into focus the realities for the average individual for whom the legacy of slavery continues to matriculate through the generations. In *The Hidden Cost of Being African American*, Thomas M. Shapiro poses this: “What portion of the racial wealth gap results from merit-based differences like education, jobs, and earnings, and what portion springs from nonmerit-based sources, like inheritance, institutional discrimination, and discriminatory public policy? This question is crucial not because we can hope to explain all causes of the racial wealth gap but rather because it allows us to identify some significant sources of the gap.”¹⁰ In measuring the need for reparative strategies, the state and scope of modern day disenfranchisement, and the legacy of disenfranchisements of the past need to be examined and understood.

European Americans

Slavery induced segmentization of American society is also at issue for European Americans as the “sins of the fathers” continue to visit upon our nation. Examining the depths of the European American dilemma in this issue is no less important, and this dilemma needs assessment in order to fully understand the scope of the legacy of slavery. As observed by Beverly Daniel Tatum in “Lighting Candles in the Dark” (*Becoming and*

Unbecoming White edited by Christine Clark and James O'Donnell), "The feelings of sadness and guilt, shame and anger, even betrayal, are quite intense for many, overwhelming for some."¹¹ These emotions of ancestral betrayal, that visit sin upon the present generation of European Americans may engender a defensive "denial and resistance to this new learning, but they can also be a catalyst for action." says Tatum. In *White Men on Race*, Joe Feagin and Eileen O'Brien present the problem thusly:

In his 1944 book *An American Dilemma*, Gunnar Myrdal, the Nobel Prize-winning social scientist, examined anti-black prejudice and discrimination in the United States of the 1930s and 1940s. In his introduction, he notes that his initial focus was on what he saw as "the Negro problem." Once in the field, however, he discovered there was no Negro problem but rather a "white man's problem." Myrdal belatedly realized that white Americans had not only created the system of racial oppression directed at black Americans, but maintained it over time for their own benefit.^{12a}

Today we need to recover this insight, because most whites still do not see the problem of "race" in America as a "white problem." Recently, another Nobel Prize winner, Toni Morrison, has called for research on the "impact of racism on those who perpetuate it."^{12b} Continues Morrison, "It seems both poignant and striking how avoided and unanalyzed is the effect of racist inflection on the subject."¹²

Activism

It's one thing to point to issues and another thing to work for positive changes. And because of that, activists are often placed a step above "ordinary" citizens (as was Martin Luther King, Jr.), or are put into arenas of vilification if one happens to strongly disagree with their efforts. However, activists are ordinary citizens, they only seem extraordinary in the ordinary things that they do. This bibliography includes two works that speak to the nuts and bolts of activism. While not specifically related to the singular issue of reparations, they serve as reminders that there are things that ordinary people are able to do in order to effect change in a positive way.

The Reparations Debate

Finally, we will come to the reparations argument itself, here to sort out the rhetoric, and to understand the pleas from all sides of the issue. Materials gathered for this section are intended to present the wide-ranging opinions and approaches to the issue, both in favor and in opposition.

Criteria for the Selection of Resources

Materials in this bibliography were selected for relevancy to the issue of reparations. In reviewing many resources some items were excluded from this list based upon redundancy of information or flawed data reported as factual. While this writer cannot claim to be

completely unbiased, her attempt is not to persuade any one side of the argument, but to present a listing of research materials through which the reader can become acquainted with the issues involved and can draw their own educated conclusions.

References

1. Joseph L. Graves, Jr., *The Emperor's New Clothes : Biological Theories of Race at the Millennium*, New Brunswick, NJ, Rutgers University Press, 2001, p. 2.
2. Junius P. Rodriguez, *Chronology of World Slavery*, Santa Barbara, Calif., ABC-CLIO, c1999, p. 55-57 & 121.
3. Paul Finkelman, Joseph C. Miller., *Macmillan Encyclopedia of World Slavery*, New York, Macmillan Reference USA, Simon & Schuster Macmillan ; London : Simon & Schuster and Prentice Hall International, c1998., p. 278-279.
4. Victor Goode, *ColorLines*, Vol. 7, No. 2, Summer 2004. "Future of Brown".
5. Faye J. Crosby, *Affirmative Action is Dead : Long Live Affirmative Action*, New Haven, Yale University Press, c2004., p. 37.
6. *ibid*, p. 46-47.

7. "Lawsuits Seek Reparations for Slavery", *USA Today*, New York, March 27, 2002.

<<http://www.usatoday.com/news/nation/2002/03/27/slavery.htm>>.

8. U.S. District Court, Northern District of Illinois Case No; 1:02-cv-7764.

<<http://www.ilnd.uscourts.gov/racer2/>>.

9. John W. Chapman, *Compensatory Justice*, New York, New York University Press, 1991., p. 98.

10. Thomas M. Shapiro, *The Hidden Cost of Being African American : How Wealth Perpetuates Inequality*, New York, Oxford University Press, 2004., p. 42.

11. Christine Clark and James O'Donnell, "Lighting Candles in the Dark: One Black Woman's Response to White Antiracist Narratives", *Becoming and Unbecoming White : Owning and Disowning a Racial Identity*, Westport, Conn, Bergin & Garvey, 1999. p. 58-63.

12. Joe Feagin and Eileen O'Brien, *White Men on Race : Power, Privilege, and The Shaping of Cultural Consciousness*, Boston, Beacon Press, c2003., p. 5.

12a. Gunnar Myrdal, *An American Dilemma; The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy*, New York, London, Harper & Brothers, 1944., p. lxix-lxxxiii.

12b. Toni Morrison, *Playing in the Dark*, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1992. p. 11.

. An Annotated Bibliography of Reparations for Slavery in the United States of America

Race and Racial Concepts

1. Joseph L. Graves, Jr., *The Emperor's New Clothes : Biological Theories of Race at the Millennium*, New Brunswick, NJ, Rutgers University Press, 2001, [appendices, notes, and bibliography] ISBN 081352847X.

In an interdisciplinary study of racial theories and social and political policy, the author presents a history of theories of biological diversity from a modern scientific perspective, and takes the reader through the origins of race as a concept through the applications and misapplications of science regarding race, and gives modern biological evidence that race is a non-supportable concept. This is a very strong argument for the deconstruction of racism by a removal of race from the social consciousness.

2. Steven Gregory and Roger Sanjek, *Race*, New Brunswick, N.J., Rutgers University Press, c1994. [notes and references] ISBN 0813521084.

Race explores the historicity of race as a concept through the works of nineteen contributors. Defining race as “the framework of ranked categories segmenting the human population that was developed by western Europeans following their global expansion beginning in the 1400s”, it examines how the delineations of race

were constructed, modified and how they impact society in its parts and as a whole.

3. Mark Lawrence McPhail, *The Rhetoric of Racism Revisited : Reparations or Separation?*, Lanham, Md., Rowman & Littlefield, c2002., [references] ISBN 0742517187.

The author presents this study as “an attempt to articulate a coherent understanding of the linguistic, philosophical, and pragmatic implications of negative difference in and on human thought and action.” The rhetorical dimensions of racial constructs are presented as a “complicitous interaction” that is explored through an understanding that the language of racism is formed of a “commonality of different discourses that result in similar social divisions.” Race is presented as a phenomenon of words, rather than a matter of biology.

4. Gunnar Myrdal, Richard Sterner and Arnold Rose, *An American Dilemma; The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy*, New York, London, Harper & Brothers, 1944., [appendices, list of books, etc. (references), footnotes].

While originally published sixty years prior to the compilation of this bibliography, the comprehensive nature of this study cannot be ignored. Laid out for the reader is an exhaustive analysis of the American dilemma of race relations in its historical context, and presented at the nexus between the “Jim Crow” era, and the Civil Rights Movement of the second half of the twentieth century.

The History of Slavery

5. Junius P. Rodriguez, *The Historical Encyclopedia of World Slavery*, Santa Barbara, Calif., ABC-CLIO, c1997., [footnotes and bibliography] ISBN 0874368855.

The Historical Encyclopedia of World Slavery presents detailed and in-depth information on a vast number of topics and issues related to slavery from its beginnings in pre-history to the end of the twentieth century. Rodriguez gives us a solid resource for research into the history and issues of slavery.

6. Junius P. Rodriguez, *Chronology of World Slavery*, Santa Barbara, Calif., ABC-CLIO, c1999, [documents and bibliography] ISBN 0874368847.

Presents a clear chronology of slavery as a global institution from the most ancient times into the end of the twentieth century. Beginning with the founding of Jericho around 6800 BCE, and ending with the 18 November 1998 recognition of Cheikh Saad Bouh Kamara with the Anti-Slavery International's annual Anti-Slavery award for his efforts to end slavery in Mauritania, Rodriguez carries us through the history of slavery step by step, event through event.

7. Paul Finkelman and Joseph C. Miller, *Macmillan Encyclopedia of World Slavery*, New York, Macmillan Reference USA, Simon & Schuster Macmillan ; London : Simon & Schuster and Prentice Hall International, c1998. [footnotes, maps, synoptic outline, timeline, and bibliography] ISBN 002864607X.

Finkelman and Miller present a comprehensive encyclopedia with extensive and detailed entries. This is a primary resource for developing the foundations of serious research into the issues and histories of slavery in its many and varied incarnations around the globe.

8. Henry Wiencek., *An Imperfect God : George Washington, His Slaves, and the Creation of America*, New York, Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2003. [footnotes and notes on quotations and sources] ISBN 0374175268.

An Imperfect God is a well researched, and carefully woven narrative of George Washington's moral transformation from compassionless slaveholder to repentant emancipator of his own slaves, and high critic of the practice of slavery. Following the stages of Washington's life as a farmer, soldier, politician, and elder statesman, the legacy of slavery is explored as a foundation of the early American consciousness. Washington's moral growth, against the prevailing attitudes of the time, gives a deeper understanding of the impact of slavery in our nation's beginnings.

9. Paul Finkelman, *Articles on American Slavery : An Eighteen-Volume Set Collecting Nearly Four Hundred of the Most Important Articles on Slavery in the United States*, New York, Garland Pub., 1989, [footnotes] ISBN's:

0824067819 (vol.1), 0824067827 (vol.2), 0824067835 (vol.3), 0824067843 (vol.4),
0824067851 (vol.5), 082406786X (vol.6), 0824067878 (vol.7), 0824067886 (vol.8),
0824067894 (vol.9), 0824067908 (vol.10), 0824067916 (vol.11), 0824067924 (vol.12),

0824067932 (vol.13), 0824067940 (vol.14), 0824067959 (vol.15), 0824067967 (vol.16),
0824067975 (vol.17), 0824067983 (vol.18).

This series reprints important articles on the issue of slavery gleaned from a wide variety of scholarly journals and covering many major topics. Issues considered include such subject matter as law, economics, ideology, culture, religion, rebellion, and regional contexts. Finkelman presents a wide range of viewpoints for a clear understanding of the complexities surrounding the culture of American Slavery, its origins, its continuance, and finally its demise.

Education

10. Charles J. Ogletree, Jr., *All Deliberate Speed : Reflections On the First Half Century of Brown V. Board of Education*, New York, W.W. Norton & Co., c2004. [illustrations, notes, frequently cited cases] ISBN 0393058972.

The systematic evisceration of *Brown v. Board of Education*, over the last fifty years, is discussed in this volume, as the results of compromise language in the Supreme Court decision that called for the end of segregation in public schools, not immediately, but “with all deliberate speed.” Ogletree discusses the critical and timely nature of the Supreme Court’s decision, the important work that lead up to *Brown*, its compromises, resistance to its implementation, and finally, the author’s own personal reflections as an African American growing up with the benefits of *Brown* and affirmative action in a society struggling with issues of race.

11. Gary Orfield and Susan E. Eaton, *Dismantling Desegregation: The Quiet Reversal of Brown v. Board of Education*, New York, The New York Press, 1996, [notes]

ISBN1565843053.

Orfield and Eaton present a comprehensive history of the legal and political reversals of desegregation since the Supreme Court Ruling of *Brown v. Board of Education* first ordered desegregation of public schools. Their work illustrates the consequences of resegregation and puts to the point the ramifications of de facto segregation. They also offer new directions for policy makers toward a truly integrated future.

12. *ColorLines*, Vol. 7, No. 2, Summer 2004. ISSN 10983503. “Broken Promises: the Future of Brown v. Board”.

“Broken Promises” is comprised of five articles that discuss the effectiveness of the *Brown v. Board of Education* ruling, and what it means for the future.

Victor Goode , “The Future of Brown”.

Goode examines the developments in continued segregation, and resegregation of public schools since *Brown*, and draws correlations with socioeconomic disparities in minority school districts.

J. Douglas Allen-Taylor and Lee Hubbard, “‘With All Deliberate Speed’: The Question of Desegregation”.

Allen Taylor relates the change of conditions of two school districts, one in South Carolina and one in California, and assesses the impact of desegregation on those communities. Hubbard discusses the reasons for

desegregation as those of getting students of different ethnicities to interact with each other, and more importantly, to improve the quality of education.

Eric C. Wat, “Not Your Mother’s PTA”.

Wat examines the development and effect of community organizations of parents and students working to affect changes in the quality of education and racial equality in the schools and community as a whole.

Chela Delgado, “Hey Teach!”.

“Hey Teach!” discusses teacher quality in minority schools and looks at the suitability, along with the competence of teaching staff in low performing school systems. Delgado presents the question of readiness to teach and the ability to embrace the role of teacher in the community, as an ally to students and parents, as being important to the quality of education in the urban setting.

Tammy Johnson and Koda Borgelt-Mose, “Beyond Brown”.

“Beyond Brown” presents “snapshots” of the impact and relevance of *Brown* for the present and future of education in America and beyond issues of Black and White ethnic identification.

Affirmative Action

13. Christopher Edley, Jr., *Not All Black and White : Affirmative Action, Race, and American Values*, New York, Hill and Wang, 1996., ISBN 0809029553.

The author here presents the issues of affirmative action and racial justice, not in simplistic terms, but as a difficult set of challenges facing the American people. Edley's stated intent is not to try to simplify, but to explore the difficult issues, as difficult issues, in the hopes of sorting things out in an understandable fashion without resorting to reckless generalizations. Concepts range from legal issues to social values, and relate different scenarios such as race neutrality, remediation, and merit and need. He also discusses racial politics in public policy and in the American community.

14. Faye J. Crosby., *Affirmative Action is Dead : Long Live Affirmative Action*, New Haven, Yale University Press, c2004. [notes and bibliography] ISBN 0300101295.

Faye Crosby explores the issues surrounding affirmative action in search of its benefits, and American ambivalence toward it as a policy. From careful analysis and empirical evidence, based in law, sociology, education, and political science, she provides a clear and comprehensive perspective.

The Law

15. John W. Chapman, *Compensatory Justice*, New York, New York University Press, 1991. [notes] ISBN 0814714536.

This 33rd volume of NOMOS was developed out of The American Society for Political and Legal Philosophy, in conjunction with the annual meeting of the Association of American Law Schools, held in January of 1989. Comprising an excellent view of the legal questions regarding compensation, this volume explores the issues of rights, equality, justice between generations, distributions and redistribution, limitations of compensation, and considerations beyond compensation.

16. “Farmer-Paellmann v. FleetBoston Financial Corp., et al.”, March 26, 2002.

< <http://news.findlaw.com/hdocs/docs/slavery/fpllmnflt032602cmp.pdf>>.

This is the Class Action filing in the United States District Court for the Eastern District of New York a “complaint and jury trial demand” against FleetBoston Financial Corp., et. al. filed by Deadria Farmer-Paellmann “On behalf of herself and all other persons similarly situated”. It represents the legal question of reparations for slavery as a matter of a tort, and gives a foundation for placing the issue of slavery before the Judiciary as a matter of duress placed upon one part of the citizenry, by another part for the sake of gaining profit. Also of interest is “Lawsuits Seek Reparations for Slavery”, *USA Today*, New York, March 27, 2002. <<http://www.usatoday.com/news/nation/2002/03/27/slavery.htm>>. This article gives

a quick overview of the motivations and considerations behind the filing of Farmer-Paellmann v. FleetBoston Financial Corp. and two other similar suits. Adjudication can be found at U.S. District Court, Northern District of Illinois Case No; 1:02-cv-7764. <<http://www.ilnd.uscourts.gov/racer2/>>.

17. Elazar Barkan., *The Guilt of Nations : Restitution and Negotiating Historical Injustices*, New York, Norton, 2000., [notes] ISBN 0393048861.

Saying that he was “fascinated by the sudden appearance of restitution cases all over the world” and seeing “a potentially new international morality”, Barkin examines the global trend toward restitution for historic injustices. Examined are post World War II reparations cases, restitutions to indigenous cultures for colonial injustices, and the limits, scope, rationale, and theory of restitution. This title is listed here under the category of law because it resonates through the heart of legal justice. However, the issues of morality and responsibility and a compassionate response are equally telling in this volume.

The State of Modern African America

18. Henry Louis Gates, *America Behind the Color Line: Dialogues with African Americans*, New York, Warner Books, 2004, ISBN: 0-44-653273-8.

An examination of the role of class distinctions within the African American community, this is a companion volume to a four-part television documentary

based upon interviews with African American people from varied walks of life. It singles-out the role of economic strata within the community as a dividing context, and examines how this is more or less of a definition of identity than ethnicity.

19. Melvin L. Oliver and Thomas M. Shapiro, *Black Wealth/White Wealth : A New Perspective on Racial Inequality*, New York, Routledge, 1995., [appendices, notes, and references] ISBN 0415913756.

Through analysis of private wealth by examining of assets and debts as opposed to income alone; viewing data from over 12,000 households, conducting in-depth interviews of black and white families from a variety of backgrounds; and exploring economic barriers of low income, limited access to capital, governmental policy, and urban ghettoization; Oliver and Shapiro present a compelling picture of advantage and disadvantage historically laid out upon ethnic lines. The authors' intent is "not just to present an explanation of racial inequality, . . . but also to develop ways to address the issue." Oliver and Shapiro present a clear and logical analysis, free of political divisiveness, and presented with a sense of diagnosis, prescription and prognosis.

20. Thomas M. Shapiro, *The Hidden Cost of Being African American : How Wealth Perpetuates Inequality*, New York, Oxford University Press, 2004., [appendices, notes, and bibliography] ISBN 019515147X.

Through interviews with nearly 200 families, and national survey data gleaned from some 10,000 families, Shapiro gives an in-depth analysis of economic

disparities that continue to exist along ethnic lines, despite a significant decline in overt racism in the United States, and a steady rise in employment and annual income among African-American families. Shapiro asks, “Why is racial inequality increasing after an era in which civil rights and opportunities expanded?”

European American Dilemma

21. Christine Clark and James O'Donnell, *Becoming and Unbecoming White : Owning and Disowning a Racial Identity*, Westport, Conn, Bergin & Garvey, 1999., [notes and bibliography] ISBN 0897896203.

Becoming and Unbecoming White explores the dynamics of transformation from racist to anti-racist understanding as experienced by “White” multicultural educators and activists. Life experiences are explored in a concise and studied manner through essays by fourteen authors, discussing the dynamics of race as a experience. Both personal and scholarly, both engaging and well studied, this collection of essays brings into close perspective, the legacy of racism and its effect upon European Americans.

22. Joe Feagin and Eileen O'Brien, *White Men on Race : Power, Privilege, and The Shaping of Cultural Consciousness*, Boston, Beacon Press, c2003. [notes] ISBN 0807009806.

Feagin and O'Brien present an analysis of the views, perspectives and proclivities of “elite white men” in America as they wrestle with issues of race, and

desegregation half a century after *Brown v. the Board of Education*. Feagan and O'Brian sampled nearly one hundred respondents for insight into how this national elite views racial issues to find a significant diversity of points of view. This is an important study that moves beyond assumptions about continuing discrimination, and seeks to assess the reality at the seats of national power.

Activism

23. Tavis Smiley, *Doing What's Right: How to Fight for What You Believe – And Make a Difference*, New York, Doubleday, Random House, 2000, ISBN 0385499302.

In this easy to read volume, Tavis Smiley shares his personal experience in becoming an advocate for social change, and gives encouragement and guidelines for ordinary people to get involved. This is a powerful testimony to what average citizens can do to advocate for the issues in which they believe.

24. MoveOn.org, *MoveOn's 50 Ways to Love Your Country: How to Find Your Political Voice and Become a Catalyst for Change*, ISBN 193072229X.

Move On's 50 Ways to Love Your Country is comprised of fifty articles compiled to provide insight and advice in areas of activism. Authors include Peter Schurman of Move On; former Vice President, Al Gore; David Fenton of Fenton Communications; House Democratic Leader, Nancy Pelosi; and author/ journalist Gail Sheehy. Topics cover everything from the importance of voting and writing

letters to your representatives to grass roots campaigning and running for office
It offers an “insiders” point of view for the average citizen.

The Reparations Argument

Proponents:

25. Boris I. Bittker, *The Case for Black Reparations*, New York, Random House, 1973.
[notes, appendices] ISBN 0394480945.

Being the first modern volume to comprehensively discuss the issue of reparations, Bittker’s tome offers an in-depth analysis of reparations as a judicial issue, and provides the reader with the foundations of the case for reparations as compensatory justice. This is the classic work on the subject and a must for anyone interested in the issue of reparations.

26. Randall Robinson, *The Debt : What America Owes to Blacks*, New York, Dutton, 2000., [bibliography] ISBN 0525945245.

<<http://www.RandallRobinson.com>>.

In this controversial presentation, Robinson argues the case for payment of debt owed to African American people for damages resulting from two hundred fifty years of slavery and from the segregation and social disenfranchisement that followed. He draws from historical research, and from personal experience to make the case of responsibility for Black America to lay claim to lost heritage, and

for White America to remit payment of the debt through monetary restitution, education, and equal opportunity.

27. Michael T. Martin and Marilyn Yaquinto, Reparations for ‘America’s Holocaust’: Activism for Global Justice”, *Race & Class*, Vol. 45, No. 4, April – June 2004, [references] ISSN 03063968.

Martin and Yaquinto provide an overview of the issue of reparations in an era of neo-conservatism and globalization, projecting “trajectories” of the movement, and assessing their effects. They present strategies of addressing the issue, and assess the value of possible alliances toward the future.

Opponents:

28. William Norman Grigg, “The True Cost of Reparations”, *The New American*, Vol. 17, No. 4, February 12, 2001.

<http://www.thenewamerican.com/tna/2001/02-12-2001/vol17no04_reparations.htm>.

Grigg presents a general critique of the reparations movement from the opponent’s viewpoint. Presented are such concerns as “two very dubious assumptions . . . , that innocent contemporary citizens can be required to indemnify misdeeds committed by others long ago; and . . . that favored individuals can be designated ‘victims’ because of wrongs inflicted upon their ancestors, and receive monetary compensation for their ‘victimhood.’”

29. David Horowitz, *Uncivil Wars : The Controversy Over Reparations For Slavery*, San Francisco, Encounter Books, 2002., [footnotes] ISBN 1893554449.

<<http://www.frontpagemag.com/AboutHorowitz/index.asp>>.

The bulk of this book chronicles the response to an ad that Horowitz placed in college newspapers in 2001. The ad outlined “Ten Reasons Why Reparations for Slavery Is a Bad Idea – and Racist Too”. The remainder presents an analysis of the case for reparations in a critical review of previously written material on the subject. Drawing from resource material, Horowitz builds a case against reparations, noting them as “racially incendiary.”

Analysis:

30. Raymond A. Winbush., *Should America Pay?: Slavery and the Raging Debate Over Reparations*, New York, Amistad, c2003, [notes] ISBN 0060083107.

A general primer on reparations as a movement, drawing from the efforts of many scholars and authors and covering history, law, pro and con opinions, movement organizations, and social impact. This gives a good overview of the subject of reparations as a beginning point for discussion of the issue.

31. Ali A. Mazrui and Alamin M. Mazrui, *Black Reparations in the Era of Globalization*, Binghamton, N.Y., Institute of Global Cultural Studies Global Publications, Binghamton University, 2002. [notes and bibliography] ISBN 1586841548.

Black Reparations in the Era of Globalization is a series of five essays by Ali A. Mazrui covering reparations for slavery and colonization in Africa and the African Diaspora. Provided here is a fine overview of the history of the reparations issue and its impact on people of African descent. Not restricted to the United States, Mazrui covers reparations as a global issue. Easy to read, while adhering to Dr. Mazrui's tradition of impeccable scholarship, *Black Reparations in the Era of Globalization* is well recommended.

32. Roy L. Brooks, *When Sorry Isn't Enough : The Controversy Over Apologies and Reparations for Human Injustice*, New York, New York University Press, c1999. [notes, suggested readings, and appendix] ISBN 0814713319.

The scope of this anthology is not limited to reparations for American slavery, but covers issues of reparations for human injustice across the globe. It's an excellent resource for the conceptual bases for redress of past wrongs, and offers both historical and philosophical understandings of reparations issues.

33. John Torpey, *Politics and the Past : On Repairing Historical Injustices*, Lanham, Md., Rowman & Littlefield, c2003. [notes] ISBN 0742517985.

Torpey provides a general overview of the politics and theory behind reparations. Collected here are essays exploring the concepts and practice of repairing historical injuries. Topics include historical and theoretical considerations behind the issue of reparations, and case studies of reparations.

34. "40 Acres and a Mule?", *Souls*, Summer 2003, Vol. 5, No. 3, Philadelphia, PA, Taylor & Francis, 2003, ISSN 10999949.

Four articles are presented that discuss the issue of reparations within the context of the African American community.

Ronald Walters, "The Politics of Black Memory".

Walters responds to what he describes as "slavery lite" and presents a challenge to the Black community to shape the movement toward greater self-determination.

Jeffrey R. Kerr-Ritchie, "Forty Acres and a Mule; An Act of Bad Faith".

Kerr-Ritchie gives a comprehensive history of the concept of forty acres and a mule, presenting the origins, nature and legacy.

Theodore Kornweibel, Jr., "Railroads, Race and Reparations".

Kornweibel covers the history, scope, and impact of slave labour in the largest industry in the antebellum South.

Manning Marable, "Reparations and the Black Consciousness".

Marable speaks of African American unity behind the issue of reparations, and considers the implementations of payouts in various forms.

35. "Slavery Reparations Information Center: Commentary, News, Litigation, Groups", *National Center for Public Policy Research*, July 1997 to August 2003.

<<http://www.nationalcenter.org/Reparations.html>>.

Presented are a series of forty five articles spanning six years of debate, and five web links to groups concerned about the reparations issue. The issue is examined

from both the proponent's and opponent's viewpoints, through commentaries, news reports, and essays on litigation issues.