

INTRODUCTION— AFRICAN AMERICANS AND MOVEMENTS FOR REPARATIONS: FROM EX-SLAVE PENSIONS TO THE REPARATIONS SUPERFUND

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There is currently an undeniable need for a “Reparations Superfund” to support positive and successful interventions to prevent African American youths from turning to murderous violence against other African American youths and those in the line of fire. In the past, police practices and brutality summoned youthful anger. In the 1950s it was the brutal murder of Emmitt Till in Money, Mississippi; in the 1960s it was the police—Black Panther shootouts and the assassination of Fred Hampton in Chicago. The police behavior witnessed in the Rodney King video in Los Angeles looked all-too-familiar to African American and Latino youths growing up in U.S. cities in the 1970s and 1980s. Unfortunately, youthful anger and violence has turned even more deadly for our young people since that time and they are killing each other at alarming rates. There is an urgent need to intervene to change this deadly situation.

The establishment of a Reparations Superfund would provide funding to committed professionals, African Americans and others, who have developed strategies and models of intervention and remediation. Successful interventions, such as “The Interrupters” project in Chicago profiled in a PBS Frontline documentary, would be supported and replicated in neighborhoods across the country.¹ The Reparations Superfund would operate like the \$20 billion (tax deductible) BP Oil Spill Superfund and would pay out to those groups mounting proven interventions and to those organizations and individuals with the skills, training, and willingness to be held accountable for their work with our young people. We must recognize that poverty is no longer the prime target for the funding of these interventions; it has become a matter of life and death, and African American youths and other young people of color must be the prime targets for programs supported by the Reparations Superfund.

The Reparations Superfund would be used to fund projects in public schools to promote the arts and music and in private institutions offering supplemental education in the form of music and arts programs such as the Harmony Program

in New York City, the Roots of Music Program in New Orleans, or other community arts programs aimed at young adults. And our children will love us all the more because we are using reparations funds to support them. Clyde Robertson's important Essay Review "Blueprints for the Development of African American Youth" in this *Journal of African American History* Special Issue highlights programs that could be implemented and replicated in African American communities nationwide, and thus should be eligible for funding from the Reparations Superfund.²

The Reparations Superfund would be used to target and support alternatives to the current emphasis on "high stakes testing" and test preparation that contributes mightily to the high dropout rates among African American and other children of color. The educational entrepreneurs, examined in Diane Ravitch's *The Death and Life of the Great American School System: How Testing and Choice Are Undermining Education*, were trained by the members of "Billionaire Boys Club" and sought to profit from the state and federal funds flowing into public school districts; and many targeted children of color for these latest business ventures.³ The continuing problem is that while educational entrepreneurs are profiting from the "charter school revolution," the dropout rates remain high for children of color.

Dropping out becomes a crucial issue in the secondary years, but most of the charter schools are limited to the elementary grades where the educational expenses are lower than for middle and high schools. The goal should be the creation of educational environments at the middle and high school levels where our children want to be and where they will flourish socially and academically. With the academic achievements of "magnet schools" as the models, the Reparations Superfund would allow school districts to apply for financial support to implement creative and successful performing arts, science and technology, health careers, community service, or other innovative alternative educational programs and projects aimed at dropout prevention and increasing personal engagement and the motivation among young people to remain in school.⁴

The Reparations Superfund would help to support maternal and early childhood health care programs and interventions that target young children and place them in a "health-care network" administered by health care professionals who have experience implementing these programs successfully in African American communities or neighborhoods. Scholarships and "bridge programs" developed by the historically black colleges and universities to attract potential high school dropouts to enroll in institutions of higher education would be targeted for support from the Reparations Superfund. Health and recreational programs for children and young adults tied to libraries, museums, community centers, and other African American cultural institutions have been developed by African American professionals and others who have become the leading experts on effec-

tive interventions and they would be consulted before making any Superfund financial disbursements.

Unlike the BP Superfund, however, the claimants would not have to bring specific evidence of the damage done to African American and other children of color by the operations of multinational corporate capitalists who prey upon the poor and working class through pay-day loans, car title loans, sub-prime mortgages and other “products” seeking to shift the meager funds that the workers possess into the bank accounts of wealthy financiers and their clients in “Poverty Inc.” Gary Rivlin’s *Broke, USA*, Jacob S. Hacker and Paul Pierson’s *Winner-Take-All Politics*, and other investigations have revealed how African Americans and other minority groups are targeted for financial transactions that enriched “the one percent.” The Reparations Superfund would be used to support programs to protect African American children and young people from the most damaging effects of an economic and social system that profits from man-made and natural disasters.⁵

Thus far in this introduction I have identified the specific goals for the Reparations Superfund, and before addressing who should pay, I must engage the historians’ “why” question: Why should the people living in the 21st century who consider themselves “African Americans” be entitled *collectively* to reparations payments? The answer can be found in the articles and books highlighted in this Special Issue of *The Journal of African American History*.

WHY AFRICAN AMERICANS DESERVE REPARATIONS

Randall Robinson’s *The Debt: What America Owes to Blacks* and Mary Frances Berry’s *My Face Is Black Is True: Callie House and the Struggle for Ex-Slave Reparations* initiated the reexamination of reparations movements from the past and triggered renewed interest.⁶ It is from Berry’s research on Callie House and the National Ex-Slave Mutual Relief, Bounty, and Pension Association that we learned of the formal recognition by southern white politicians and entrepreneurs that aging, formerly enslaved African Americans deserved reparations in the form of pensions to support them in their declining years. Walter Vaughan and other southern Democrats and Republicans who lobbied for the introduction of legislation granting formerly enslaved African Americans pension payments from the federal government viewed these payments as a potential “profit center” for southern business and financial interests. Since former Confederates and slaveholders were behind “reparations” in the form of pensions for formerly enslaved African Americans, it did not take long for the idea to take root among those who would benefit (theoretically) from such legislation.

Callie House’s National Ex-Slave Pension Association was one of several black groups pursuing federal pension legislation once white leaders raised it as a

political issue. James M. Davidson's "Encountering the Ex-Slave Reparations Movement from the Grave: The National Industrial Council and the National Liberty Party, 1901–1907" explains why those white and black Americans who believed in reparations through ex-slave pensions formed their own political party and organized a presidential campaign. Davidson, an anthropologist, unearthed an artifact buried with a member of "the Independent Order of the National Industrial Council" (NIC) while excavating the former "Freedman's Cemetery" in Dallas, Texas. One African American male's body was decorated with a badge containing the NIC insignia, and this find set off almost a decade of research into the NIC. Davidson documents the NIC's ties to Walter Vaughan's lobbying efforts in Congress and its similarities to the grassroots organizing carried out by Callie House's National Ex-Slave Pension Association.

Using newspaper accounts from Washington, DC, Georgia, Texas, and other southern states, Davidson traces the travels and speaking engagements of NIC leaders Stanley P. Mitchell and Isaac Walton. The council threw its political support behind the newly formed National Liberty Party in St. Louis, Missouri, in July 1904, and its presidential candidate was William Scott, until it was revealed that Scott had at one time maintained a house of ill-repute in the Gateway City. Scott was soon replaced on the ticket by George Erwin Taylor from Ottumwa, Alabama, and although he had been one of the few black Democrats in the early 1900s, Taylor pledged his support of Republican Senator Mark Hanna's ex-slave pension bill. The leaders of the National Industrial Council and the National Liberty Party developed widespread support for their reparations movement because it called for the formal recognition that formerly enslaved African Americans deserved compensation in their old age for years of unpaid labor.

Douglas Blackmon's *Slavery by Another Name: The Re-Enslavement of Black Americans from the Civil War to World War II* is reviewed by Albert Broussard in this JAAH Special Issue. Blackmon's documentation of forced labor regimes imposed primarily on black southerners for the economic benefit of southern state and local governments and industrial and planter capitalists is thorough, and heart-breaking to read. Given the stolen black labor and the damage that was done to African American families and communities by the convict-lease system, some would argue that it is on the basis of these injustices alone that African Americans deserve reparations. But who should pay?

James Loewen's *Sundown Towns: A Hidden Dimension of American Racism* is reviewed by Greta de Jong and that work describes the promulgation of "all-white towns" and residential areas before and after the arrival of African Americans. Some sundown towns were created by driving out black homeowners and tenants who often lost everything when forced to leave. "Racial cleansing" resulted in the loss of life and property for the African American population as

documented in Elliot Jaspin's *Buried in the Bitter Waters: The Hidden History of Racial Cleansing in America*, which is reviewed in this JAAH Special Issue by Clarence Lang. Mob violence and "white terrorism" were not confined to the Deep South, but were practiced regularly in Midwest and Upper South cities and towns, and there is little or no evidence that the local police or legal authorities attempted to prevent these attacks. In the most famous incidents of racial cleansing where reparations were sought by African Americans who lost personal property, restitution was made to African Americans victimized by mob violence in Rosewood, Florida, in 1923; but African American victims of the July 1921 Tulsa, Oklahoma, rioting were denied reparations. In the case of the Tulsa Race Riot, during which his father's law office was destroyed, historian John Hope Franklin testified, along with others, before state investigating commissions about the economic and personal losses resulting from "racial cleansing."⁷

Beryl Satter's *Family Properties: Race, Real Estate, and the Exploitation of Black Urban America* is reviewed by John H. Barnhill in this Special Issue. This personally revealing and scholarly work documents the racially discriminatory practices in employment, access to credit, and housing that plagued black Chicagoans in the 1940s and 1950s. Should the banks and other financial institutions that denied African Americans mortgages and access to credit; and real estate agencies that sold houses to African Americans on the "installment plan" at inflated interest rates, repossessing and reselling the property for one missed payment, be sued for reparations? Given the exploitation of African American home buyers documented in Satter's *Family Properties* and Gary Rivlin's *Broke, USA*, some would argue that African American homebuyers are entitled to reparations, but who should pay?

Larger patterns of racial inequality and discrimination are revealed when we turn to the suburbanization of the United States following World War II. Hilary J. Moss reviews David Freund's *Colored Property: State Policy and White Racial Politics in Suburban America* and reports that this lengthy, well-documented study demonstrates that the Federal Housing Authority, the Home Owners Loan Corporation, the Federal Savings and Loan Insurance Corporation, and other government agencies "made homeownership possible for many white Americans while making it nearly impossible for African Americans to obtain low-interest loans because of where they lived." The damage by these policies and practices resulted in great disparities in wealth between black and white households. The discriminatory mortgage practices by state agencies are thoroughly documented in Freund's *Colored Property* and Ira Katznelson's *When Affirmative Action Was White: The Untold History of Racial Inequality in the United States*. Both authors make the case that African American homebuyers deserve compensation for their losses, but should exploitative real estate agencies and financial institutions, or federal agencies be sued for reparations?⁸ The case of the African American farm-

ers, who eventually received a \$1.25 billion settlement in February 2010 from the federal government for the past discriminatory practices of U.S. Department of Agriculture and other governmental agencies, serves as model for reparations lawsuits against federal agencies.⁹

In 1969 at the height of the Black Power Movement, James Forman and the National Black Economic Development Conference (NBEDC) decided that wealthy, predominantly white Protestant and Roman Catholic denominations and churches should be targeted for paying reparations to African Americans. Elaine Lehtreck's "We Are Demanding \$500 Million for Reparations': The Black Manifesto, Mainline Religious Denominations, and Black Economic Development" thoroughly documents the dramatic events surrounding Forman and other NBEDC members' disruptions of Sunday church services, the sit-ins at denominational offices, and rallies and protests organized around reparations demands. While the most pressing needs to be addressed now by the Reparations Superfund would be the deteriorating social circumstances and life-chances for African American youth, in 1969 the reparations advocates sought funds to invest in the economic development of black neighborhoods and communities. Elaine Allen Lehtreck details the responses of Protestant church leaders to the "Black Manifesto" and it is clear that many church people understood and supported the reparations demands. It was difficult for Episcopal, Presbyterian, Methodist, and even Roman Catholic officials to deny that their institutions benefited economically from the profits from slavery, the slave trade, the convict-lease system and other forced and exploitative black labor regimes. These religious leaders mostly objected to the bold disruptions and non-negotiable demands coming from Forman and the NBEDC leaders, and preferred to disseminate millions in financial support to black community service groups and economic development plans through agencies administered and controlled by the denominations themselves. As Elaine Lehtreck makes clear, the NBEDC's Black Manifesto was bold, controversial, and divisive among white religious leaders, but few denied that African Americans' depressed economic conditions were traceable to exploitative labor and housing practices that had benefited predominantly white churches and denominations greatly.

In a case study of the terms of negotiation surrounding the demands in the Black Manifesto, it becomes clear that many churchmen and women within these denominations supported it, and some even engaged in sit-ins in denominational buildings and offices when church officials refused to support reparations. Keith A. Dye's "Lessons in Hearing Human and Divine Discontent: The Black Manifesto and Episcopal Leaders and Congregations in the Detroit Area" describes how a wealthy, predominantly white Episcopal congregation, Christ Church Cranbrook, in the Detroit suburb of Bloomington Hills, and the rector Rev.

Gerald O'Grady, reacted to the disruption of the Sunday service from those demanding reparations based on the Black Manifesto. The range of responses within the Episcopal diocese of Detroit went from barely disguised outrage to civil disobedience in support of NBEDC's proposals. The confrontations, negotiations, and social activism triggered by the Black Manifesto were important outcomes, even when Forman and the NBEDC failed to collect.

African Americans who lived in or near the central business districts of many cities in the 1940s were often confronted by "Urban Renewal" in the 1950s. Entire African American residential and business districts were wiped out, victims of Urban Renewal (sometimes disparagingly referred to as "Negro Removal"); and when displaced families were unable to find comparable housing, there was little they could do.¹⁰ This happened in Pittsburgh's Hill District and those residents who recalled being bitten by Urban Renewal were not shy about demanding "environmental reparations" in the form of a "Community Benefits Agreement" (CBA) when city and state officials decided in 2005 to build a new stadium in the district for the Pittsburgh Penguins hockey team. Emma T. Lucas-Darby's "Community Benefits Agreements: A Case Study in Addressing Environmental and Economic Injustices" profiles the African American residents who organized the Hill Faith and Justice Alliance and One Hill Coalition to press for inclusion and compensation in the redevelopment process. Like African American and Mexican American neighborhoods impacted by the expansion of the Los Angeles International Airport (LAX) and the Staples Center, and the neighborhoods affected by the Dearborn Street Project in Seattle and the Park East Redevelopment Compact in Milwaukee, the Community Benefits Agreement in Pittsburgh's Hill District was a recognition of the community's importance in the redevelopment process, and specific community economic benefits were written into the redevelopment plans.

The "Call for Papers" for this JAAH Special Issue went out in the winter of 2009 and one of the first researchers to respond was Dr. Ronald W. Walters, the Distinguished Leadership Scholar; Director of the African American Leadership Program at the University of Maryland at College Park; and scholar-activist extraordinaire. In addition to helping to set up the Congressional Black Caucus in the 1970s; serving as deputy campaign manager in Jesse Jackson's 1984 presidential bid; offering expert political analysis to black elected officials, Ron Walters wrote over a dozen scholarly books, scores of journal articles and anthology chapters, and had his own syndicated news column.¹¹ The year before the JAAH Call for Papers was published (2008), Prof. Walters published *The Price of Racial Reconciliation* and there he examined the deliberations and actions of South Africa's "Truth and Reconciliation Commission" (TRC). For the African National Congress (ANC), emphasis was to be placed on "restoration, restitution, and reparations," but for those in the white nationalist party and many others, the attitude

was: "We said we're sorry, let's move on." In the seven-year TRC process, in which over twenty thousand people testified and over nineteen thousand victims of apartheid were identified, reparations were paid to few people. Walters pointed out that the ANC had not reached its goal "to secure reparations at the level able to redress the damage of Apartheid and racial oppression in all its manifestations, for all those affected."¹²

Prof. Walters entered into an analysis of "the price of racial reconciliation" in the United States and indicated that, as in South Africa, negotiated reparations payments that did not address the black-white wealth differences and other health care, employment, or educational disparities would not impact the existing social and economic inequalities. Walters questioned reparations demands that would be inadequate in the movement toward economic parity. And there is the issue of white racism. "Until the racism vanishes," Walters concluded, "there can be no thought that reparations for Blacks will be sufficient to provide racial reconciliation." In the economic realm, shifts in structural arrangements would be difficult, but specific objectives such as "an emphasis on making educational opportunities universally available for African Americans" could prove more effective. "Whereas most whites disapprove of the general concept of reparations, especially the 'check in the mail' model, they generally approve of some scheme of amelioration based on the provision of educational benefits."¹³

Along the lines of amelioration, Walters also supported the idea of using a Reparations Superfund to support the development and implementation of programs aimed at saving African American youths and others. "The objective would be to develop 'solutions' or templates that could be used to improve the circumstances in which Black people live," Walters noted, "through the application of means and strategies developed by them." African American and other professionals have developed strategies and models to support and improve "employment, housing, health, family viability, business development, financial management, and relations with other peoples of African descent." The goal of programs funded through the Reparations Superfund would be to promote "strategies for social progress that are tailored to the Black experience and that match the Black community as it exists."¹⁴

In *The Price of Racial Reconciliation*, Ronald W. Walters offered a lengthy and well-documented "Grand Narrative of Black American Oppression," focusing on the impact of slavery and "the legacy of modern subordination" on "social progress."¹⁵ In the essay he wrote for this JAAH Special Issue, Prof. Walters chose to focus specifically on "The Impact of Slavery on 20th and 21st Century Black Progress," and investigated "the linkages of slavery to the socioeconomic condition of African Americans in poverty." The "badges and disabilities of slavery" that burdened black southerners in the post-emancipation era in the economic and

political realms included the “over-policing and criminalization of African Americans”; the denial of economic resources to black public schools and other state-sponsored institutions; employment discrimination and the targeting for various types of exploitative labor regimes; and overt denigration in popular culture. Walters goes into detail on all these topics, particularly “the criminalization of the black population.” And specifically with regard to reparations demands for slavery, Walters’s analysis increases our understanding of “the character of one of the injustices that has provided the powerful argument for reparations for the descendants of U.S. slavery.”¹⁶

In his Essay Review “Reparations Demands for the New Millennium,” Pero Gaglo Dagbovie examines in detail the contributions to the lengthy anthology edited by Raymond A. Winbush, *Should America Pay? Slavery and the Raging Debate on Reparations*, and Dagbovie places the 2003 publication within the context of other works on reparations published since then. A strongly affirmative answer to the question the volume poses was reached by southern white politicians and African Americans who supported the ex-slave pension bills in the late 19th and early 20th centuries; by Audley “Queen Mother” Moore who in the early 1960s founded the “Reparations Committee of Descendants of U.S. Slaves”; by those black and white church people who recognized the legitimacy of the Black Manifesto’s demands in the 1960s; by black political figures such as Detroit Congressman John Conyers, Jr., who introduced H.R. 40, “the Reparations Study Bill”; and by the leaders of the National Coalition of Blacks for Reparations (N’COBRA), founded in 1987.

WHO SHOULD PAY REPARATIONS?

In the 20th century, a consensus emerged in many U.S. political, religious, and intellectual circles that people of African descent were entitled to restitution for past losses and the continuing damage inflicted on them collectively during *and after* the period of legal enslavement. Most of the contributors to Raymond Winbush’s *Should America Pay?* also concluded that reparations are justified, but the question remains: Who in America should pay? Who should be the supporters of the Reparations Superfund?

Those individuals and institutions currently involved in reparations litigation should most certainly continue along that path because specific plaintiffs have been identified; however, the National Urban League, the NAACP, the Children’s Defense Fund, or other non-partisan African American organizations should step forward and authorize the establishment of a Reparations Superfund and seek out a coalition of groups to endorse the objective. The coalition leaders should then identify those programs and projects worthy of increased funding to expand or

replicate their activities among African American children and young people. Promising programs and activities should be encouraged to apply for funding. Once the projects and programs have been identified, we then should ask our friends to support their expansion through financial contributions to the Reparations Superfund. As in the past, African Americans would have to be willing to provide huge amounts of “collective cultural capital” to develop and assist those programs seeking support from the Reparations Superfund. Just as with southern public and private schools, the Rosenwald schools, and other educational programs and institutions opened by African American educators and communities historically, economic resources and “sweat equity” will be required from African Americans themselves in the development and successful implementation of the educational and intervention programs.¹⁷

The often dire circumstances facing our youth require that African Americans and their friends support projects and programs to intervene to “stop the killing” and provide effective alternatives to the streets. At the same time, we must acknowledge that larger social and economic interests benefit greatly from the current practices and will continue trying to discredit any plans for reparations for African Americans, even when the payments are to be used to save African American youth in trouble. Many corporations and financial interests benefit from the “public school-to-prison pipeline” constructed over the last three decades, while legal restrictions on the increasing availability and spread of firearms are opposed by the powerful Gun Lobby and its sponsors.¹⁸

To maintain ongoing support for the Reparations Superfund, a disciplined consumer block must be organized that responds effectively to the actions of corporate friends and enemies. Those taking responsibility for the Reparations Superfund should be willing to educate African Americans and their friends about why certain companies or their products should be supported by this consumer block, while those produced by corporations underwriting the Gun Lobby, predatory lending practices, and the public school-to-prison pipeline should be targeted for “Blackouts” so to speak. Historically, the consumer boycott has been as important a vehicle for African American advancement as the labor strike was for the success of workers’ organizations.¹⁹ For example, Rev. Leon H. Sullivan and the 400 Ministers launched the “Selective Patronage Campaign” in Philadelphia in the early 1960s, which spread to other cities where racially exclusive employment practices prevented African Americans’ social and economic advancement. Just as black, white, and Puerto Rican Philadelphians stopped buying Tastykakes and other goods produced by companies that refused to hire African American or other minority workers, reparations demands in the new millennium would require the development of a disciplined consumer block that engaged in “selective patronage” to reward the friends of African American youth and the supporters of the

Reparations Superfund, and to punish ill-advised opponents.²⁰

We are currently engaged in a life and death struggle to save our youth, but the damage that has been done to African Americans collectively inhibits our ability to deal with this problem and many others. The case for reparations for African Americans was made and agreed upon by many well-informed Americans decades ago, but the question remains: “Who should pay?” The Reparations Superfund should be established not just to improve the life options and opportunities for our children and young people, but also to determine who our friends really are.

NOTES

¹For a review and video from the PBS documentary “The Interrupters,” see: <http://scholasticadministrator.typepad.com/thisweekineducation/2012/02/video-pbs-frontlines-documentary-goes-inside-rough-neighborhoods.html#tp>.

²Clyde C. Robertson, “Blueprints for the Development of African American Youth” in this *Journal of African American History* (JAAH) Special Issue. “El Sistema” is the publicly funded music program in Venezuela that brought “violins and French horns to the slums” of Caracas and other cities and towns. “Fighting Poverty, Armed with Violins,” *New York Times*, 16 February 2012.

³Diane Ravitch, *The Death and Life of the Great American School System: How Testing and Choice Are Undermining Education* (New York, 2010), 195–222; see also Jeffrey Henig, *Spin Cycle: How Research Is Used in Policy Debates: The Case of Charter Schools* (New York, 2008); Linda Perlstein, *Tested: One American School Struggles to Make the Grade* (New York, 2007); David Labaree, *Someone Has to Fail: The Zero-Sum Game of Public Schooling* (Cambridge, MA, 2010).

⁴One model for these alternative educational programs should come from successful “freedom schools” that have been opened for African American children and adults historically; see Ronald Batchelor and V. P. Franklin, “Freedom Schooling: A New Approach to Federal-Local Cooperation in Public Education,” *Teachers College Record* 80 (December 1978): 225–48; V. P. Franklin, “Freedom Schools and Mastery Learning: Providing Alternatives to Failure in Urban Public Education in the United States,” in *Living on the Boundaries: Urban Marginality in National and International Contexts*, ed. Carol Yeakey (Bradford, UK, 2012), 159–77. Freedom schools emerge out of the African American experience in the United States and serve as a model and alternative to the traditional public schools. For scholarly discussions of the use of Hip Hop culture in educational programs, see Derrick Alridge, James A. Stewart, and V. P. Franklin, eds., *Message in the Music: Hip Hop, History, and Pedagogy* (Washington, DC, 2010).

⁵Gary Rivlin, *Broke, USA: From Pawnshops to Poverty, Inc.—How the Working Poor Became Big Business* (New York, 2010); Jacob S. Hacker and Paul Pierson, *Winner-Take-All Politics: How Washington Made the Rich Richer—And Turned Its Back on the Middle Class* (New York, 2010); Naomi Klein, *The Shock Doctrine: The Rise of Disaster Capitalism* (New York, 2008); V. P. Franklin, “Commentary: Predatory Capitalists, the New Jim Crow, and Restitutive Justice,” *The Journal of African American History* (JAAH) 96 (Spring 2011): 147–50.

⁶Randall Robinson, *The Debt: What America Owes to Blacks* (New York, 2001); Mary Frances Berry’s *My Face Is Black Is True: Callie House and the Struggle for Ex-Slave Reparations* (New York, 2005).

⁷John Hope Franklin, *Mirror to America: The Autobiography of John Hope Franklin* (New York, 2005), 4–16; 372–73.

⁸Ira Katznelson, *When Affirmative Action Was White: The Untold History of Racial Inequality in the United States* (New York, 2006).

⁹“U.S. Approves Settlement for Black Farmers,” *Washington Post*, 18 February 2010.

¹⁰In addition to the article in this Special Issue, see Mindy Fullilove, *Root Shock: How Tearing Up City Neighborhoods Is Hurting America and What We Can Do About It* (New York, 2004).

¹¹Dr. Ronald W. Walters passed away in September 2010 and this great loss was mourned by family, friends, colleagues, students, and disciples. See Mark Schudel, “Scholar Ronald W. Walters Led What Is Considered the First Sit-in,” *Washington Post*, 12 September 2010; see also *New York Times*, “Ronald W. Walters: Obituary,” 15 September 2010, A33. The books by Dr. Ronald W. Walters include *The Price of Racial Reconciliation* (Ann

Arbor, MI, 2008); *Freedom Is Not Enough: Black Voters, Black Candidates, and American Presidential Politics* (Lanham, MD, 2005); *White Nationalists, Black Interests: Conservative Public Policy and the Black Community* (Detroit, MI, 2003); with Cedric Johnson, *Bibliography of African American Leadership: An Annotated Guide* (Westport, CT, 2000); *African American Leadership* (Albany, NY, 1999); *Pan Africanism in the African Diaspora: An Analysis of Modern Afrocentric Political Movements* (Detroit, MI, 1993); with Lucius J. Baker, *Jesse Jackson's 1984 Presidential Campaign: Challenge and Change in American Politics* (Urbana, IL, 1989); *Black Presidential Politics in America: A Strategic Approach* (Albany, NY, 1988); *The Politics of Hope and Power: The Jesse Jackson Campaign of 1988* (Newark, NJ, 1988); *South Africa and the Bomb: Responsibility and Deterrence* (Lexington, MA, 1987); *Exploring the Role of the Black Church in the Community* (Washington, DC, 1979); *The Advisory Neighborhood Commissions: A Study in Neighborhood Participation in the District of Columbia* (Washington, DC, 1979).

¹²Ronald W. Walters, *The Price of Racial Reconciliation* (Ann Arbor, MI, 2008), 77.

¹³*Ibid.*, 176.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, 178–79.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, 78–130.

¹⁶Ronald W. Walters, “The Impact of Slavery on 20th and 21st Century Black Progress,” in this JAAH Special Issue.

¹⁷V. P. Franklin, “Special Issue: Cultural Capital and African American Education,” JAAH 87 (Spring 2002): 175–281; V. P. Franklin and Carter Julian Savage, eds. *Cultural Capital and Black Education: African American Communities and the Funding of Black Schooling, 1865 to the Present* (Greenwich, CT, 2004). For detailed discussions of recent models of effective schooling for African American children, see Janice E. Hale, *Unbank the Fire: Visions for the Education of African American Children* (Baltimore, MD, 1994); and *Learning While Black: Creating Educational Excellence for African American Children* (Baltimore, MD, 2001).

¹⁸Deanna Wilkinson, *Guns, Violence, and Identity among African American and Latino Youth* (El Paso, TX, 2004); George Tita, et al., *Reducing Gun Violence: Results from an Intervention in East Los Angeles* (Santa Monica, CA, 2003). Geoffrey Canada, founder of the Harlem School Zone, described his personal experience with gun violence in *Fist, Stick, Knife, Gun: A Personal History of Violence* (Boston, MA, 2010).

¹⁹Jesse Jackson’s “withdrawal of enthusiasm” from Coca Cola Corporation in July 1981, netting \$30 million for black businesses over the next few years, was referred to as a “Blackout”; see V. P. Franklin, *Black Self-Determination: A Cultural History of the Faith of the Fathers* (Brooklyn, NY 1984), 226.

²⁰Leon H. Sullivan, *Moving Mountains: The Principles and Purposes of Leon Sullivan* (Valley Forge, PA, 1998), 12–14; Stacy Kinlock Sewell, “The ‘Not Buying Power’ of the Black Community: Urban Boycotts and Equal Employment Opportunity, 1960–1964,” JAAH 89 (Spring 2004): 135–52; Guian McKee, *The Problem of Jobs: Liberalism, Race, and Deindustrialization* (Chicago, IL, 2008), 126–38; see also, Matthew J. Countryman, *Up South: Civil Rights and Black Power in Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, PA, 2007), 83–120; Thomas Sugrue, *Sweet Land of Liberty: The Forgotten Struggle for Civil Rights in the North* (New York, 2009); and V. P. Franklin, “Symposium: The Lion of Zion: Leon H. Sullivan and the Pursuit of Social and Economic Justice,” JAAH 96 (Winter 2011): 39–95.