REPORT TO THE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
LEGACY OF SLAVERY: UNEQUAL EXCHANGE
May 2-4, 2002
University of California Santa Barbara
Center for Black Studies

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Introduction

The University of California at Santa Barbara (UCSB) hosted a colloquium entitled “Legacy of Slavery: Unequal Exchange,” May 2-4, 2001. Organized by the UCSB Center for Black Studies, this historic event was co-sponsored by a number of UCSB offices, departments and student organizations. The colloquium was the brain child of several of people. However, the creative energies of UCSB’s Dr. Shirley Kennedy (February 17, 1926 - January 20, 2003) as well as the leadership of Professors Claudine Michel and Douglas Daniels must be specifically noted. Shirley Kennedy envisioned more than a colloquium and worked tirelessly to bring the Henrietta Marie Slave Ship exhibition to Santa Barbara. This exhibit was a tour highlight during the colloquium, providing a visible example of the slave ships and conditions under which captured Africans were transported to the Americas during the Transatlantic Slave Trade. The play, "Ayọ’s Journey," written by Sojourner Kincaid-Rolle, depicting the journey of enslaved Africans to the Americas and their subsequent life in the colonies, later the United States, was performed at a local theatre and a number of colloquium participants were able to attend.

Even prior to the passage of Senate Bill (SB) 1737, Claudine Michel held the vision of the colloquium and supporting events with Shirley Kennedy. They collaborated with public school educators in Santa Barbara in the development and implementation of a Middle Passage curriculum from 2000 to 2002. Teachers from this project made presentations during the colloquium. In 2001 Claudine Michel developed the proposal for the colloquium. Douglas Daniels, as the Acting Director of the Center for Black Studies in 2001 - 2002, led the Center in implementing the proposal resulting in scholars, activists and interested people participating in this historic colloquium.

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1 Latreese Rutherford, UCSB undergraduate student, provided important research assistance in the preparation of this document.
2 See Colloquium program in appendix for a listing.
The Legislative Initiative for the Colloquium

In the late 1990s, Deadria Farmer-Paellman began researching the role the existing corporations had in the enslavement of African peoples. In early 2000, some of her research was publicized including a response from Aetna Insurance Company concerning its relationship to the enslavement of African peoples in the United States. Tom Hayden, then a California State Senator from Los Angeles, saw the publicized report and response. The response indicated, among other things, that Aetna had written insurance policies on enslaved Africans to the benefit of their owners. This information rekindled an interest Senator Hayden had developed in the early 1960s in “the ill-gotten profits from slavery.” As a civil rights freedom rider in 1960 and 1961 he learned that these profits were not locked in the tombs of slavery, but could be seen in existing institutions and property. As a state senator he chose to use the regulatory role that the legislature had over companies doing business in California to obtain information concerning the relationship of these contemporary businesses to slavery.

In 2000 Senator Hayden introduced two pieces of legislation to effectuate his rekindled interest in the economic legacy of slavery – Senate Bill 1737 and Senate Bill 2199. Senate Bill 1737 is the legislative request to the Regents of the University of California for the development of colloquia to analyze the “economic benefits of slavery that accrued to owners and the businesses, including insurance companies and their subsidiaries, that received those benefits.” This bill called for the campuses of the University of California responding to this request to assemble historians and other scholars and interested parties from across the nation as well as California to participate in this analysis.

Senate Bill (SB) 2199 focuses specifically on insurance companies doing business in California. The result of this bill, a comprehensive report prepared by the California Department of Insurance and issued on May 1, 2002, provided important information in one of the colloquium sessions. As initially introduced by Senator Hayden, SB 2199 contained two components: (1) the right to information and (2) the right of African Americans to sue for back pay or reparations. According to Hayden, he experienced significant resistance from conservatives and liberals alike to any provision concerning reparations. However, the resistance to the reparations proposals created an atmosphere where the information disclosure component of the legislation became more palatable to

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3 Douglas Daniels, then acting director of the University of California Santa Barbara (UCSB) Center for Black Studies, and Black Studies and History Professor, and Reginald Daniel, Sociology Professor, UCSB, interviewed former State Senator Tom Hayden on May 20, 2002. This section is based on that interview as well as the legislation that was introduced by Hayden that ultimately became California law on September 30, 2000.
4 The Governor of California approved Senate Bill 1737 (Chapter 1038 of the Education Code) and Senate Bill 2199 (Chapter 934 of the Insurance Code) on September 30, 2002 and September 29, 2002, respectively. The Secretary of State filed both bills on September 30, 2002.
legislators. Indeed, Senator Hayden opined, as did many of the participants in the colloquium, that disclosure – telling the story of slavery and its continuing consequences – is not only valuable in its own right, but may provide the foundation for the claim for reparations.\(^5\) Senator Hayden likened the discovery of enslaved Africans who had policies written on them to the benefit of the owners to “restoring the disappeared” to their rightful place in history – a prominent theme in the colloquium.\(^6\)

The difficulties Senator Hayden encountered in passing a bill that contained both an information disclosure provision and a reparations component for African Americans whose ancestors were enslaved highlighted a theme of the conference that he also raised during the video-taped interview: the “woeful ignorance” of the average United States citizen to the facts of chattel slavery, its relationship to the economy of the United States, its deleterious impact on enslaved Africans and its continuing consequences on African Americans and the society as a whole. Senator Hayden indicated that the denial maintains a “self-serving mythology,” fear that telling the truth would harm the country by revealing a contradiction between its founding documents and historical and present-day practices. This was also a theme the colloquium organizers wove into its fabric – debunking the myths of slavery to reveal its reality both then and now.

The idea for the colloquium pre-dated the introduction of Senate Bill 1737. However, consistent with Senator Hayden’s commitment to unveil the truth of the history of chattel slavery and its relationship to the economy then and now, the colloquium was a forum at which the facts were shared, historical and present-day relationships analyzed and ways of addressing what Hayden termed “the ill-gotten profits of slavery,” discussed.

**The Historical Context for the California Enabling Legislation**

State Senator Tom Hayden’s personal reasons for initiating the Senate Bills that provided the basis for the Slavery Colloquium in Santa Barbara as well as other University of California campuses, flowed from his involvement in the Civil Rights Movement as a “freedom rider” in the South in 1960 and 1961. This experience led to his recognition of the “ill-gotten profits of slavery” that continue to this day. Likewise, the California Legislature has a history with the enslavement of African peoples and the consequences of slavery that relates to the nature of the legislation and the recommendations that flow from the colloquium.

It is probably a well-known historical fact that California became a state in 1850. The question of whether California should allow slavery was hotly debated as it became a state.

\(^5\) On May 16, 2003 the Los Angeles City Council voted to “require companies that do business with the city to report whether they ever profited from slavery,” and Mayor James K. Hahn said he would sign the disclosure. "Council Oks Slave Clause," *Los Angeles Times*, May 17, 2003, B3. The ordinance has no penalties for failure to disclose.

\(^6\) Indeed, the language of SB 2199 continues the focus on the interests of the owners and not the enslaved by focusing on the benefits accruing to them and businesses and not the detriments to the enslaved and their descendants.
possession of the United States and then was organized politically to become a state.\(^7\)

When the United States obtained California as a part of its “spoils of the Mexican war,” it was a non-slave territory because the Republic of Mexico had abolished slavery in 1829. There was significant discussion reflected in the press of 1848 and 1849 about whether California should retain this status or allow for the enslavement of Africans. In the state constitutional convention in Monterey in 1849, there was vigorous debate on this question. The Constitutional Convention unanimously adopted what would later be mirrored in the Thirteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution: “Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, unless for punishment of crimes, shall ever be tolerated in this State.”

The reasons for adopting this anti-slavery provision, however, reveal a dimension of California history that may be reflected in current legislative and political activities in California. In his research on California history, Rockwell Hunt quotes from several newspaper articles identifying the reasons white Californians opposed slavery, including:

- Neither the soil, nor the climate, nor the products of California were adapted to slave labor;
- The property in slaves would be utterly insecure here [in California];
- We desire only a white population in California…but declare our positive preference for an independent condition of California to the establishment of any degree of slavery, or even the importation of free blacks;
- It would make it disreputable for the white man to labor for his bread, and it would thus drive off to other homes the only class of emigrants California wishes to see, the sober and industrious middle-class society.
- The majority … of the inhabitants of California are opposed to slavery. They believe it to be an evil and a wrong * * and while they would rigidly and faithfully protect the vested rights of the South, they deem it a high moral duty to prevent its extension and aid its extinction by every honorable means.

Similarly, Hunt quoted the views of Walter Colton, a participant in the Constitutional Convention at Monterey, “All there are [are] diggers and free white diggers won’t dig with slaves. …they won’t degrade their calling by associating it with slave labor.” Yet despite the anti-slavery provisions in the California Constitution and the difficulty that California faced in the United States Congress in its effort to become a state, slavery existed in the state.

The late 1840s were not only significant for the political organization of California into a state, the period was also the gold rush era during which people from other parts of the country came to California to find gold. Some of those people were whites who brought with them enslaved Africans. Once in California the enslaved Africans remained in this

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\(^7\) Rockwell D. Hunt, Ph.D., How California Came to be Admitted, http://www.sfmuseum.org/hist5/caladmit.html.
status unless they obtained their freedom through purchase or agreement. There also were occasions when enslaved Africans obtained their freedom through resort to the California courts. The California courts were not uniform, however, in addressing this issue.

In February 1850, a white man and a “Negro” were taken into custody because the white man was beating the Negro with a club in the streets. The white man claimed the Negro was his slave and was spoiled by his contact with free Negroes in San Jose, refusing to leave the city with him. The court ruled in favor of the white man. Several other similar cases resulted in the courts granting freedom to the enslaved African. Judge Morrison in March 1951 found that enslaved Africans would have had to come to California as fugitives from slavery, rather than accompanying whites who claimed them as their property, in order for the Fugitive Slave Act to apply. In reaching this conclusion, Judge Morrison ignored the testimony of an enslaved African who indicated he had run away prior to reaching California using the 1850 California law that made it illegal for African Americans to testify in civil or criminal cases.

From 1850 to 1863, the California legislature passed legislation that severely infringed on the civil rights of African Americans while at the same time making it easier for white men to arbitrarily return African Americans to slave status and take them out of California. This repressive legislation included statutes excluding African Americans and other people of color from not only testifying in court when whites were involved, but from voting, serving in the militia and from marrying whites. The California Fugitive Slave Law, enacted in 1852, supported slavery and, along with the other restricting statutes, devalued the citizenship of African Americans. The testimonial prohibitions led to significant organizing in the African American community that included an ever-expanding number of white supporters. The testimonial rights of African Americans were not restored in California until 1863. The denial of the right to vote continued until the passage of the amendments to the United States Constitution. Discrimination in public accommodations and employment continued well into the 20th century.

SB 2199 continues to manifest this ambivalence towards African Americans and their civil and human rights. In the nineteenth century the state legislature outlawed slavery while stripping African Americans of the rights of citizenship. Although Senator Hayden was unable to get any provision for reparations to African Americans, the bill extends the statute of limitation for filing claims by World War II victims of slave labor or their descendants to December 30, 2010. The statute of limitations for Holocaust victims to

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10 Id.
11 Daniels, supra note 4 at 107.
12 Lapp, supra note 5.
13 Daniels, supra note 4 at 108.
file insurance claims was also extended to 2010. Belying any assertion that these were claims that originally arose in the last 50 years or so, rather than more than 100 years ago, the legislation references SB 1915 as related legislation. SB 1915 permits Armenian genocide victims, their heirs or beneficiaries to file suit until December 30, 2010 against insurers doing business in California to recover proceeds of insurance policies sold between 1875 and 1923.

This history of California’s relationship to slavery and the consequences of slavery that stripped African peoples of their right to own their labor, to participate as equals in the society and that denied them the civil and human rights provided white men, is demonstrative of the “unequal exchange” that was the focus of the colloquium.

The Scope of the Colloquium Gives Meaning to Its Theme: Unequal Exchange

The organizers of the colloquium had a global vision. The proposal described the inextricable global nature of the Atlantic “slave trade” that resulted in the enslavement of Africans in Europe and the Americas and its consequent global impact on the socio-economic and political development of Africa, Europe and the Americas. The phrase “unequal exchange” at first blush seems to commodify the enslavement of Africans, and much like the legislation, SB 2199 (now Chapter 934 of the Insurance Code), concerns itself with the relative economic benefits and deficits of the enslavement of Africans. Yet the organizers’ discussion of the scope of the conference makes clear that “unequal exchange,” although conveying an economic meaning, also conveys the imbalance in human validation and the effect of this on the economic, social, political, community and human development and well-being of white and African peoples today.

The primary question for scholarly focus at the colloquium was the specification of the economic effect of the enslavement of Africans since the organizers’ perspective was that “the Atlantic slave trade was first and foremost an economic enterprise.” The organizers wanted the scholars to go beyond the fairly well-documented assessments of the values of the commodities produced by enslaved Africans such as sugar, cotton, tobacco and coffee, to a valuation of the “traded Africans in and of themselves…” This valuation was clearly not to be made simply on the basis of counting the numbers of Africans forcibly removed from Africa and transplanted to Europe and the Americas. Nor was it to be made simply of the value that can be placed on the forced, free labor performed by these Africans. The organizers envisioned a more comprehensive valuation, one that considered the value of human life and human society. They sought to obtain scholarship on the value that the enslavement of Africans added to Europe and the Americas in terms of the development of Europe and the Americas and the value that it stripped from Africa. What is this value? Is it merely a value in dollars and cents or does the “value” encompass the ability to amass wealth in the face of the poverty and desecration of Africa and its peoples throughout the Diaspora?

14 Proposal for colloquium submitted by the Center for Black Studies, University of California Santa Barbara, 4. 
15 Id. 
Finally, the organizers recognized, as did Senator Hayden, that the discussion of reparations necessarily flowed from a discussion of “unequal exchange.” How could one chronicle the enslavement of Africans without talking about its consequences today? How could one reconfirm the tremendous wealth and wealth-making tools amassed by Europe and the United States in the depopulation of Africa, the forced labor of Africans and the concomitant social, political and economic poverty of Africa and Africans and their descendants throughout the Diaspora and not discuss a remedy for this historic wrong and its current ramifications? The organizers, therefore, asked historians, other scholars and interested people to present papers to continue an ongoing investigation into the Legacy of Slavery: Unequal Exchange, to “promote a frank and open dialogue about race, and about contradictions between the ideal and the reality. We hope the dialogue will contribute to …the eventual healing of long festering wounds on the body politic.”

The Colloquium Meets and Exceeds the Expectations of the Organizers

Professor Douglas Daniels, Acting Director of the Center for Black Studies, served as the colloquium moderator, introducing the various speakers and panels. He provided significant insight into the topics of the various panels, linking one panel to the next. However, in introducing the first panel, he provided an overall context for the importance of the colloquium’s focus on unequal exchange:

The [colloquium] topic is one of the most taboo topics in the country. We can have rallies against the war, rape … and discuss incest, drug abuse, child abuse and genocide, especially that occurring across the waters. We know all about Anne Frank but not enough about our Anne Franks such as Linda Brent who was concealed in an attic of a house for eight to nine years – away from her children. The power of this institution [slavery] is like a knock-out. It dispels theories of democracy and is the real story of the Americas, not just the United States. … I marvel at how wrong-things get stuck in our minds and just stay there…

The information shared during the panels continued the process of challenging the theories and practices of democracy, the “wrong things that get stuck in our minds and just stay there” or as Senator Hayden termed it, “the self-serving mythology.” The information shared also gave insight into the way forward to reach the colloquium organizers’ stated aim of contributing to the “healing of the long-festering wounds of the body politic.” The panels revealed the depth of the mythology that in fact left the voices of the enslaved and their descendants out of the history in which they were a significant component. The colloquium was yet another forum that gave voice to those who were silenced by mainstream historians colluding in the development of “the self-serving mythology.”

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17 Supra, note 13 at 7.
Summary of Presentations

Panel 1: Slavery and Freedom in the Caribbean and Latin America
Jacqueline Bobo, University of California Santa Barbara, moderated the panel. The panelists were Patrick Bellegarde-Smith, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, Patricia Penn Hilden, University of California, Berkeley and Andrew B. Fisher, University of California San Diego. Robert Hill, University of California Los Angeles, provided commentary on the topic at the conclusion of these presentations.

This panel debunked any myth that slavery was only an issue for the colonies that later became the United States. The papers presented illustrated that the enslavement of Africans occurred throughout the Americas and the Caribbean and that for a period of time the Indigenous Peoples of the Americas were also enslaved. A compelling conclusion from this panel was the depth of the notion of white supremacy that was reflected in the enslavement of Africans and Indigenous Peoples and their treatment once liberated. Professor Robert Hill summed up this panel, and indeed prophesized the meaning of the entire colloquium, by stating that “history is built upon a model of memory. The theme of the panel through the papers is there has been a forgetting, amnesia. The presenters are engaged in a practice of counter-memory that can best be called genealogy.”


Professor Bellegarde-Smith indicated that his paper represented the thoughts and reflections of an Haitian historian. His paper summarized the history of the Haitian revolution and the fact that this revolution is the victim of its own success, being denied the pre-eminence it deserves because of the terror it elicits in the minds of white people. The Haitian Revolution was the first time Africans challenged their ascribed status as “slaves” and won. According to Bellegarde-Smith, this strengthened the resolve of the United States specifically, and European enslavers and colonizers more generally, to remain in power by any means necessary. Indeed, the United States served as a safe-haven for slave owners who fled from Haiti and refused to recognize Haiti until 1862. In sharing the implications of the Haitian Revolution, Bellegarde-Smith provided a perspective on the birth of the Haitian state and national culture that flowed from “the witches of capitalism, colonialism and slavery.”
**Patricia Penn Hilden, Hunting North American Indians in Barbados.**

Professor Hilden was unable to attend the conference; however, Professor Ines Talamantez of UCSB read her paper. This paper debunked the myth that the enslavement of Native American Indians was minimal. It provided a cogent description of the relationship between the enslavement of Native American Indians and Africans in the Americas and analyzed the economic role of slavery and the mythology that surrounds it. Native Americans were enslaved in the colonies that became the United States and in Barbados. Their enslavement in the colonies was less valuable because they were “home” and thus could escape and become re-integrated into communities of Native Americans. The Africans, however, were removed from any community they knew and their physiognomies were unlike other people. Because of this, Africans were unable to blend in with whites or Native Americans, making them more easily controlled. The Native American “Slave Trade,” therefore, was developed by selling Native Americans to white planters in Barbados, providing forced free labor in the colonization of Barbados. Hilden underscored the importance of honoring the shared oppression of Native Americans, Africans and other oppressed peoples and connected this lack of knowledge to the “oppressors’ attempts to keep us from knowing,” another denial of the place the enslaved have in the history of the world.

**Andrew Fisher, Beyond Slavery: Afromestizos, Indians, and Identity in Colonial Western Mexico.**

Fisher’s presentation connected implicitly to the development of California as a so-called “free state” and the continuing disadvantages of being African even within this “free state” through his focus on the significance of Africans in Mexico and Mexican culture. He provided important insights into the centrality of Africans in the development of Mexico and the denial of their significance through the creation of myth. His comprehensive description of the relationship between Africans and Indians in Mexico following the arrival of the Spanish and the development of what is now modern Mexico revealed the complex history of slavery in Mexico. The institution of Indian slavery existed prior to the Spanish conquest. The Spanish conquerors slowly replaced this institution with other labor regimes, including the enslavement of Africans. As Spanish colonialism became entrenched, the interests of both the Indians (indigenous) and Africans (Afromestizos) as oppressed groups often converged. According to Fisher, a critical factor in the denial of the significance of Africans in the development of Mexico was the Afromestizos’s attempts to integrate into the Spanish or Indian worlds to obtain legal privileges denied them by the Spanish colonial government. The Afromestizos, therefore, often sacrificed their identity to minimize the disadvantages born of being African.
Panel 2: Slavery in North America
Anna Everett, University of California Santa Barbara, moderated this panel. The panelists were Frederick C. Knight, University of Virginia, Thelma Foote, University of California Irvine, and Mark Mack, Howard University. Douglas Daniels served as the commentator.

The preciseness of the economic exploitation of Africans and the concomitant injury resulting from it was vividly and expertly presented during this panel. The papers presented described the skills of the enslaved, the exploitation of those skills often with devastating results for the enslaved and the heightened repression imposed on the enslaved as a result of rebellions against brutal, demeaning treatment. As summarized by Douglas Daniels, the panel presentations revealed that “when we look at old records with new questions we get new results” – the history told by the African skeletal remains, the data on crops and the recognition of the work of Black historians subverts the history told by the masters.

Frederick Knight, In an Ocean of Blue: The Uneven Legacies of Colonial South Carolina Indigo Plantations.

Knight’s presentation provided important data concerning the relationship between the crops grown and the selection of enslaved Africans to grow the crops. His research suggests that some enslaved Africans were selected to work on certain plantations because they were taken from an area in Africa where the crops grown on the plantation were prevalent. He revealed that the decision to grow indigo in South Carolina using enslaved labor was made by the daughter of the Governor of Antigua, Elisa Luca, who saw that the use of enslaved African labor would allow her to make a substantial profit and export indigo from South Carolina to England cheaper than her competitors in India. Enslaved Africans from West Africa where indigo was prominent and those working the indigo plantations in the West Indies were sent to South Carolina to work on her indigo plantation. Knight’s presentation also forecast the more in depth discussion in Mark Mack’s paper of the physical toll slavery took on the bodies of the enslaved resulting in physical trauma and the spread of disease. He also forecast the linkages between slavery and the present in quoting one of his anthropological sources that “slavery is the ghost of the past and the living present.” According to Knight our work is to put the ghost of slavery to rest.
Thelma Foote, Separate but Equal for Masters and Slaves: Apartheid Logic Historiography in the U.S.

Professor Foote’s presentation enters into the discussion by confronting head-on the “self-serving mythology” in describing the history of enslavement as told by white historians. The theme of agency of enslaved Africans and their descendants is raised explicitly in her paper. She notes that U. B. Phillips, a white historian and author of American Negro Slavery and Life and Labor in the Old South, wrote from the perspective of a white southerner, treating the Negro as an object without agency. Reminiscent of Robert Hill’s summation in the first panel, she recounts that the history as told by Phillips ignores the work of noted Black scholars such as W.E.B. Du Bois and refuses to acknowledge Negroes as subjects of history. In contrast, African descendant historians, such as Benjamin Quarles, present the Negro as the subject of history, starting with the Negro’s contribution in the Revolutionary War.


This presentation provided substantial evidence of the impact of enslavement on the quality of life of the enslaved. There were three major points that this presentation made based on the scientific study of the African Burial Ground in New York, New York and the remains of almost 500 enslaved Africans taken from this burial ground.

- Enslaved Africans suffered significant physical traumas in performing the work of the enslaved including their muscles being pulled away from their bones and the crushing or flattening of skulls of those forced to carry heavy objects on their heads.
- There is evidence that physicians were taking the remains from the African burial grounds and using the cadavers in hospitals. There were rebellions against this practice in the 1700s by enslaved Africans. As punishment for these uprisings traditions that were important to West Africans were prohibited such as burying the deceased at night, having large gatherings at the burial (restricting the number in attendance to no more than twelve) and placing some object (pall) on top of the casket.
- Although the enslavers sought to strip the enslaved Africans of their spiritual and cultural identities, the burial grounds revealed that the community continued to resist this genocidal act even during the last rites for a deceased member. For example, a mother who died in childbirth was wrapped in a white cloth indicating a connection to African spirituality and African artifacts were buried with some bodies.

Professor Mack indicated that there is more information that can be gained from the study of these remains. However, the Government Service Administration (GSA) at the time of his presentation had not provided the agreed upon funding for the DNA work that needs to be done on the bone and dental remains. Although there is much more that needs to be known, as Professor Daniels summarized it, the bones tell us that Africans didn’t live very long because of their treatment and that is what persists in the United States today.
for African Americans. For example, African American men on average die at age 62 before they are eligible to collect social security at the age of 62.

Panel 3: Slavery and Development
Christopher Parker, University of California Santa Barbara moderated this panel. The panelists were Joseph Inikori, University of Rochester, Paul Finkelman, University of Tulsa, College of Law, and David Horne, California State University, Northridge. Christopher McCauley, University of California Santa Barbara, provided commentary at the end of the panel presentations.

The economic benefit of slavery to the Western world loomed large in this panel. The panelists’ presentations underscored the recurring theme that mainstream historians and economists engage in self-serving mythologies when they tell the story of the development of Europe and the Americas. The voice of the African and the role Africa played in the development of the Western world are muted. Laws and practices are developed that encourage and protect development on the backs of the enslaved. As the commentator suggested, this panel implicates economic development theory in that economic development of the degree seen in the United States, England and other western countries was only possible through the exploitation of millions of people.


Professor Inikori pointed out that the self-serving mythology of mainstream literature on development erases the contribution that Africans made to the industrialization of England. His research revealed that in 200 years, between 1651 and 1851, England changed from a primarily agricultural, rural-based society with 5.2 million people to a fully industrialized society with 16.5 million people. During this time England relied heavily on the Atlantic Slave Trade both for enslaved African labor as well as trade in goods made by this enslaved African labor. Inikori recounted that the literature said that technology developed “accidentally,” yet the correlations between slavery, the use of slave labor and market expansion are too strong to support this theory. Rather, industrial technology developed precisely because of slavery.
Paul Finkelman, Affirmative Action for the Master Class: Understanding the Proslavery Constitution and its Impact on American Politics.

Professor Finkelman described the legal framework that was developed in the United States to support an economy built on slavery. His thesis was that the United States Constitution was pro-slavery and provided affirmative action to those who invested in enslaved Africans. According to Finkelman’s research, next to real estate enslaved Africans were the most valuable form of privately held “property.” Owners of this form of “property” prevailed at the Constitutional Convention and obtained protections for their economic interests in enslaved Africans. These protections included a clause prohibiting Congress from passing any laws to prevent the importation of enslaved Africans until after 1808, the three-fifths clause that added votes to the South by allowing an enslaved African to be counted as three-fifths for purposes of determining Congressional representation, and the Electoral College which protected the South because if the president were elected by popular vote the enslaved Africans would not count because they could not vote. According to Finkelman, without the three-fifths clause Thomas Jefferson would not have been elected president of the United States. This result would not only have affected domestic policies, it would have affected international policy since his opponent, John Adams, would have recognized Haiti whereas Thomas Jefferson instituted an embargo against trade with Haiti.

David Horne, Profits From Slave Breeding in America

Professor Horne’s presentation stripped the institution of slavery of any pretense of gentility that some might have wanted to give it. He presented census data and slave narratives from the 1930 WPA study and other narratives to describe the breeding of enslaved Africans for the sole purpose of economic benefit for the owner. Citing data on the number of Africans imported and the number of Africans enslaved in the colonies (later the states), he argued that the difference between the number of enslaved Africans in 1808 and 1850 could not be accounted for by illegal importation of Africans and thus was due to forced breeding. Consistent with Finkelman’s presentation that enslaved Africans were the most valuable privately held property after real estate, Horne provided several examples of the price placed on enslaved Africans from $200 to $3000, taking us back to one of the queries in the proposal: what value has the African added to the economic coffers of the “owner” and what value has the African lost in being the breeder and stud for the economic benefit of the “owner?”

Keynote Address

Leon Litwack, University of California Berkeley, Trouble in Mind: African Americans From Emancipation to the 1990s.

Professor Leon Litwack’s keynote address served as a bridge between the historical and the current day. With the backdrop of the presentations depicting the institution of slavery, his thesis concerned the ongoing economic benefits
and detriments born of slavery and protected through physical, social and political violence against African Americans. He described the dilemma of being ensconced in a white controlled society in which even its liberal voices refuse to confront directly and with integrity the benefits gained through slavery, Jim Crow and ongoing discrimination and the need for redistribution of economic resources. The white liberal voices were strong in support of social and political rights that required few costs because only legal barriers were struck down. Yet, those voices became quiet when talk began of economic re-ordering because they did not want to give up the privileges and priorities reserved for them as whites. He compared the period immediately after slavery to the current time and described the similarities in the scapegoating, stigmatizing and demonizing of Black people in order to rationalize disparities, disconnecting them from the brutalization of slavery and historic inequalities. The question of compensation for the recently freed African in 1865 is compared with the refusal of even the white liberal to embrace reparations today. In 1865 the question was whether to protect the economic investment lost by compensating slaveholders.

Throughout his presentation he used lyrics from African American music and humor as well as historical incidents to make his points:

- Keep a smile on my face so the public won’t know my mind.
- Here lies a black man killed fighting a yellow man to protect a white man.
- Equality is like whitey holds you at the belt until everyone else is half way round the track and then gives you a slap on the romp and say “go baby, you’re equal.” Hard to win like that. It’s easier to shoot the starter.
- During World War II German prisoners of war were allowed to eat at a lunch counter in Kansas while Black soldiers were refused and stood staring at this – the ultimate humiliation.
- Rappers describe growing despair at being trapped in deteriorating post-industrial cities and schools that are like jail cells and can’t find a trace of equality.

Finally, Professor Litwack provided important data on the status of African Americans today that is tied to the failure to address the economic detriments suffered in slavery, Jim Crow and ongoing discrimination. He indicated that the examples of African American success masks the problem that 40% of all Black children are poor and that larger numbers of African Americans are “left to endure lives of quiet despair and hopelessness, trapped in a mire of failing schools, bad housing, inadequate health care, hostile policing.”
Panel 4: Life and Labor Among Enslaved Women
Florence Bellande-Robertson, Multicultural Press, moderated this panel. The commentator was Helen Pyne-Timothy, University of California Santa Barbara. The panelists included Brenda Stevenson, University of California Los Angeles, Jayne Boisvert, Russell Sage College, Rebecca Hall, University of California Santa Cruz and Suzette Spencer, University of California Berkeley.

This panel highlighted the similarities and differences in the treatment of enslaved African women as compared to enslaved African men. It described the uniqueness of treatment that was necessarily related to gender differences and the uniqueness of treatment that was related to gender bias. As the moderator indicated, enslaved African women were frequently doubly victimized because of their gender and their voices have been silenced too long. The papers also show, as the commentator summarized, the unique role of African women in resisting slavery as they dealt with the specially designed plans to dehumanize them.

Brenda Stevenson, The Lives and Labor of Slave Women

Professor Stevenson began her presentation by indicating the differences between the work of enslaved women and men: women were more often domestics and worked in skilled and non-skilled areas whereas men seldom did both, and women worked day and night because at night they cleaned their living spaces, cooked, and were the primary caretakers of the children. Enslaved African men were allowed to work in areas that allowed them more freedom of movement and a greater opportunity to earn money by hiring themselves out. The institution of slavery created two images for enslaved African women: (1) work horses that allowed women to be pushed inordinately hard and to be punished severely when they didn’t comply and (2) jezebels that supported the constant sexual harassment and assault of enslaved African women as well as the breeding schemes. Stevenson’s discussion of the breeding schemes, echoing that of the presentation by Horne, revealed that the enslaved African woman was required to be the sexual partner of all men – owner, overseer and enslaved African males. An enslaved African woman’s sexual attractiveness and fertility were an added value for the owner, although often seen as a detriment by her.
Jane Boisvert, Haiti’s Colonial Past: Female Resistance in Saint Domingue.

Professor Boisvert spoke to the equality of treatment between enslaved African men and women in terms of punishments except during the last month of pregnancy of the woman and while breastfeeding. This equality of treatment included subjecting women to a punishment called “four posts,” in which the person was placed on the ground face down with their limbs tied to posts and whipped. A hole was dug in the ground to accommodate the unborn child.

Boisvert presented evidence of the role of enslaved African women in resisting enslavement while on the ships as well as in Saint Domingue, including the use of methods that hit the enslavers in their pocketbooks: feigned illnesses, work slow downs and for some, abortion. Boisvert related the spiritual, physical and emotional strength of the enslaved African woman in Saint Domigue in resisting slavery and fighting for freedom. One week after the enslaved African women held a Vodun ceremony at a religious meeting with enslaved Africans from more than 100 plantations, the Haitian Revolution began. African women participated fully in that revolution serving in the ranks of Toussaint L’Overture’s army and even selling their bodies to get information from the enemy.

Rebecca Hall, Not Killing Me Softly: African American Women, Slave Revolts and Historical Constructions of Racialized Gender.

Hall’s paper expands on the theme of the enslaved African woman’s active resistance to slavery and provides a framework for understanding why her role in the resistance movement has been minimized. Her presentation focused on the leadership role enslaved African women played in revolts on Middle Passage voyages. Her research revealed that violent revolts occurred in one in ten of the 25,000 Middle Passage voyages and that the greater the number of women on the ship, particularly from countries with highly developed female martial arts traditions, the greater the number of revolts. Hall also points out that the reasons for the number of uprisings on the ships with the greater number of women may lie in gender stereotypes. Women were viewed as being less of a threat and therefore enslaved African women were more often left unchained than were the men. According to Hall those who documented the revolts engaged in the process of pacification of women in a fashion similar to what is done today – muting the agency of African American women.

Suzette Spencer, What Manner of Love is This on the Edge of Monticello?: Dashing Tom, Dusky Sally and Contemporary Discourses of Plantation ‘Romance.’

The theme of the loss of agency of enslaved African women was brought into sharp focus with this presentation. The value that enslaved African women had for the enslaver was made vividly clear in this paper that spoke to many of the themes presented earlier of
domestic labor, forced breeding, sexual partnering and now adding long-term companionship. Spencer presents the ambivalence with which many approach the relationship between Thomas Jefferson and Sally Hemmings including the probable interior ambivalence that Hemmings carried. The question asked by Spencer points directly to the economic and other benefits of slavery to the owner and the detriments to the enslaved: can a discourse of romance describe a relationship between master and property? The significant detriment to enslaved Africans was that a 38 year sexual relationship that began when Sally Hemmings was a child is discussed now in terms of romance and interracial sex rather than rape and bodily injury, erasing the Black woman’s sexual injury. According to Spencer, the manner in which the sexual injury of Black women is dismissed has a debasing and demoralizing affect on Black women.

Panel 5: Racism and Discrimination After Emancipation
Michael Brown, University of California Santa Barbara, was the moderator of this panel and Eileen Boris, University of California Santa Barbara, was the commentator. The panel included Brenda Plummer, University of Wisconsin-Madison, Richard F. America, Georgetown University, Marcus Alexis, Northwestern University and Reginald Daniel, University of California Santa Barbara.

This panel bridged the discussion of the brutal exploitation of the enslaved that produced enormous economic benefits to owners, businesses and the white society generally and detriments suffered by the enslaved and their descendants. Presentations on the current day economic realities of a society built on slavery are combined with presentations on the international demand for recognition of the injury. As the commentator suggested these papers continue the theme of inserting Africans and their descendants throughout the Diaspora into world history by “re-historicizing” the movement for civil rights, connecting it to the history of colonialism, imperialism and capitalism.

Brenda Plummer, Inter-Ocean: International Protest and the Legacy of Slavery

Professor Plummer places recently freed Africans and their descendants on the international stage demanding freedom, civil rights and human rights. International publications such as Inter-Ocean published articles by human rights activists of African descent, such as Ida B. Wells, on the continuing brutal treatment imposed on African descendants in the United States. International fora such as various councils of states (nations) often provided a platform for African descendant activists such as Marcus Garvey and W.E.B. Du Bois to seek a remedy for the continuing discrimination against
African descendants in the United States. Her presentation chronicles the way in which political leaders in the United States used their authority and influence to silence the voices of African Americans. Professor Plummer provided the examples of President Woodrow Wilson in the formation of the League of Nations and Eleanor Roosevelt in the attempt of the NAACP to place a petition on the agenda of the United Nation’s Human Rights Commission. Finally, Plummer describes the continuing persistence of African Americans in seeking international remedies through their involvement in the World Conference Against Racism held in Durban, South Africa in 2001 and the reluctance of the governments to acknowledge the scope and meaning of their involvement in slavery. Plummer calls racism the “monstrous offspring” of slavery and maintained that through racism, slavery still has a stranglehold on efforts to achieve true national and international health.

Richard F. America, Income and Wealth Transfer Effects of Discrimination.

Professor America’s thesis was that there is a significant income and wealth gap between Blacks and whites because of 400 years of wealth income transfer that enriched whites and impoverished Blacks. He proposed that an historical audit of the consequences of slavery and discrimination be conducted to quantify the debt owed African Americans by explicitly measuring how discrimination in health care, housing, education, labor and capital markets operate to enrich whites and “dis-benefits” Blacks. He indicated that economists have tools to make the necessary analyses. He suggested that there are methods to pay the debt such as using the tax system to shift income. Currently the tax system is used to shift income from one industry to another or one generation to another. Therefore, the problem is not in using the tax system but in explicitly using it to redistribute wealth from whites to Blacks. According to America further debate will lead to the embrace of a system of paying the debt. Quoting Winston Churchill he said “you can always count on Americans to do the right thing after they try everything else.”


Professor Alexis’s presentation was chocked full of income data on African Americans and whites by race and class. Consistent with the keynote speaker’s presentation, his paper revealed that the Black elite was prospering steadily, however other Blacks progress has been “more checkered,” and hindered by racial bias in hiring. Professor Alexis’s research revealed that the ratio of relative incomes of younger, well-educated Blacks to their white counterparts was close to 1 or parity. However, a more significant gap remained between the relative incomes of older Blacks and their white counterparts and younger, blue collar workers and their white counterparts. As the economy develops the jobs in the cities have changed from relatively unskilled work to jobs primarily in finance requiring high levels of specialized education. Finally, Alexis presented studies of discrimination that may account for the continuing gaps between Black and white employment statuses. In field studies on hiring practices that utilized Blacks and whites who were trained to provide the same answers during employment interviews, whites were offered three times more jobs.

Professor Daniel’s presentation provides important information on how racial disparities in incomes, wealth and treatment can be hidden behind the myths of racial democracy. Brazil abolished slavery in 1888. More African culture survived in Brazil compared to the United States and there was no legalized segregation as in the United States. Daniel indicates that this “kinder, gentler racism” allowed the myth that there were no race problems to develop and grow. It took an arm of the United Nations, UNESCO, to deconstruct Brazil’s racial democracy by finding there was a correlation between economic outcomes and phenotypic appearance with those phenotypically identifiable as Black being overwhelmingly in the lower economic group. The military government in the 1960s held on to the myth and repressed any challenge to their authority. Finally, in the 1970s the Black Consciousness Movement began to grow and collect data that revealed that the biggest economic divide was between whites and Blacks. Daniel contended that this finding is consistent throughout the Americas: people of African descent are third class citizens “not just as a result of slavery and the lingering effects of past purposeful discrimination but also due to contemporary policies that continue to reinforce that kind of reality.”

Panel 6: Reparations
James Noel, San Francisco Theological Seminary was the moderator for this panel. The audience provided the commentary. The panel included Howard Dodson, Schomburg Center for Research, Gerald C. Horne, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, Leslie Tick and Natasha Ray, Department of Insurance, State of California and Adjoa A. Aiyetoro, National Coalition of Blacks for Reparations in America (N’COBRA) and Washington College of Law, American University.

This panel focused on remedies for the exploitation of the TransAtlantic Slave Trade, chattel slavery and their lingering effects including the contemporary policies that continue to reinforce the injuries suffered by enslaved Africans and their descendants. The identification of specific insurance companies, owners and enslaved Africans through the implementation of Senate Bill 2199 provided concrete evidence of corporate entanglement in the maintenance of the institution of slavery to the benefit of whites and to the detriment of enslaved Africans. The panel addressed the questions that flowed from this data and the data presented by earlier panelists: is there a basis for reparations for African descendants and if so, how do we obtain it and what does it look like? The audience commentators’ mixed responses to this question suggested that many fully embraced reparations yet some were uncomfortable with using corporate or government financial resources to close the gaps created by slavery and its legacy.
Howard Dodson, What Price Slavery? What Price Freedom?

Dodson’s conclusion was that reparations are owed and that they should be paid over the next 40 years in ways that will address the gaps that were created by slavery and its legacy such as: ensuring that fundamental needs of every African American child born in the United States were met including food, clothing, shelter and education; providing access to venture capital for every African American interested in creating a business; providing access to home ownership loan funds; and providing funds to expand urban educational systems. He based his conclusion concerning the correctness of reparations for African descendants in the United States on the historical record of slavery and the slave trade that: (1) they were “first and foremost economic enterprises…Those involved in [them] were involved to get a return on their investment;” (2) chattel slavery in the colonies and the United States was one of the most wicked criminal enterprises in recorded human history; and (3) the consequences of the crime continue to enrich the descendants of the perpetrators and impoverish the descendants of its victims. He summarized the history of reparations to various groups including the victims of the Nazi Holocaust, Native Americans and Japanese Americans as well as the history of the reparations movement for African descendants. Among the demands for reparations for African Americans are: James Foreman’s 1969 demand for reparations from the church community in the Black Manifesto; Congressman John Conyer’s sponsored bill, H.R. 40 that calls for a commission to determine whether there are continuing consequences of slavery and if so, what remedies are appropriate to address them; and the coordinating work of the National Coalition of Blacks for Reparations in America (N’COBRA).

Gerald C. Horne, Race for Power: Seeking Reparations and the Global Correlation of Forces.

Professor Horne focused on the importance of mounting an international campaign for reparations for African descendants that would put pressure on the United States and increase the support for reparations within the United States. He suggested that although a majority of persons in the United States may be opposed to reparations to African Americans international pressure can have an effect as it did in the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s. He noted that mounting an international campaign for reparations also recognizes that the issue is a global one. Quoting W.E.B. Du Bois Horne adds, “the Negro problem in America is but a local phase of a world problem…..” Horne outlines an approach to internationalizing the demand for reparations for African Americans including understanding the role international events have on the United States and its susceptibility to pressure from the international community. He advocates developing firm linkages with the anti-globalization movement. Professor Horne also sees the importance of engaging the European Union, Japan, India, Cuba and other countries that have a large “African derived population.” Finally, he encourages African Americans to develop a global vision and resist the tendency, seen in some California African American communities, to adopt conservative, parochial positions that may negatively influence allies such as Mexico, the Caribbean and Africa.

Attorneys Tick and Ray summarized the development of regulations to implement Senate Bill 2199 and the responses received once the regulations were implemented. Virtually all of the 1300 companies that were sent notices pursuant to the regulations responded, with the overwhelming majority indicating neither they nor any predecessor company did business before 1865. Eight companies sent documents and the report includes 600 names of enslaved Africans on whom 400 slave holders had taken out insurance policies. The companies that provided copies of policies and other documentation included New York Life (providing the vast majority of names), Aetna, AIG (that had acquired U.S. Life), Manhattan Life and Providence Washington. The policies confirmed the value the slaveholder placed on the lives of enslaved Africans who worked for the slaveholder. They also confirmed that money was often made by slaveholders leasing enslaved Africans to others – underscoring that the profit making venture of slavery included more than the profit made from the use of free labor in the production of goods.

Adjoa A. Aiyetoro, Reparations: Repairing the Consequences of Slavery and the TransAtlantic Slave Trade.

Attorney Aiyetoro indicated that reparations is an international legal principle of remedy that addresses the injuries of those subjected to violations of their human rights and crimes against humanity because of their group identity. Referring to the historical precedents outlined by Dodson as well as the Comfort Women and political dissenters/disappeared in Argentina, she outlined two conclusions. First, the demand for reparations by African descendants did not spring out of a vacuum and that the United States government has been a leading advocate of reparations for Jewish victims of the Nazi Holocaust, victims in Kosovo and other places. Second, the U.S. has bought the concept “lock, stock and barrel to virtually all victims of human rights violations except those for whom it is the most responsible.” Aiyetoro summarized the present-day injury areas that require reparations because of their nexus with slavery including health care, racial profiling, as well as the economic and other injuries outlined by previous presenters. Indicating that reparations was not simply owed for the historic crimes committed against African ancestors but for the continuing legacy of slavery, she underscored the importance of the process of reparations to marking the place in history for African descendants. “Slavery and its legacy are national, not localized southern tragedies. There is no peace without justice and reparations is, at base, a call for justice.”
Panel 7: Teaching Social Justice

Nicole Williams, University of California Santa Barbara, moderated this panel. The panelists included Juanita Johnson, Goleta School District, Oranne Hilgerman, El Rancho fifth grade teacher, Beth Yeager, McKinley Elementary School, Tony Jackson, Santa Barbara School System, Ralph Cordova, University of California Santa Barbara and Goleta School District and Sylvia Curtis, Librarian, University of California Santa Barbara.

This panel focused on an outreach program of the Center for Black Studies and the importance of working with elementary and high schools to assist in teaching social justice issues. The panel presentations demonstrated the importance of resisting the tendency of school systems to teach what maintains the status quo, thus ignoring the histories of oppression of peoples throughout the world, as if it did not exist. Although the stepping off place was the history of Africans and African Americans, the more generalized theme was using creativity, good teaching practices and skills and social consciousness to teach students about social justice issues.

Juanita Johnson, Report on the Middle Passage Curriculum, Center for Black Studies

Johnson’s presentation was rooted in her love of books and search for books that could be used to tell the history of slavery from the perspective of the enslaved. She found appropriate books including Julius Lester, To Be a Slave, I Was Born a Slave by Jennifer Fleischer and From Slave Ship to Freedom Road by Julius Lester and Rod Brown. Her next step was to help children see through the pain and see “heart to heart.” Development of a class pledge that students recited each class period and having students write essays about the Middle Passage after reading material, taking tours and discussions were activities that awakened students to the hearts of enslaved Africans and to the hearts of their contemporaries.

Oranne Hilgerman, Report on the Middle Passage Curriculum, Center for Black Studies

Hilgerman used poetry to awaken children to Africa and the lives of Africans prior to being stolen and taken through the Middle Passage to the Americas. When the children first started the school year they had limited knowledge of Africa. Their poetry, produced at the end of the class, showed a heartwarming love of Africa, its people and animals, and deep empathy for the tragedy of the Middle Passage.
Beth Yeager, Teaching Social Justice

Yeager teaches teachers as well as students and described the process of engaging children’s understanding of complex ideas. She indicated it was important for the educator to know where s/he is on these issues and where s/he wants to be as well as where s/he wants the students to be. Yeager brought clarity to the process of teaching complex social justice issues by underscoring that the context for this teaching must be set before the specifics are shared. “It is not enough to point out acts of intolerance.” Rather, using stories about children who are the ages of the children in the classroom, the experiences of those who are seeking social justice can be described, understood and empathy developed.

Tony Jackson, Teaching Social Justice

Jackson’s presentation connects with the theme of earlier panels by underscoring the fact that the voices of the oppressed and their stories are often not heard in the classroom. The students therefore are taught “colonized scholarship” and “indoctrinated to maintain the status quo.” School systems are often resistant to teaching social justice, frequently because they are “woefully uninformed about these issues.” Jackson warns that to truly teach social justice, issues of ethnicity, gender, homophobia and class must be included. Students can no longer be given a myopic view of the world. Education can empower the oppressed by listening to their voices.

Ralph Cordova, Teaching Social Justice

Cordova provided insight into the possibilities of teaching social justice to children. He stressed that there were many ways to address social justice issues in the classrooms. As did other panelists, he emphasized the importance of connecting the lessons to experiences children can understand. He showed the audience the possibilities of success with children through using traditional and non-traditional teaching modalities to assist children in struggling through the issues and reaching an understanding.

Sylvia Curtis, Historical Documentation on the Web: Digitizing Local Collections

Curtis provided insight into how to use the UCSB collections through the web. Digitizing the collections allows for sharing of information throughout the world. Digitizing also allows for access to more material and decreases the cost for storage of documents.
Professor Long brought all the presentations together in a lyrical and metaphoric summary of what had been shared and where it pointed in order to obtain “the eventual healing of long festering wounds on the body politic,” the expressed goal of the organizers. He articulated quite lyrically the themes of “self-serving mythology” identified by Hayden and the “wrong things that get stuck in our minds and just stay there” as Douglas Daniels described. He used the conceptualization of Robert Hill that there has been a “forgetting, an amnesia” in the history told by the “masters,” and that the practice of counter-memory can best be identified as “genealogy.” Long described genealogy as the act of reclaiming the place Africans and their descendants have in the making of the United States, indeed the western world. This is important because “genealogy has to do with notions like family….there are a lot of intimacies going on in slavery – intimacies that must be denied…hidden. …” Long urges that these “intimacies” must be revealed, talked about and rectified for Africans and their descendants to have their place in history and for the promise of the civil rights movement and its trust in the constitution to be realized. “We can no longer continue the lying, the cheating, the stealing as the official language that we teach our children.”

Long identifies African peoples as water people. He indicates that the new movement that continues the unfinished work of the civil rights movement is about “going back into the water to reorient ourselves. The question for this new movement is “how can everyone in the water have equal access to the excess that was created by them -- reparations?”

Reparations is about a check and it is about more than a check. It is about money as a form of treatment for the oppressor – when receiving free help people don’t think it is real. It is about a check because it is about not simply the giving and receiving of money, but “money as a marker, a trace, as a methodological meaning.” It is not just about a check because we have to raise the problem of what happened. “If with this money you don’t [raise the problem of what happened] and ask for rectification of language…of meaning…of the country…we would feel we got off real cheap.” Reminiscent of the colloquium proposal, Senator Hayden’s interview and Professor Daniels’s opening comments, Long provided an explanation for why some oppose reparations for African descendants: “people are afraid because on its heels has to be a new kind of meaning of the country.”

Long opined that the lessons of the civil rights movement were to continue to believe in and trust in the constitution and the courts but recognize that “we have our salt shakers
with us.”¹⁹ He urged that we “go back into the water” to tell the genealogy of the development of the world, necessarily including the African in that telling, and utilizing the terms that emerge from that genealogical search in both intellectual and practical applications. The narrative that is created and the actions it leads to flow from “our being there” and is not the narrative of the “great white conquerors’ history.” Rather, it would be a better expression of the “totality of experience.”

**Recommendations for Future Work and Initiatives**

1. Development of future scholarship
   Several of the presenters identified areas of needed scholarship to fill “the gap” created by “the self-serving mythology” that left untold major aspects of the story of the enslavement of Africans and Native Americans and the consequences of that enslavement.
   - Conduct DNA studies on the bone and dental remains of enslaved Africans recovered from the New York City African Burial Ground;
   - Investigate means of economic redistribution by creation of economic enterprise zones or funding of the poorest of African descendant communities for schools, housing, health care and other services;
   - Provide focused scholarship on what it means for the rape of enslaved African women to be sanitized;
   - Develop another language for violation of Black men’s peoplehood rather than emasculation since emasculation inaccurately suggests that it is Black women who are the threat not the legacy of slavery; and
   - Form a study group of historians, lawyers and others to examine steps taken in other reparations movements to assist in developing the reparations movement for African Americans.

2. Development of an ongoing institution in the University of California system that would focus on slavery, its legacy and the research issues outlined above as well as others. This ongoing institution would continue the investigation into the connection between the consequences of enslavement and the essential need for continued dialogue on remedying the economic, social, political and human imbalances created by slavery – equalizing the inequalities of the “unequal exchange.”

3. Development of scholarship on the relationship between California and slavery and the continuing consequences of California’s embrace of many of the disadvantages of enslavement as reflected in the historical denial of civil rights to California’s African citizens in 1850, after adopting an anti-slavery constitution in 1849.

¹⁹ In some African descendant cultures salt shakers are used to shake salt around a person who doesn’t have a reputation for truthfulness to keep the lie from bothering you.
4. Propose legislation to prevent the destruction of any documents from industries that may have ties to slavery.

5. Request the California legislature to look at SB 2199 in light of the discussion of governmental ambivalence toward addressing the issue of reparations for African descendants while simultaneously providing the basis of claims for long-standing violations of the rights of victims of WWII and Armenian genocide dating back to 1875. Consideration should be given to how the May 1, 2002 report from the Bureau of Insurance can be used to provide a basis for legislation to allow for the filing of African American claims.

Conclusion

The colloquium, Legacy of Slavery: Unequal Exchange, met and surpassed the organizers’ expectations. The dialogue and collegial exchanges were rich with data and analysis, much of which was presented through the voice and experience of descendants of groups who were enslaved. The value of the colloquium was in the sharing of a wealth of information that can continue to be used in analyzing the true benefits to the enslavers and their descendants and detriments to the enslaved and their descendants. This wealth of information confirmed the importance of the discussion of reparations, or as Professor Long stated “how can everyone in the water have equal access to the excess that was created by them?” This wealth of information also confirmed the importance of assessing the excess wealth not only in economic terms but in social, psychological and political terms. As some of the suggested research topics indicate, the unequal exchange is maintained through the use of language, perceptions and the solidifying of relationships that are born of slavery.

Finally, the colloquium was an example of how open, honest dialogue with victims of enslavement and their descendants participating in a meaningful way can contribute to harmonious relationships and the “eventual healing of long festering wounds on the body politic.” The festive dinner of Caribbean food prepared by the multicultural students and served at the Multicultural Center captured this mood and possibility.