THE IMPACT OF BARACK OBAMA'S ELECTION ON THE TRANSATLANTIC SLAVERY REPARATION DEBATE

Kouamé ADOU – Université of Bouaké (Ivory Coast)

Introduction

According to the Nigerian J. F. Ade Ajayi, "Reparation refers to the need to repair the damage done to Africans and people of African descent by the slave trade, colonization and neo-colonization so that they could compete more effectively in the global context, reverse the prolonged history of underdevelopment and rejoin the train of development in the world[1]." This definition clearly identifies two categories of victims who can claim reparation or compensation: Africans and African Americans. It also identifies the harm suffered or committed during three periods: the *Maafa* a Kiswahili term for the transatlantic slave trade of Africans (16th – 19th centuries); colonization, i.e. exploitation and the political, cultural and economic domination of Africa by Western Europe (19th – 20th centuries) and neo-colonization; the surreptitious economic and cultural domination of the former African colonies.

As we can very well realize, this subject is so emotionally charged that we question ourselves how we can rationally and objectively deal with it. However, like other research work that has been done on slavery and its effects on Africans and African Americans in contemporary society, it is possible to show, as Daniel Payot writes at the opening of the conference *Esclavage et servitude d'hier et d'aujourd'hui* that "science can very well accept the questioning of the facts it deals with, and that in these domains, scientific rigour, without becoming confused with them, can very well go alongside emotion, revolt, the concern of justice and the desire to restore the dignity of those who were victims (translation ours)[2]"

The aim of this paper is not to analyze in a racial perspective but to try to understand the challenges of the reparation discourse and why it is omnipresent in debates about the social conditions of Africans Americans and Africans. Indeed, the inevitable question that arises from the recent political rise of Barack Obama to the Presidency of the United States is whether these claims can still be valid. Born of a Kenyan father and a white American mother, this man has climbed all the rungs of the social and political ladder in a country largely dominated by Whites to the extent that one wonders whether being black or non-white is actually a handicap in the modern world. In other words, his election could have an impact on the reparations debate. Should this meteoric rise not question and call for a fresh look at the reparation argument in both the United States and Africa? The purpose of this paper is to clarify the concept of the reparation discourse, to try to understand the issues involved and finally, to update the present debate both in the United States and Africa before and after the arrival of Barack Obama in the White House. It will also show why the issue of compensation (or restitution) is crucial for the black diaspora.

I. Historical context of the slave trade and forms of reparation

[1] J. F. Ade Ajayi, «La politique de Réparation dans le contexte de la mondialisation », *Cahiers d'études africaines*, 173-174, 2004, p. 62

[2] Original French version : « la science peut fort bien accepter l'interpellation des faits dont elle traite, et que dans ces domaines la rigueur scientifique, sans se confondre avec eux, peut fort bien côtoyer l'émotion, la révolte, le souci de justice et le désir de rétablir la dignité de ceux qui furent victimes », Opening speech of Daniel Payot, President of Marc Bloch University (Strasbourg) in *Esclavages et servitudes d'hier à aujourd'hui* (papers edited by Koffi Adu Manya et al.), Proceedings of the Conference of Strasbourg, 29 and 30 May 1998, Strasbourg (Editions Histoire et Anthropologie, 1999), p. 9.

There is abundant literature on the trade of Africans variously named "slave trade", or "Atlantic slave trade or transatlantic slave trade", "Atlantic triangular trade" or "middle passage" that took place for four centuries, from the 16th to the 19th century. We need not restate the reasons for Europeans to initiate this trade nor justify its ideology as Montesquieu does it in his work: "We cannot think that God, who is a very wise being, would put a soul, especially good, in a quite black body[3]". We can simply recall that ten to thirty million Africans were deported from the West African coast to North America to address the lack of men to work in the sugar and cotton plantations. After four centuries of slavery and exploitation, the slave trade was abolished by the British Parliament in 1807. While this trade was one of the generators of growth in Europe and North America, it brought many problems: depopulation, impoverishment of the African continent and promoting black inferiority. Note that racism, colonialism and neo-colonization are the consequences of these tumultuous centuries during which the black man has suffered a real dehumanization.

But the questions we can ask today are: why do we still talk about the consequences of this period of more than two hundreds years after the abolition of slavery? Why are there insistently more claims of reparation and compensation when the black man (African or African American) is free in modern societies? And what forms should these reparations take?

Before suggesting any answers to the first two questions, let us try to identify the different forms of reparation. They can be moral, symbolic or financial. Moral reparation requires that the actors responsible for the slave trade officially acknowledge that they violated the rights of black people and apologize for it. Thus, in 2001, slave trade and slavery were recognized in France as "a crime against humanity[4]". Compensation may also be material or financial, such as debt cancellation for Third World countries or a Marshall Plan for Africa to organise, as noted by Michel Giraud, a massive transfer of technology, the creation of a fund for the education of the African populations and the black diaspora[5]. It is also the case of the *Affirmative Action* which is perceived as a form of reparation in the United States.

If the transatlantic slave trade is a link between Africa and the United States, it should be noted that it did not have the same impact on the evolution and the social status of black people in the two continents. The claims are not made with the same urgency. So let's look at the characteristics of the struggle for the reparation and compensations in the United States and Africa.

II. Differences on reparations in the United States

The U.S. population is divided on the question of reparation. Given the disastrous consequences of slavery on the lives of blacks in the United States, compensations are perceived as a well-founded claim that the U.S. government should meet. However, some Americans believe that this requirement would not only divide the American citizens but also alienate African Americans from their American origins.

1) Heritage, compensations and justice seeking: the reparations movement

[3]Original French version : « On ne peut se mettre dans l'esprit que Dieu, qui est un être très sage, ait mis une âme, surtout bonne, dans un corps tout noir », Montesquieu in *L'esprit des lois*, Livre XV, 5, 1748.

[4] Law N° 2001-434 (21 May 2001).

[5] Michel Giraud « Le passé comme blessure et le passé comme masque. La réparation de la traite négrière et de l'esclavage pour les peuples des départements français d'Outre-mer », *Cahiers d'études africaines,* 173-174, 2004, pp. 65-79.

According to the census of July 2006, African Americans constitute a population of 40.2 million which is 13.4% of the total population of the United States. Despite centuries of forced assimilation, they have generally remained culturally and socially distinct from other population groups. However, despite efforts to maintain their identity, they have lost a significant part of their cultural identity by adopting "the language and the social practices which were necessary for them to survive and prosper in a society dominated by the Whites[6]". The novel by the African American writer Alex Haley *Roots: the Saga of an American Family* shows the efforts made by African Americans to retrace their African roots in order to build a stronger identity. In fact, through his own family story told from generation to generation and research conducted in Africa, Haley narrates the kidnapping of Kunta Kinte, of which he is seventh generation descendant. This genealogical novel shows the crucial role of memory in the quest for identity of African Americans. It was adapted into television miniseries in 1977 so that Americans and the rest of the world can understand the path traveled and the strength of character of the descendants of slaves.

Their history is characterized by intense and continuing struggles to obtain civil rights, economic equality and political self-determination. Despite remarkable progress made since the American Civil War (1861-1865) and especially due to the civil rights movement of the 50s and 60s, the general situation of African Americans has not changed insofar as they remain victims of their status of descendants of slaves. This heavy legacy of theirs can be perceived at various levels. In fact, according to the National Center for Health Statistics, the life expectancy of white Americans was 71 years in 1970 and 78 years in 2004 while that of African Americans was 64 years in 1970 and 73 in 2004. The life expectancy of African Americans in 2004 corresponds to that of whites in 1977[7]. Similarly, in March 2008, the Bureau of Labor Statistics states that the unemployment rate for African Americans is twice that of whites and the income of a black family accounts for little more than half that of a white family in general[8].

According to the judge and Civil Rights activist Thurgood Marshall, the situation of African Americans is the result of years of discrimination and racial oppression:

> The situation of the Negro today in America is the tragic but inevitable consequence of centuries of unequal treatment. Measured by any benchmark of comfort or achievement, meaningful equality remains a distant dream for the Negro…In light of the sorry history of discrimination and its devastating impact on the lives of Negroes, bringing the Negro into the mainstream of American life should be a state interest of the highest order. To fail to do so is to ensure that America will forever remain a divided society[9].

This point of view that the judge uses to stress the need to raise the standard of living and status of the African American justifies the reparation movement whose goal is to seek compensation for the four centuries of slavery. The pacifist and conciliatory tone of Martin Luther King in *I have a Dream* is transformed here into a firm request of justice for the descendants of slaves. To this end, we note that American courts are regularly asked to decide on the matter. Of course, opinions are divided on this particular issue: who should pay for the reparation and how should compensations be distributed?

---

[6] Original French version : « le langage et les pratiques sociales qui leur étaient nécessaires pour survivre et prospérer dans une société dominée par les Blancs » Article « Noirs américains », *Encyclopédie Microsoft Encarta*, online http://fr.encarta.msn.com, (20 April 2009).

[7] *Source:* National Center for Health Statistics, *National Vital Statistics Reports,* vol. 54, no. 19, June 28, 2006.

[8] Employment situation summary (March 2008): http://www.bls.gov/news.release/empsit.nr0.htm (20 April 2008)

[9] Bakke case (1978), American Government Resources, http://www.wadsworth.com/politicalscience_d/special_features/ext/amgov/gov_foundations/sr_civrig15.html (20 April 2009).

There is an obvious answer: we know that requests are usually addressed to U.S. federal government and if the African Americans win, it is the U.S. taxpayer who will pay for the wrongs committed by their ancestors. It is for this reason that the majority of Whites are opposed to compensation. Most agree that African Americans were victims of the horrors of the past, but refuse to pay for crimes they did not directly and individually commit.

2) Arguments against reparation

According to David Horowitz, conservative writer and editor of the electronic journal *FrontPage Magazine*, the struggle for reparations is not only racist but also unfounded. He justifies his view by stating ten reasons against claims for damages. The most important are:

a. Africans and Arabs are the initiators and leaders of slavery
b. The whole American society has benefited from the impact of slavery, including African Americans. In addition, there was only a minority of white Americans who were slave dealers. Why should descendants of non-slave dealers pay for the wrongs that their ancestors did not commit?
c. White Americans gave their lives for the liberation of African Americans.
d. There have been reparations in the United States but in a different context (financial compensations have been made to Jewish survivors of the Holocaust, Japanese-Americans and African American victims of racial experience in Tuskegee, Alabama (from 1932 to 1972). But in these cases, reparations were made to the victims themselves and their families.
e. Reparations have been made to African Americans through the Civil Rights Act and the Great Society in 1965 which encouraged Blacks in search of employment and admissions in universities (*Affirmative Action*)
f. The reparation discourse disseminates racist and separatist ideas[10].

David Horowitz believes that if the demands for reparation intensify, consequences such as ethnic antagonisms will develop. It is a struggle that may alienate African Americans from their American roots and isolate them from other American communities including whites who fought against discrimination and injustice against blacks.

Another argument is defended by a small political American party. In a statement dated 16 August, 2002, the League for the Revolutionary Party asserts that Black liberation is only possible through socialist liberation and argues that those who claim to campaign for reparations divert the struggle against racism. According to this league,

> The reparations leaders propose lawsuits, negotiations, voting, court decisions, Congressional acts, lobbying and Constitutional amendments as the means to accomplish their goals. But slavery was not ended by lawsuits and lobbying -- it was smashed by civil war, in which former slaves played a decisive role. The ghetto uprisings -- from Watts to Detroit to Newark to Harlem -- not pacifist pressure tactics, forced the concessions of the '60s and '70s. [11].

Therefore, for this organization, the demand for reparations under capitalism is utopian because American capitalism is inherently racist and unjust. To succeed, it is essential that the fight to improve the social conditions of African American be a mass and not a racial struggle.

---

[10] David Horowitz, **"**Ten Reasons Why Reparations for Blacks is a Bad Idea for Blacks - and Racist Too", *FrontpageMagazine*. http://frontpagemag.com/Printable.aspx?ArtId=24372 (20 April 2009)

[11] Statement of the League for the Revolutionary Party (LRP - U.S.) -- August 16, 2002 "Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution", http://www.lrp-cofi.org/archive/reparations.html (20 April 2009)

III. The reparations movement in the African English-speaking world

According to a widely held opinion, African Americans were sold for cheap junk by African kings. This idea is not shared by the Africans of today, because no remorse has been noticed in their positions. On the contrary, some researchers, Pharaoh Seti in particular, focus on techniques for acquiring slaves such as kidnapping, a technique inherited from the Middle Age, which consisted in attacking isolated camps by surprise[12]. Although the movement for reparations is less incisive than in the United States, it should be noted that it exists and it expresses a sense of outrage with a trend that should be analyzed.

1) The African position on the transatlantic slave trade

From the 90s, a series of meetings has identified a common African position. In December 1992, the first International Conference on reparations took place in Lagos, Nigeria. It was followed in 1993 by a second conference organized by a group of experts under the auspices of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) to study the issue of reparations. The reasons given by this group to claim compensation are virtually identical to those of African Americans:

a) The system of massive exploitation of African slaves led to the rapid development of slave ports in Europe (Liverpool, Bristol, Nantes, Bordeaux etc.).
b) It was an important source of energy that propelled the Industrial Revolution in England.
c) The potential economic value of the Americas would never have been achieved without the transatlantic slave trade.
d) In Africa, this trade had devastating economic and social effects: it crippled the economic potential, deformed political systems, undermined moral and civic practices and exhausted the pool of human resources.

Considering the slave trade to be one of the main sources of under-development of their continent, African Heads of state demanded material and financial compensation at the World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and related Intolerance, held in Durban (South Africa) from August 31 to September 8, 2001. Following the conference, three important points emerged on the issue of reparations. At first, the Heads of States of the 170 countries represented in Durban were divided on the question of material compensation. Nevertheless, they unanimously agreed that this was a duty of remembrance that victims and oppressors should respect in order to move forward in their relationship. In fact, during the celebration of the International Day for the Remembrance for the Slave Trade and its Abolition on August 23, 2002, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) considered that the fact of recognizing to the Africans, who were the object of this trade, the status of "victims" allows finally their descendants to hold their head up again and to the descendants of those who committed the crime to put an end to the unspoken.

Despite this requirement and the implicit recognition of their responsibilities, countries historically involved in slavery and colonialism have almost all failed to formally apologize to

[12] Pharaon Seti, « La traite des Noirs : pourquoi, comment et conséquences pour l'Afrique », Proceedings of the Conference « *Esclavage et servitude d'hier et d'aujourd'hui* », Strasbourg (Editions Histoire et Anthropologie, 1999) p. 18.

African countries. That's because this could lead to subsequent legal action which could result in the assessment and payment for prejudices suffered by African countries.

In view of the conclusions of the Lagos and Durban conferences and progress on the issue of reparations, one can wonder about the real identity of the beneficiaries of any financial compensation. In fact, if the whole continent seems to have suffered the evils of the transatlantic slave trade, we must recognize that West Africa was the major victim. The best known slave outposts are located on the coast of West Africa: Elmina, Princes Town, Cape Coast and Christianborg on the Gold Coast (Ghana) and Gorée in Senegal. Should reparations be made only to those countries or to all of Africa?

For now, no reliable institution has ruled on this issue, but it is clear that certain regions should receive more compensation than others despite the economic and infrastructural disparities among African countries as a whole. Besides, some countries that do not expect collective reparation have filed lawsuits against the developed countries that were involved in the transatlantic slave trade or the colonization of African countries. According to the writer Mukoma Wa Ngugi, lawsuits should be filed against the United Kingdom from the year 2008 for the suppression of the Mau Mau revolt in Kenya, which made 11,000 victims between 1952 and 1960.

IV. The Obama era and the issue of reparation

Does the arrival of Barack Obama to the Presidency of the United States have an impact on the reparations movement in both the United States and Africa? Will we see a decline in claims for reparations or a more active phase of reparation movements on the two continents? The purpose of this question is to update the debate on the issue of compensation. In fact, requests for reparations are justified by the fact that the Middle Passage has literally transformed humans into goods, severely handicapped the African economies and improperly reduced the African American to a second-class citizen completely alienated from his roots. In the global discourse on reparation, we should once again note the re-recurrence of the idea that Africans and African Americans would not be able to fight on equal terms with other races because of this human, cultural, and economic dispossession, clearly because of the history they perceive as a burden. However, it is premature to respond accurately to this issue. The election of Obama is too recent for us to efficiently analyze its impact on the inequalities caused by the long history of the slave trade. However, referring to the career path and the biography of Barack Obama and the reaction of the American press during his election, we can provide some answers. One of the first comments we can make is that the new president is familiar with issues related to compensation claimed by African Americans.

In fact, when he was Senator from Illinois, he stated his support for *Affirmative Action* in *The Audacity of Hope*:

> Many Americans disagree with me on this as a matter of principle, arguing that our institutions should never take race into account, even if it is to help victims of past discrimination. Fair enough – I understand their arguments, and don't expect the debate to be settled anytime soon. But that shouldn't stop us from at least making sure that when two qualified people – one minority and one white – apply for a job, house or loan, and the white person is consistently preferred, then the government, through its prosecutors and through its courts, should step in to make things right[13].

It seems clear that he will take action to correct racial inequalities so that America moves towards a more just society. However, it is necessary to emphasize that for most

[13] Barack Obama, *The Audacity of Hope. Thoughts on Reclaiming the American Dream* (Edinburgh: Canongate Books, 2007), p. 244.

Americans, this issue, as worrying as it is, is not a priority for the new American president. In fact, the economic recession, the relations of the United States with countries such as Iraq and Afghanistan and the U.S. budget deficit appear to be the essential points of his mandate. We cannot say that the new president will plead for a new world order but he will likely seek to establish peaceful and friendly relations with the rest of the world unlike his predecessor George W. Bush, who was conspicuous for his unilateralism as a result of the attacks of September 11, 2001. However, these priorities cannot sidestep the embarrassing issue of race and compensation claimed by the black community. Indeed, it is worth noting that the arrival of Barack Obama in the White House is a breakthrough in the interracial relations even if this does not mean that racism has completely disappeared in the United States.



As demonstrated by the cartoonist Adam Zyglis in a press cartoon published in *The Buffalo News*, November 7, 2008[14], we can say that racial barriers are on the verge of falling in this country long dominated by segregation. So too is the negative otherness against which African Americans have been fighting since the end of slavery and that the Civil Rights Movement has reduced only slightly. However, there is sufficient evidence showing that the American dream is possible not only for white Americans but also for all American communities including blacks, Latinos and other visible minorities. This finding is in itself a hope that every visible minority would like to take, probably leaving aside the claims related to the past. The election of Obama will not suddenly change the habits of Americans but it is a

[14] Adam Zyglis, Obama Inheritance, published by *The Buffalo News*, November 7, 2008, http://cagle.msnbc.com/news/ObamasInheritance/main.asp. (20 April 2004).

historical event around which the whole America will try to reconcile and forget (or forgive) the bruises of the past.

Is such a perspective possible for Africa? A negative answer to this question implies that Africa is just waiting for financial compensation to heal the trauma of the slave trade, colonization and underdevelopment into which these phenomena have thrown her. This would also mean accepting the good will of rich countries to which these claims are addressed. In *Dreams from my Father*[15], Obama shows his commitment to his African roots in general and Kenya in particular. But above all, he was elected to guide and govern the United States and not to heal the wounds of Africa. It is for this reason that Africa cannot hope for a real change in its relations with America and other developed nations.

The black diaspora has so understood the relentlessness of this requirement that they only attach relative importance to the ideology of compensation. While acknowledging that in the case of Africa, it is not about reparation, but about a denial of justice which, since the beginning, has dispossessed a continent of all its lifeblood, for instance, Edouard Glissant believes that the Blacks do not have to ask for reparations. They should work hard to create social conditions that will enable them to live in dignity without needing any compensation[16]. The same is true for Achille Mbembe who, while recognizing that the reparation discourse remains a topical issue for as long as the economic and racial disparities exist, thinks that the African will not continue to claim the status of victim in his relations with other nations or continents:

> As long as persists the ideology according to which there are races and uneven peoples, as long as we continue to persuade that colonialism was a big fact of "civilization", the theme of reparation will be mobilized. But it is necessary to go out of the status of victim. To be African means at first to be a free man, and to be capable of inventing oneself. The real identity policy consists in feeding and updating these capacities of auto-invention. (Translation ours)[17].

These two positions coincide more or less with the spirit embodied in the new American president who believes that no problem is insoluble a priori, in other words there is room for hope for Africans, Blacks of the Diaspora and for all visible minorities who are fighting for a better society.

Conclusion

The debate on reparation began since the end of slavery and is still going on despite the progress and changes in interracial relations. Indeed, the mobilization or update of this theme and the political discourse that surrounds it is justified by the development gap between the African countries (which continent has long been exploited), African Americans (underestimated and exploited after their forced immigration) and whites (heirs of the economic benefits of slavery). If we can say that the arrival of Barack Obama in the White House shows beyond doubt that blacks have the intellectual capacity and political intelligence to play roles of prime importance in countries where they are, we must admit that it is quite a way ahead to reach the social status of whites. For this reason, requests for reparation and

[15] Barack Obama, *Dreams Fromm y Father: A Story of Race and Inheritance*: Edinburgh: Canongate Books, 2008 (Première publication: 1995).
[16] Edouard Glissant, « La créolisation du monde est finie » Interviewed by Valérie Marin La Meslée in *Le Point* Hors-série N° 22 « La pensée noire : les textes fondamentaux », April-May 2009, p. 114.
[17] Achille Mbembe, « Sortir du statut victimaire », by Valérie Marin La Meslée in *Le Point* Hors-série N° 22 « La pensée noire : les textes fondamentaux », April-May 2009, p. 110.

compensation are not only a serious attempt of rehabilitation but also a quest for social justice for the most part of African Americans and the Diaspora.

To refresh the discussion and understand the new opportunities, we did an analysis based on recent books, scientific articles and press, both French and English. But if the analysis has tended to equate two people that do not have the same social conditions, do not share the same territory anymore and no longer have quite the same cultural identity, it's not because of a lack of historical consciousness or analytical inconsistency. It is because their fates seem to be forever linked. Indeed, according to Frantz Fanon, "the Blacks who lived in the United States, Central, and Latin America in fact needed a cultural matrix to cling to. The problem they were faced with was not basically any different from that of the Africans. The Whites in America had not behaved any differently to them than the white colonizers had to the Africans"[18]. Since the situation has not changed fundamentally, it is possible to bring forth the plight and continue to struggle with Obama who has reached the top of the hierarchy in American politics.

Finally, we believe that beyond the quest for a more just world that would take into account the vicissitudes of human history, one wonders if it is really possible to redress the wrongs suffered by Africans and African Americans for several centuries. Whether in the United States or Africa, will those who appear to be as Fanon says the "Wretched of the Earth" ever recover from neurosis caused by the slave trade and colonization?

Bibliography

AJAYI, J.F. Ade. « La politique de Réparation dans le contexte de la mondialisation ». *Cahiers d'études africaines*, 173-174, 2004, pp. 41-63.

GLISSANT, Edouard (interviewed by Valérie Marin La Meslée). « La créolisation du monde est finie ». *Le Point* Hors-série N° 22 « La pensée noire : les textes fondamentaux », April-May 2009, 112 - 115.

FANON, Frantz. *The Wretched of the Earth*, New York: Grove Press, 2004. First published in 1961.

GIRAUD, Michel. « Le passé comme blessure et le passé comme masque. La réparation de la traite négrière et de l'esclavage pour les peuples des départements français d'Outre-mer ». *Cahiers d'études africaines*, 173-174, 2004, pp. 65-79.

HOROWITZ, David. **"**Ten Reasons Why Reparations for Blacks is a Bad Idea for Blacks - and Racist Too". *FrontpageMagazine*,

http://frontpagemag.com/Printable.aspx?ArtId=24372 (20 April 2009)

MANYAH, Kofi Adu et al. *Esclavages et servitudes d'hier et d'aujourd'hui*. Proceedings of Strasbourg Conference (29-30 May 1998). Strasbourg : Editions Histoire et Anthropologie, 1999.

MBEMBE, Achille (interviewed by Valérie Marin La Meslée). « Sortir du statut victimaire ». *Le Point* Hors-série N° 22 « La pensée noire : les textes fondamentaux », April-May 2009, p. 110.

MONTESQUIEU. *L'esprit des lois*, Livre XV, 5 (Tome 2). Paris: Editions Larousse: 1995. First published in 1748.

OBAMA, Barack. *The Audacity of Hope. Thoughts on Reclaiming the American Dream*. Edinbourgh: Canongate Books, 2007.

OBAMA, Barack. *Dreams From my Father: A Story of Race and Inheritance*. Edinburgh: Canongate Books, 2008. First published in 1995.

[18] Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* (New York: Grove Press, 2004) p. 153. First published in 1961.

ZYGLISZ, Adam. Cartoon « Obama Inheritance ». *The Buffalo News*, November 7, 2008 http://cagle.msnbc.com/news/ObamasInheritance/main.asp (20 April 2009).