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## Inside the seed of school accountability: an African-centered analysis

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**INSIDE THE SEED OF SCHOOL ACCOUNTABILITY:  
AN AFRICAN-CENTERED ANALYSIS**

**A Dissertation**

**Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the  
Louisiana State University and  
Agricultural and Mechanical College  
In partial fulfillment of the  
Requirements for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy**

**In**

**The Department of Curriculum and Instruction**

**by**

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**B.S., Jacksonville State University, 1993**

**M.S., Louisiana State University, 1995**

**May 2012**

For my wife Rasheedah and sons Jahi and Jkai

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## ABSTRACT

I use Marimba Ani's Asili concept as defined in *Yurugu* to examine the school accountability model. By school accountability model, I mean the school model that consists of privately managed "public schools" regulated by state testing programs. I argue that school accountability is essentially oppressive and its success depends on the falsification of African and African American history. Ani explains that Asili is a Kiswahili term meaning "beginning," "origin," "source," "nature (in the sense of the 'nature' of a person or thing)," "essence," or "fundamental principle." Furthermore, Ani writes that seed is an "ubiquitous African analogical symbol in African philosophical and cosmological explanations" and that a culture's asili reveals its nature during times of ambivalence and conflict.

I focus on Louisiana's 1954 school laws and resolutions passed in reaction to the U.S. Supreme Court's 1954 Brown decision and the White Citizen's council's 1950s Social Studies reform movement. I demonstrate that this is the time when we witness the major elements of the present accountability model suddenly unfold. For instance, Louisiana's state testing program (for students and teachers), standardized social studies curriculum guides and tests, charter schools, and vouchers can all be traced to the resolutions passed during the weeks following the Brown decision. I examine the thoughts and activities of those who engineered the school accountability seed and thereby reveal its power seeking essence. Too, I trace the seed's unfolding into a plant and its development to the present time, and I demonstrate its instinctual hostility toward African schools, African educators, African students, and liberating African thought. To the best of my knowledge this is the first major study that examines school accountability from an Afrocentric perspective.

## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION: GENETIC ENGINEERING AND GERMINATION

The purpose of this dissertation is to demonstrate the power of the Afrocentric paradigm (Asante 1988, 1990, 1992) to understand the school accountability model. I use the Afrocentric paradigm to philosophically frame my analysis. By Afrocentric I mean simply to see phenomena from an African-centered perspective. Molefi Asante who laid out the paradigmatic assumption of the Afrocentric paradigm defines it as “a frame of reference wherein phenomena are viewed from the perspective of the African person...as an intellectual theory, Afrocentricity is the study of the ideas and events from the standpoint of Africans as the key players rather than victims” (Asante, 1991, p. 172).

My research is guided by the question: what is the nature of the school accountability model? The school accountability model is a school model that consists of privately managed “public” schools that are regulated and controlled by state mandated standardized tests.

I will use Marimba Ani’s (1994) asili concept to conceptually frame my study. Ani explains that a culture’s asili is analogous to a seed. She argues that the European cultural asili is essentially power seeking. And, the European cultural asili creates what Ani calls the cultural other, who is always inferior to and antagonistic to the European self, and whom it is legitimate to have power over. She also writes that the asili is energized by the notion of progress, which is evolutionary thought or white supremacy superimposed over lineal time.

In this dissertation I will argue that the historical image of African people as savage or uncivilized that is represented in the social studies curriculum and embodied in standardized tests is a manifestation of the European cultural asili and serves the asili by providing an “object” over

which it is legitimate to have power over. This image of the African savage is embodied in the school accountability model and is a false image as suggested by the historical evidence that I will present throughout this dissertation. The curriculum veils evidence that counters this official imagery; moreover, as I discuss below, the literary and archaeological evidence suggests that Africans were the creators of what racist historians have termed civilization, which they characterized primarily by the existence of writing, art, and science.

Ani explains that *Asili* is a Kiswahili word which has several related meanings, including “seed,” “beginning,” “origin,” “source,” “nature,” “essence,” “fundamental principle,” and “germ.” Furthermore, Ani points out that the seed as metaphor is “the ubiquitous analogical symbol in African philosophical and cosmological explanations.” What is important to understand at this point is that a culture’s *asili* determines the manner in which that culture will develop. It is the culture’s DNA so to speak (Ani, 1994, pp. 11-12). Indeed, a seed provides a plant its initial energy burst and its developmental template. Ani contends that the *asili* reveals its nature in the culture’s consistency in pattern of thought (the cognitive), which is represented here by the social studies curriculum, and in its spirit, or in other words, its instinctual energy (the affective).

Ani develops two secondary concepts to complement the *asili*: the *utamawazo* and *utamaroho*. She explains that these concepts were developed from the Kiswahili words, *utamaduni* which means civilization or culture, *wazo* which means thought, and *roho* which means spirit-life. *Utamawazo*, then, is culturally structured thought; it accounts for the self-conscious and cognitive aspect of a culture. As I noted above the cultural other and social studies curriculum are major elements of the European *utamawazo* in that they are consciously

constructed modes of thought. Ideas and images that don't serve the asili's appetite for power are rejected.

An essential component of the European utamawazo is the cultural other. Ani defines the cultural other as “a conceptual existential construct which allows Europeans to act out their most extreme aggression and destructiveness, while simultaneously limiting their collective self-destruction on a conscious level” (p. xxv). As I have already stated, the image of the savage African serves as the cultural other and is the foundation upon which the school accountability model rest. The savage African is inferior to and antagonistic to the European self who reigns supreme over all people and things. The cultural other is less than human and thus is not deserving of human respect, human dignity, and self-determination.

The utamaroho, on the other hand, is the “spirit life” of a culture or the energy source that motivates members to act collectively. Utamaroho accounts for the affective or instinctual aspect of culture, it is the unconscious; It is the collective personality or ego. In her study, Marimba Ani writes that “the sensation of controlling others and of therefore having power over them is the most aesthetically, psychologically, and emotionally satisfying experience that the culture has to offer” (p. 2). As I will demonstrate in this dissertation, the body of school law that has been created since the U.S. Supreme Court's 1954 Brown ruling serves the quest for power and domination and was energized by European utamoroho and guided by the utamowazo both of which reinforces one another in order that the school accountability model can continually mature.

A primary element of the European utamoroho is the notion of progress. This is the concept upon which the history curriculum is centered. Ani contends that progress



is the idea that initiates change, that gives supposed supremacy of the culture, and that justifies exploitation of others...it leads to evolutionary theories. Reality is perceived as the continuous development of one entity through necessarily temporal stages. One state is more 'evolutionarily advanced' than the one it follows, since they are arranged or unfold in a temporal sequence" (pp. 59-60).

The European utamaroho requires a self-image of not merely superiority but supremacy, and the "idea of progress" makes Europeans supreme among humans. It is superiority placed into the dimension of lineal time...without the idea and this conceptual slight of hand, cultures would merely be different. European culture would merely be intensely and obsessively rational; with the assumption of the idea of progress Europe becomes "better." In this way indicated, then, the idea of progress supports the expansionism and supremism inherent in the European utamaroho (p. 494).

Ani explains that a culture's utamawazo and utamaroho should be thought of not as separate entities but interconnected mutually reinforcing aspects of the same monolithic culture.

It is important to understand that the asili, utamawazo, and utamaroho are in reality not separate entities. They influence, reinforce, and build on each other in a circular process and in reality that precluded their rigid distinction as "cause" or "effect." This circular process and synthesis is culture itself. It would not be possible for one of these cultural phenomena to contradict another within the same cultural experience. By their very definition they are supportive, compatible, reaffirming, and mutually generative. They are the interlocking pieces of one ideological system (p. 16).

Hence, these two vital forces, the cognitive and the affective, must and have consistently served the European cultural asili's appetite for power. Ani argues that this drive for power is the essence of European culture.

Ani (1994) explains that there are key times and places when the asili reveals its true nature or essence most vividly and forcefully. The asili is not "conveniently visible for us initially: rather its nature emerges from the most forceful characteristics of the culture as they are "felt" through confrontation..." (p. 13)

At critical points in the development of European culture, when its ascendancy appears to have been threatened because of ambivalence, confusion, or a malfunctioning of the "machine," masterful adjustments had been made that brought new clarity of purpose, a

reconsolidation of energies, retrieving focus so that the machine would once again be efficient. These adjustments were sometimes in the form of what I have called “modal changes,” sometimes creations of political genius, fanatically devoted to the objective of total control (pp. 195-6).

My objective in this dissertation is to examine the nature of the accountability school model by focusing on the period immediately following the U.S. Supreme Court’s 1954 Brown decision. This is indeed a period of confrontation, ambivalence, and confusion. It is also a period of masterful adjustments and fanatical devotion. My specific focus is on the resolutions and laws passed and or proposed by Louisiana’s legislature during the 1954 legislative sessions. It is first instructive to take account of Ani’s assertion concerning the nature and function of European law

but why do Europeans go to the trouble of creating the appearance of legality in their dealings with majority peoples: Why not simply steal and exploit without the charade: The answer is (1) that this “acting out” constitutes a strategic tool that politically disarms the victims of European expansion, and it plays an important part in the maintenance and support of the European self-image. One of the deepest beliefs of Europeans is the notions of ‘civilization,’ ‘progress,’ and the ‘evolutionary’ superiority of their culture”. The concept of ‘codified law’ is a definitive ingredient of civilization; for with civilization, according to European ideology, comes order, and legality assures lasting order’ – not moral conduct but consistent and predictable conduct. So the civilized way – the European way – is to bring laws, however forcibly, and the structures of European culture (“civilization”) to those whom one treats immorally and for whom one has no respect. Along with “development,” this justifies expansionism – for after all, Europeans bring “law and order” to people who must have previously lived quite “disorderly” lives (or so they believe) (p. 414).

“Good” law is written law and therefore truly legal: unwritten law is not really law; it is “bad” and “backward” (Ani, p. 414). Laws preserved through written codification are more impressive to the European mind than mere ‘values.’ This circular process helps to maintain order in lieu of those mechanisms that would be binding in other cultures (p. 118).

This can be seen throughout European history. I make this assertion to demonstrate the point that the current body of law was not created in a vacuum but has a lineage dating back to late antiquity. Concerning the nature of European law, H.G. Well’s (1949) treatment of politics

in Rome is informative. He described the governing community of Rome as “Neanderthal variety of the modern democratic civilized state” (p. 455). He goes on to note the similarities

Roman political and social life in the century between the fall of Carthage and the rise of Caesar and Caesarism, has a very marked general resemblance of the political and social life in such countries as the United States of America or the British Empire to-day. The resemblance is intensified by the common use, with a certain inaccuracy in every case, of such terms as “senate,” “democracy,” “proletariat,” and the like...Our world to-day still far from solving the problem of representation and from producing a public assembly which will really summarize, crystalize, and express the thought and will of the community; our elections are still largely an ingenious mockery of the common voter who finds himself helpless in the face of party organizations which reduce his free choice of a representative to the less unpalatable of two political hacks...Too many of our histories dealing with this period of Roman history write of “the popular party,” and of the votes of the people and so forth, as though such things were as much working realities as they are to-day. But the senators and politicians of Rome saw to it that such things never did exist as clean and wholesome realities...Whenever there was a new enfranchisement of citizens in Italy, there would be the most elaborate trickery and counter-trickery to enroll the new voters into as few or as many of the thirty old “tribes” as possible, or to put them into as few as possible new tribes. Since vote was taken by tribes...The great mass of voters in Italy were also disenfranchised by distance...If the outside voters were moved enough by any question to swarm into the city, it was always possible to put off the voting by declaring the omens unfavorable. If they came in unarmed, they could be intimidated; if they brought in arms, then the cry was raised that there was a plot to overthrow the republic, and a massacre would be organized (pp. 456-57).

As I mentioned above, my focus is on the education law that was passed or proposed during the 1954 legislative session and the school model that it has created. My research reveals that the fundamental elements of the school accountability model can be traced to the resolutions and body of legislation proposed and enacted by the Louisiana Legislature in reaction to the U.S. Supreme Court’s May 17, 1954 *Brown* decision. My research reveals that this is when we first witness the school accountability model coming into being. This is when we witness all of the major elements suddenly began to unfold. For example, state mandated standardized testing

(for teachers and students), state mandated standardized social studies curriculums, state takeover of public schools, and school privatization can all be traced back to Joint Resolution no. 22 passed by the Louisiana legislature on May 25, 1954 and Joint Resolution no. 27 passed on June 10, 1954. These resolutions represent the initial unfolding of the accountability school model. My aim in this dissertation is to examine the nature of this school model by examining this critical period. I will demonstrate that school accountability is essentially power seeking and designed to continue White over Black domination.

Louisiana's Joint Committee on Segregation was formed in the days immediately following the U.S. Supreme Court's Brown decision. The committee was formally established by Joint Resolution No. 22 and No. 27. Senator William Rainach was a leading engineer of the two resolutions and served as official chairman of the committee which the resolutions created. I credit Rainach with being the chief genetic engineer of the seed that has grown into today's school accountability model. An examination of the thoughts and activities of the Joint legislative committee (especially those of William Rainach) will provide valuable insight into the question regarding the school accountability model's essence.

Rainach's power as a legislature was enormous yet he is a nearly forgotten historical figure. In addition to being the committee's chair, Rainach was also a founding member and first president of the Claiborne Parish Citizen's Council, the Louisiana Citizen's Council, and the Citizens' Council of America. Therefore, he was leader of both private and public segregation forces. His power was almost absolute. According to Stowe, "his control was so complete in the Joint Legislative Committee that there was never a motion made that did not pass unanimously. And his string of victories over governor Long gave credence to the contention that he might have been the most powerful man in the state of Louisiana" (p. 77).

It is important to note that there was a perfect overlap between the leadership stratum of the Joint Legislative Committee and Louisiana's White Citizen's Council (Stowe 1989). Hence, for all practical purposes the Joint Legislative Committee was the White Citizens Council and the White Citizen's Council was the Joint Legislative Committee.

The contents of the resolutions reveal its power seeking nature and also its connection to the school accountability model. Resolution no. 22 states unambiguously that the purpose of the committee was to "provide ways and means whereby our existing social order shall be preserved, and our institutions and ways of life established by many generations of Louisianans and embodied in our *fundamental law* shall be maintained" [emphasis mine] (Official Journal of the Senate of Louisiana, p. 187, June 10, 1954). I read this to mean that the purpose was to maintain White over Black domination – politically, economically, and culturally. It really had nothing to do with segregation or integration but everything to do with power.

Resolution no. 27 formally established the committee and endowed it with a frightening scope and range power.

Further Resolved, that said legislative committee shall have the right and authority to call for the production, and to inspect the books and records, and to secure information and compile data from any of the institutions and departments of state government and parish school boards, which in their judgment may be relevant or helpful in drafting of such proposed legislation; and the committee is authorized to secure the services of statisticians and clerical assistance from any of the State Institutions or Departments and from *Parish School boards* to compile data and to make reports deemed necessary by this committee to assist in preparing said proposed legislation and submitting such data and reports to the Louisiana legislature at the appropriate time...[emphasis mine] (Official Journal of the House of Representatives, p. 947, June 10, 1954).

This resolution essentially shifts power from local school boards to the state school board. Furthermore, the committee was specifically interested in statistics by race on "health, morals, welfare, aptitude, and criminality" (Stowe, 1989, p. 37). This data would be used and

still is used to give scientific “validity” to the notion of the cultural other (savage African). It provides justification for White over Black power.

With resolution no. 27 we are witnessing the initial energy burst. The utamaroho or instinctual energy source reveals itself in the immediate reaction to the supposed blow to White supremacy. We are also witnessing the initial unfolding of the primary component of the utamawazo, the cultural other, since this data has been used to depict Africans as less evolved, less intelligent, and less moral, i.e., less human. Standardized tests embody the inferior African imagery and have since continuously been used to rationalize school policy. As I stated above, in the accountability model the standardized testing program is the primary tool used to regulated and control charter schools.

Thus I aim to demonstrate that Rainach’s thoughts and activities have continuously impacted school policy til this day. It is Rainach’s spirit that walks the halls of our schools and drives school policy. The East Baton Rouge Parish school system has special significance to this dissertation. This is because East Baton Rouge is Louisiana’s capital city and, therefore, here is where state policies are likely to impact first. The impact of Resolutions 22 and 27 was immediate and has been persistent.

A July 30, 1954 Baton Rouge Advocate article demonstrates the immediacy of resolutions impact. It states that the East Baton Rouge Parish school board had recently hired a director of guidance counseling and had “purchased 60,000 tests to be administered during the next school year... and that “this will be the first over-all parish wide guidance and testing program. Your guidance director will assist with the tests and interpret them.” Furthermore, this is when we first witness the use of gifted and talented as terms to label and sort students. (“Gifted Children To Be Allowed to Skip Grades,” The Advocate, June 30, 1954) Indeed

standardized testing is a primary tool used today in the school accountability model. What we are witnessing in the summer of 1954 is the school accountability's model unfolding from the European cultural asili.

It is important to understand how the standardized testing program is connected to the social studies curriculum generally and the history curriculum in particular. This is a primary contribution that this dissertation makes. According to Stopskefp standardized tests were invented by early twentieth century Eugenicists. They were simply trying to "prove" that Africans were less evolved than Europeans. That Africans were thousands of years behind Europeans. That Africans were less intelligent than Europeans. That Africans were, in fact, less human than Europeans. The Eugenics movement is responsible for the sterilization policy of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Eugenics was supposedly a *progressive* reform movement that would transform the world by controlling who was and who was not allowed to procreate (Stopskefp 1999). It is essentially the science of human breeding.

Furthermore, the historical memory of Africans as the originators of civilization (writing, science, and art) was erased during the slave trade and from then on Africans were depicted as savages (Dubois 1946). Therefore, the falsification of the African image preceded the invention of standardized tests. Moreover, the modern social studies curriculum which veils ancient testimony as to the role played by Africans as progenitors of civilizations was veiled by the modern social studies curriculum, which is organized around the notion of progress. It is significant that I.Q. tests and the term social studies were invented at the same time by Eugenicists (Lybarger 1983, Stopskef 1999, Anderson 1988).

The connection between historical thought and standardized tests reveals itself in Rainach's own words

Intelligence is something that must be bred into people over thousands of years and, biologically speaking, the Negro mentality has not evolved to the same mental plan (sic) as that of the whites...statistics show... that the average level of negro (sic) intelligence is considerably below that of whites (Stowe, 1989, p. 17).

Within this quote we can see the connection between racist historical imagery and standardized tests. For the tests to be deemed valid more than mere statistics are needed, people would have to believe that Africans had never contributed anything intellectually to world “civilization.” For example, if one were to say that Africans were the originators of writing, art, and science, and actually brought civilization to Europeans, test results that “prove” Black inferiority would be less valid. Conversely, since White men are said to be the “fathers” of this, the “fathers” of that, and the “fathers” of everything else, one would not question test results that confirm European superiority since it corresponds to the official historical ideology.

What we witness in the post Brown aftermath is the reengineering of the European cultural asili’s utamawazo to be more aggressive and capitalistic in order to maintain White domination. This is evidenced by the fact that the Free Enterprise curriculum was the first curriculum to be mandated by state officials during the decade following Brown. In fact, Louisiana was the first state to do so. The Free Enterprise curriculum is part of the utamawazo; it represents how we must think economically in order for the asili to fulfill itself and mature. Rainach clearly understood the importance of the social studies curriculum in general and the history curriculum specifically to make people think in a manner that would allow the school accountability model to become a living reality.

The social studies curriculum, and specifically the history component, were crucial to Rainach’s plan and has a special significance to the study. Rainach gave the following



instruction to the Louisiana Citizen's Council members through the citizen's council monthly newsletter *The Councilor*:

As a beginning, careful study might be conducted of the history which is being taught in schools in Louisiana. A review of social studies should be made, with a view to ascertaining the content of each book, the background of the authors, etc. If the councils will submit to the State Association reports of any *objectionable* material, or any suggestions for improving textbooks, especially as to patriotic content, the State Association can then compile a state-wide survey and suggest appropriate steps for safeguarding and improving our textbooks." [Emphasis Mine] (*The Councilor*, September 1957, p. 6)

Another article published in *The Councilor* during the same time period entitled "Africa—Birthplace of Slavery" demonstrates what Rainach considered "objectionable" and what was not "objectionable." The article is significant because it demonstrates the interplay between the cultural other (utamawazo) and the notion of progress (utamarohe).

The same year the Union Pacific Railroad was completed linking the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans with a continuous line of rail, Henry M. Stanley – one of the greatest explorers in Africa – left his camp down there and traveled 30 miles to Ukerewe. He wanted to obtain a half-dozen canoes from Lukomgeh, King of Ukerewe. On arrival at the capital he found the King very busy; he, the royal family and chiefs of staff were feasting on roasted human babies.

When the Fifteenth Amendment to the U.S. constitution was adopted, it read: the right of the citizens of the United states to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.' The same year of its adoption Henry Stanley visited a village in Africa that was bordered by a wall of human skulls, sparse remains of bodies that had been eaten by their captors.

While Longfellow, Whittier and Emerson were writing masterpieces of literature, the most learned men of Africa were peddling magic by way of conjure balls made of fried ants and elephant dung.

About the time men and women of the south began setting up a tax structure that would provide schools for Negroes equal to those of whites; Henry Stanley made a journey into "The country of the cannibals, the Manyema tribe." There, according to his reports, he found: 'these people are addicted to cannibalism in its most horrid features. They carry on predatory wars against their neighbors, and the dead bodies of the slain are always

eaten. In the mad frenzy; of their cannibalistic propensities they impale their infants on spears... Even the women take a prominent part in these terrible orgies'. (The Councilor, March 1959, p. 6)

The article then concludes as follows: "these are the people from whom *our* Negroes come. So little time separates *our* Negroes from their cannibalistic forebears, yet they demand equality with a race having centuries of culture and Christian background." [emphasis mine] (IBID). With this historical image firmly in place anything can serve as progress, even slavery. The article is clearly a historical justification for White over Black domination. This is the historical perspective of those who invented the school accountability model.

### **The Importance of My Research**

My research has global significance. What is commonly referred to as globalization grew in large part from the Joint Committee on Segregation's and Citizens Council's movement. As I mentioned above, Ani writes that the idea of progress supports the expansionism and supremism inherent in the European utamaroho (p. 494). Indeed, some seeds have wings. The European Asili is expansionistic and imperialistic. Concerning an ad that he had placed in the *New York Herald Tribune* Rainach commented that "from the response to the ad, I'm convinced the South has a product for which there is a demand in the north—a racially separate social system. All we need to do is conduct a reasonable sales campaign." ("Rainach Says South Must Sell Segregation," *The Advocate*, March 3, 1958). My research demonstrates Rainach has been enormously successful.

Relatedly, a July 12, 1954 *State Times* article notes that Louisiana's legislature was the only Southern legislation in session when the Brown decision was handed down. The article goes on to note that the other southern states were interested in Louisiana's Legislative acts based on "request for copies of the statutes adopted by the Louisiana Legislature last week from

both official and semi-official bodies in virtually all states south of the Mason and Dixon line.” (“Southern States Show Interest In Louisiana Segregation Acts,” *State Times*, July 12, 1954). So perhaps due only to historical circumstance Louisiana was the leader in creating the school accountability model. Indeed, my research reveals that many southern states copied Louisiana’s 1954 legislative acts.

An October 7, 1960 *Advocate* article that covers a school board meeting where the World Geography curriculum was discussed demonstrates the global implications. The meeting was attended by Dr. Wilhemina Hill who was a specialist for social studies with the U.S. Department of Education. The article quotes her as saying that Louisiana’s World Geography curriculum material “compare with the best.” The article goes on to quote her saying that she was going to take the unit dealing with the United Nations “to a meeting at the U.N. in which I am representing the United States.” (“World Geography, New Cards, Discussed by School Board,” *The Advocate*, October 7, 1960)) (“Lively Debate on History Marks School Board Curriculum Meet,” *State Times*, October 7, 1960).

For another example, in 1961, Louisiana mandated that students take a six week unit of Free Enterprise called “Americanism vs. Communism,” which was integrated into the American History course. On the front cover of the curriculum guide was a picture of Uncle Sam and a Soviet soldier with bayonet struggling for the possession of a giant globe, a mere object. According to a March 1961 article, Louisiana was the first state in the nation to require study of the opposing dogmas in public high schools. Lew Barnum, chairman of the Education committee Free Enterprise sub-unit noted that the U.S. Chamber of Commerce had recently made inquiries about the course and they felt that it was a “big step forward in the important task

of instructing our youth on America's free enterprise system." ("New Course on Americanism Added to State's High Schools," March 1961, *Louisiana School News*)

### **Methodology and Evidence**

As I mentioned above, my main aim in this dissertation is to demonstrate the power of the Afrocentric paradigm to examine the accountability school model. Whereas Afrocentricity represents a philosophical perspective, Afrology represents the discipline or methodology. Afrology is defined as "the Afrocentric study of concepts, issues, and behaviors with particular bases in the African world, diasporan and continental..." Furthermore, it is the "*crystallization of the notions and methods of black oriented social scientists and humanists*... Afrology is not merely the study of Black people, but an approach, a methodological and functional perspective" (Asante 1988; 58-60) [emphasis mine]. Hence I am primarily interested in what African scholars have had to say about education in America and how it relates to the evidence that I will be presenting.

To be Afrocentric a study must meet five characteristics: (a) a commitment to correct the history of Africa (b) an interest in psychological location, (c) a commitment to finding the African subject place, (c) the defense of African cultural elements, and (d) a commitment to lexical refinement (Asante, 2006, p. 154). These criteria characterize my methodological approach.

Primary among these criteria is the commitment to correct the history of Africa. Nile Valley civilization is a starting point for any Afrological study. "Adequate understanding of African phenomena cannot occur without a reference point in the most documented African culture" (Asante, 1992, p.14). The criteria concerning psychological location implies that the scholar is grounded in an African cultural perspective and is interested in the location or

dislocation of people in regard to whether a person is centered or marginal to his or her culture. Concerning one's interest in finding the African subject place implies that we are interested in what Africans thought, said and did as opposed to what was thought, said, and done to us. Defending African cultural elements means that African cultural creations are legitimate and given respect just as the cultural creations of other groups. Finally, concerning the issue of lexical refinement implies that the scholar "seeks to rid the language of negation of African beings as agents within the sphere of Africa's own history (Asante, 2002, pp. 154-56).

Furthermore, an Afrological study is centered on the needs and interests of African people and therefore makes no claim of objectivity.

The afrocentrist does not accept the European concept of objectivity because it is invalid operationally... what passes for objectivity is a sort of collective European subjectivity. Therefore, it may not serve any useful purpose to speak of objectivity and subjectivity as this division is artificial in and of itself... Afrocentric method suggests cultural and social immersion as opposed to "scientific distance" as the best approach to understand African phenomena (Asante, 1992, pp. 24-27).

It is my own contention that there is no such thing as objective knowledge, but there is such a thing as knowledge that is a product of careful considerate thought. Nevertheless, my experiences as well as my hopes, fears, and aspirations for African people are intricately interwoven with this project.

The asili concept implies a methodological approach that seeks consistency. I rely primarily on newspaper articles to substantiate my argument. I will examine the data with regard to the persistence of Rainach's ideas as I track the development of the school accountability model from its seed as it matures over time. I will pay special attention to the social context and statements made by educational authorities in order to ascertain the motivation (utamaro) and

ideology (utamawazo). Roughly speaking, the utamaroho is cause whereas the utamawzo is explanation.

I will use both primary and secondary data to build my argument. I will use several newspapers. The *New York Times* is useful since it has covered archaeology expeditions and discoveries in the Nile Valley since the last half of the 1800s. These articles will allow me to juxtapose the archaeological, linguistic, and literary evidence against both the Afrocentric and Eurocentric historical perspectives thus allowing me to demonstrate the political nature of the white supremacy version of history by showing that it has no foundation in reality and that it merely feeds the asili's appetite for power. Furthermore, these articles will allow me to demonstrate the connections between Nile Valley civilization and civilizations throughout the world by synthesizing the evidence reported. These articles allow me to substantiate the claim that European cultural asili "acts as a screen, incorporating or rejecting innovations, depending on their compatibility with its own essential nature" (Ani, 1994, p.12).

I will rely primarily on *The Baton Rouge Advocate* in order to track the development of school policy as well as the thought and motivation which underlie school policy since 1954. I will also draw upon other major Louisiana papers such as the *Shreveport Times*, *State Times*, and *Times Picayune*. My concern is with locating the origin of specific aspects of school policy, examining the underlying thought and energy source and demonstrating consistency of that thought and energy as the school accountability model matures. A premise of my study is that the African-centered image of history implies a different school policy—one based on African self-determination. The image of Africans as the originators of civilization will be at the heart of my analysis.

Newspaper articles will also allow me to locate African subjectivity in regard to the thoughts and activities of black educators throughout the period. African folk in America have done much and have had much to say about education in general and the education of African children specifically. Nevertheless, the thoughts of the cultural other (Africans) are never considered because the cultural other supposedly can't think rationally.

### **Layout of the Study**

In this introductory chapter my aim has been to define my research problem, to delineate my research aim and methodological approach, and to demonstrate the importance of my research. In chapter 2, I will elaborate more on the Afrocentric Paradigm in regard to the paradigmatic assumptions as laid out by Malife Asante. I will also discuss Marimba Ani's book *Yurugu* in which she develops her primary concept the asili, and her secondary concepts the utamawazo and utamoroho. I will then discuss major works by African historians who wrote and lectured about Nile Valley civilization. This body of work is important in that it demonstrates existing evidence, which suggests that Africans were the originators of "civilization," even before Rainach reengineered the European cultural asili which effectively screened out this knowledge.

In Chapter 3, I will discuss the foundational role played by Louisiana's history curriculum and standardized tests in the maturation of the accountability school model from the 1950s to the present decade. My aim here is to demonstrate that the historical image of Africans as savages continue to be the foundation upon which the school accountability model rests. Further, I aim to begin to unveil the political nature of the history curriculum and its relationship to standardized testing programs.

In Chapter 4, I will discuss the literary and archaeological evidence as it has been reported by the *New York Times* throughout the period extending from the late 1800s to the present. Here my aim is to present a body of evidence necessary to assess the validity of the White supremacists and Afrocentric historical image of Africa. My aim in this chapter is to further demonstrate the political nature of white supremacist perspective and to demonstrate that White supremacist historical thought has no basis in reality. Likewise, I aim to demonstrate that the evidence largely supports the African origin of civilization thesis.

In Chapter 5, I will discuss the impact of Louisiana's faculty desegregation policy on African educators and relatedly on the Black history curriculum and relatedly black self-determination. My aim is to show that faculty desegregation policy did nothing but harm to the Black community; I can see no good at all from it. Furthermore, I show that this was an outgrowth of Rainach's policy and represents an intentional assault on African self-determination. Moreover, I aim to show that desegregation had nothing to do with integration or segregation per se but everything to do with maintaining White over Black power. Indeed, my research and analysis reveals that although desegregation is seen as progress, it has essentially resulted in an extension of White power in predominately Black schools.

In Chapter 6, I aim to demonstrate the connection between the historical image of Africans as savage and the school accountability model as it has matured since the Supreme Court began releasing school districts from its supervision in 1991. Prior to this, the model was stunted to a large extent. Since then we can witness the school accountability model mature at a faster rate. We witness an increase in that rate after the 2003 settlement that released Baton Rouge from Federal Court supervision. My aim is to demonstrate the connection to the 1950s school law while examining the model's maturation into adulthood during this critical period.



In Chapter 7, I conclude the dissertation with a summary discussion and research implications.

## CHAPTER 2

### LITERATURE REVIEW: AFRICAN HISTORY, AFROCENTRICITY, AND YURUGU

My aim in this chapter is to further elaborate on the philosophical paradigm and conceptual model that frames this dissertation. I will also synthesize major historical works by several African historians in order to further demonstrate the problematic nature of the image of Africans as uncivilized. What is important to understand here is that the Afrocentric image of Africans as creators of civilization implies a different school policy than that which originated in the minds of white supremacists. School authorities would simply not be able to maintain the legitimacy of the school accountability model so easily since the Afrocentric historical image of Africans is incompatible with the European historical utamawazo. The Afrocentric image contradicts the European utamawazo and shocks the European utamaroho. It shatters the European image of self as the civilizing force of the world and the embodiment of progress.

#### **Black Historians and Nile Valley Civilization**

The 1883 U.S. Senate Committee on Education and Labor testimony of African educator, Richard Wright, exemplifies the Afrocentric historical perspective. Furthermore, it serves to demonstrate the role that black educators have played in world history (many thousand years ago) and to the undying efforts of black educators during the dawn of the eugenics era to defend the African historical image. It is important to note the connection that Wright makes between Nile Valley history and racist ideology. When questioned as to the supposed inferiority of African people Wright replied:

It is generally admitted that religion has been a great means of human development and progress, and I think that about all great religions which have blest this world have come from the colored races; all... I believe too, that our methods of alphabetic writing all came from the colored race, and I think the majority of the sciences in their origin have

come from the colored races... now I take the testimony of those people who know, and who, I feel are capable of instructing me on this point, and I find them saying that the Egyptians were actually woolly-haired negroes. In Humboldt, I presume, is pretty good authority. The same thing is stated in Herodotus, and in a number of other authors with whom you gentlemen are doubtless familiar. Now, if that is true, the idea that this negro race is inherently inferior, seems to me to be at least a little limping (quoted from James Anderson, 1988, p. 29-30).

This is a defense of Africans and African educators thousands of years past. It is also important to note that Wright points out that he was relying on the testimony of people that the committee members were without a doubt “familiar.” Indeed, the testimony of ancient writers such as Herodotus regarding the race of the originators of Nile Valley civilization remains a cornerstone in the African origin of civilization thesis. Too, Wright was speaking at a time when the archaeological evidence in support of his thesis was pouring in. My research reveals that the archaeological evidence has since supported Wright’s testimony even more so.

African historians writing during the period between Wright’s testimony in 1883 and the 1954 Brown decision such as Dubois (1946), Woodson (1935), Jackson (1938, 1939), Houston (1926) and James (1954) integrated the literary evidence of the ancient Greeks and the archaeological evidence to build their argument that Africans were indeed the originators of “civilization.” Furthermore, they argue that Africans spread the seed of “civilization” all over the world. I have extracted the following statements from the general histories of Africa written by Dubois, Woodson, Houston, and Hansbury to demonstrate the unity of their basic argument as to the pioneering role that African people have played in civilization building throughout the world.

W.E.B. Dubois (1946):

...almost unanimously in the nineteenth century Egypt was not regarded as part of Africa...indeed Arnold Toynbee’s *Study of History* definitely regarded Egyptians

civilization as “white,” or European! The Egyptians, however, regarded themselves as African. The Greeks looked upon Egypt as part of Africa not only geographically but culturally, and every fact of history and anthropology proves that the Egyptians were an African people varying no more from other African peoples than groups like the Scandinavians vary from other Europeans, or groups like the Japanese from other Asiatics. There can be but one adequate explanation of this vagary of nineteenth-century science: it was due to the slave trade and Negro slavery. It was due to the fact that the rise and support of capitalism called for rationalization based upon degrading and discrediting the Negroid peoples. It is especially significant that the science of Egyptology arose and flourished at the very time that the cotton kingdom reached its greatest power on the foundation of American Negro slavery. We may then without further ado ignore this verdict of history, as widespread as it is, and treat Egyptian history as an integral part of African history (p. 99).

In the end it was the Saiti kings from the delta who opened Egypt to a flood of foreigners. The Greeks came, and Egypt was turned into a teacher of the world; its culture spread. Alexander and the Caesars sat at its feet (p. 126).

Carter G. Woodson (1935):

History which we learn is poor from lack of familiarity with the Negro. We find that the principle of making iron emerged from the brain of a Negro... In Troy the civilization looks more and more like Africa. Africa gave the first stimulus to Greece, Greece to Rome... On the island of Crete was Nemus who was the great law giver. Upon the walls we find figures of African type... (Quoted from Perry, 1975, p p. 196-98).

African civilization... may have been influenced by an influx from Asia, but before that time Africans had demonstrated their gifts. Africans by themselves have developed systems of writing... Before any Asiatic or European invasion the Africans had clay houses with openings, decorated pottery, metallurgy, and cultivated land... They had learned to use of textiles, could weave, and sew. They had become acquainted with copper and bronze, and had learned to work in gold and had developed iron... (Quoted from Perry, 1975, p. 21)

Their outstanding monument like the sphinx at Gizeh, the Sphinxes of Tanis, the statue from the Fayum, that of the Esquiline at Rome, The Colossi of Bubastis, are of negroids or black men. These monuments show high cheek bones, flat massive noses, both in one plane, firm projecting lips, and thick hair....(Woodson, 1936, p. 26).

Drusilla Dungee Houston n (1926):

In most modern books there seems to be preconcerted understanding to calumniate and disgust the world with abominable pictures of the ruined Ethiopian, ruined by the African slave trade of four hundred years. There seems to be a worldwide conspiracy in literature to conceal the facts that this book unfolds. Because of this suppression of truth, world crimes have been easily made possible against the Ethiopian... (p. 8)

If you desire to be an authority upon the life of the ancients, go down with me as archaeology, ethnology, geology and philology disclose; not in a dry and tedious way, but through the unfolding of this the most intensely interesting and startling dramas of the ages. The Cushite race, its institutions, customs, laws and ideals were the foundation upon which our modern culture was laid... (p. 11)

The mysterious mound builders [America] represent the ancient Cushite race. We study the peculiar culture and genius of the fierce Aztec, who acknowledged that he received the germs of civilization from the earlier Cushite inhabitants. We pass southward and examine the higher development of the wonderful Mayas of North America, whose ruins are attracting special study today, and we find there transplanted the Cushite arts of the ancient world (p. 6)

Cushites reached the true zenith of democracy. Their skillful hands raised Cyclopean walls, dug out mighty lakes and laid imperishable roads that have endured throughout the ages. This was the uniform testimony of ancient records. Modern writers seem of superficial research, either being unaware of these facts, or knowing, purposely ignore them. Archaeologists dig up the proofs, ethnologists announce their origin, but history refuses to change its antiquated and exploded theories (p. 16).

Leo Hansbury:

The territory included by the Greeks under the designation Ethiopia varied somewhat from age to age. Writers of the earlier period, particularly those composing the epic cycle, applied Ethiopia and Ethiopians to lands and peoples in both Africa and Asia; the latter continent was included apparently with good cause, for more recent discoveries and research have established that in ancient times a black skinned people, or Aethiops, constituted an important part of the populations of Arabia, Mesopotamia, Persia, and India... (Harris, 1977, p. 6)

In the beginning of European literature, few names are better known and none is older than that of Ethiopia. Europe's earliest poetry sings of no foreign people quite so romantic; its geography records no country more distant; and its efforts at history memorializes no nation thought more ancient than that designated by this celebrated name...it is a curious fact that centuries before the geographical and historical terms Babylon and Assyria, Persia, Carthage, and Europe, or for that matter the terms Greece

and Rome themselves, had made their first appearance in the writings of classical authors, Ethiopia was already an old and familiar expression (Harris, 1977, p. 20).

What links these authors is their insistence that Nile Valley civilization was a product of African people and African culture and that Nile valley civilization is the mother civilization of other civilizations throughout the world as it relates to writing, art, and science. Furthermore, they contend that the historical image of Africa was degraded in order to justify the enslavement of African people and the theft of African land and resources.

Other early (Pre-Brown era) African educators who, prior to the Brown decision, drew the same conclusion by synthesizing the available literary and archaeological evidence were Walker (1830), Blyden (1887), John Jackson (1938, 1939, 1941), Jackson and Huggins (1934, 1937), James (1954) among others. Since 1954 several African historians have built upon, strengthened and extended the argument made by these pioneers. The works of Diop (1974, 1978, 1989), Hillard (1995), Van Sertima (1975), Jackson (1970), Rashidi (1992) and Williams (1970), will be consulted as a continuation of this tradition.

### **The Afrocentric Paradigm**

Molefi Asante (1980, 1987, 1990) is credited with laying out the paradigmatic assumptions of Afrocentricity and its disciplinary methodology Africology. The definition that emerges from his work is based on the primary defining characteristics: the centrality of Nile Valley Civilization as a product of African culture; the centrality of Africa with respect to cultural values; an interest in African subjectivity; a holistic view of Africa and African phenomena, and the aim of liberating the minds of African people from European domination. I have extracted the following statements from Asante's work:

It [Afrocentric Analysis] must begin analysis from the primacy of the classical African civilizations, namely Kemet (Egypt), Nubia, Axum, and Meroe. This simply means that

adequate understanding of African Phenomena cannot occur without a reference point in the classic and most documented African culture...the uses of African origins of civilization and Kemetic high culture as a classical starting point are the practical manifestations of the ways the scholar secures centrism when studying Africa (Asante, 1992, p.14).

Afrocentricity is a frame of reference wherein phenomena are viewed from the perspective of the African person. The Afrocentric approach seeks in every situation the appropriate centrality of the African person. In education this means that teachers provide students the opportunity to study the world and its people, concepts, and history from an African world view (Asante, 1992, p. 171).

The geographical scope of the African world, and hence, the Africalogical enterprise, includes Africa, the Americas, the Caribbean, various regions of Asia and the Pacific. Wherever people declare themselves as African, despite the distance from the continent or of the recentness of their out-migration, they are accepted as part of the African world...Africalogy rejects the Africanist idea of the separation of African people as being short-sighted, analytically vapid, and philosophically unsound. One cannot study Africans in the United States or Brazil or Jamaica without some appreciation for the historical and cultural significance of Africa as source and origin (Asante, 1992, p. 15).

A frame of reference wherein phenomena are viewed from the perspective of the African person...as an intellectual theory, Afrocentricity is the study of the ideas and events from the standpoint of Africans as the key players rather than victims... it is Africa asserting itself intellectually and psychologically, breaking the bonds of western domination in the mind as an analogue for breaking those bonds in every other field (Asante, 1991, p. 172).

Critics may assume that “objectivity” is compromised when the investigator uses the descriptive mode for Afrocentric research. The Afrocentricist does not accept the European concept of objectivity because it is invalid operationally. I have argued that what passes for objectivity is a sort of collective European subjectivity. Therefore, it may not serve any useful purpose to speak of objectivity and subjectivity as this division is artificial in and of itself...of course, the methods of proofs are founded upon the principles of fairness and openness (Asante, 1992, p. 24-5).

### **Marimba Ani's *Yurugu***

In *Yurugu*, Marimba Ani builds the conceptual framework I use to organize my analysis. Her theoretical concepts are built upon her historical analysis of European culture since Plato's *Republic*. I only recently became aware of *Yurugu* after having already familiarized myself with

the data. I discovered *Yurugu* from reading Cecil Conteen Gray's (2001) *Afrocentric Thought and Praxis: An Intellectual History* in which he described *Yurugu* as "a proficient, intellectual afrocentric document" (p. 70). Grey regards *Yurugu* as one of the foundational theories of the paradigm. In my own appraisal, after reading *Yurugu* for myself, I was amazed at the applicability of her analysis to the data that I was trying to understand. The Platonic mode of thought permeates Rainach's thought and school accountability. After reading *Yurugu*, I could finally understand how the data fit into one "monolithic whole." In the previous chapter, I defined and discussed Ani's major concepts and terms: Asili, utamawazo, utamaroho, cultural other, and progress. My aim in this section is to provide a brief discussion of Ani's historical analysis from which she derived these concepts as well as the applicability of her analysis to the post Brown school law.

Ani (1994) develops her theory by tracing the impact of Platonic thought on European Culture by seminal European writers since the *Republic*. Ani demonstrates the increasing momentum of Plato's formulation through the coming centuries. She concludes that the drive for power and control is the dominant theme running through European cultural history. Thus, power and control best characterize the European cultural asili's nature.

Marimba Ani contends that Plato has had a major and seminal influence on the European utamawazo. She concludes, "Any discussion of the nature and origin of European epistemology must focus on, if not begin with Plato" (pp. 29-30). Plato, Ani writes, was "very much aware of himself as a social and ideological architect...the dialogue in the Republic is Plato's ideological justification of the State he wishes to bring into being...His success was eventually overwhelming" (p. 30). The *Republic* is Plato's rationalization of an ideal state. For Plato, the ideal state was one in which the "rational" ruled the "irrational." From my discussion of Rainach



in the previous chapter, the parallel between Rainach's thought and that of Plato should be apparent. Both were conscious of themselves as social and ideological architects. Both envisioned the ideal state as one in which the "rational" ruled the "irrational."

For Ani the *Republic* represents the initial unfolding of the European utamawazo and thus the revelation of the asili's power seeking essence. Ani explains that Platonic thought begins by falsely splitting the human being into conflicting parts, the intellectual and the emotional, and then assigning a superior role to reason. Reason supposedly functions to control the more base 'appetites' and 'instincts.' "The European view of the human begins to take shape here" ( p. 32). This dichotomization which Ani is referring is a fundamental characteristic of the social thought underlying the school accountability model in which Whites are viewed as most rational.

Ani contends that Platonic thought is all about control. Indeed it begins with one part of the abstract person controlling the other part of the abstract person. Marimba Ani argues that "once the person was artificially split into conflicting faculties or tendencies, it made sense to think in terms of one faculty "winning" or controlling the other(s). And here begins a pattern that runs with frighteningly predictable consistency through European thought, continually gathering momentum in ages to come." First, the dichotomies or splits are presented and defined as "irreconcilable", "antagonistic opposites," then the process of valuation begins as one is considered superior and the other inferior (p. 33).

Furthermore, Ani writes that the split extends beyond the individual "to the level of culture, worldview, and belief" (p. 40) Ani writes that "holistic conceptions become almost impossible given this mindset" (p. 33). This deficiency in spirituality can only lead to a conception of the universe that is objectified and composed of disconnected and inherently antagonistic "objects". This objectification is evidenced throughout the social studies

curriculum in its total denial of African subjectivity. It is important here to also remember that the dichotomization impacts the way in which time is experienced, since progress, which is the primary concept used to organize the social studies curriculum, consist of splitting time into discreet evolutionary units.

Ani argues that what we are witnessing in the dialogue in the *Republic* is the creation of the object (p. 30). She explains that the object can only be created when we detach ourselves emotionally (spiritually) from that which we are contemplating...And we gain emotional distance from the 'object' by first and foremost gaining control over ourselves, that is by placing our reason (intellect) in control of our emotions (feelings) (p. 37). "European culture presupposes a rationalistic concept of the human, whose proper function is not to feel, but to overcome feeling with 'thought' (p. 94). She contends that "Plato's 'reason' is the denial of the spirit, which she defines as "the creative force which unites all phenomena...the source of all energy, motion, cause, and effect. As it becomes more dense, it manifests as matter. It is the meaningful level of existence" (p. xxviii).

As to Plato's legacy Ani explains that for centuries following Plato only the privileged few were trained to be literate in the Platonic sense. However,

Plato's plan was fool proof because even when the European masses gained access centuries later, the mechanisms of control were so tightly structured that the assumptions they had to assimilate in order to be considered "educated" guaranteed that they would think the way he had planned. It was as though his hand reached through centuries of cultural existence, as the European cognitive style (utamawazo) became an extension of Platonism. Not only all European intellectuals but all intellectuals would be trained in the academy (Plato's legacy) a testament to the success of European cultural imperialism. The Academy has preserved a cultural tradition, a race of people, and a dominant society. No matter the internecine controversies and so called political revolutions that might occur, the Academy ensures that the ideological infrastructure will remain intact (p. 104).

It is important here to see the connection between Plato and Rainach. Indeed, Plato foreshadowed the race theory that developed in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Plato, too, makes William Rainach possible. Rainach, like Plato, was a self-conscious ideological engineer. And, like Plato, he was attempting to construct an ideal state, one in which the “best” ruled the “worst.” The body of law which Rainach was primarily responsible for drafting is a reengineered Platonic utamowazo. It framed the way people had to think if the asili was to unfold after Brown. Africans would be depicted as less intelligent, less moral, more prone to criminality, lazy, etc, etc, etc... Indeed, following the Platonic epistemology the rational (White people) become the most moral (p. 49). Rainach helped to reinforce and maintain White over Black domination. And as I will show in this dissertation Rainach has been enormously successful.

## CHAPTER 3

### **ROOTS, STEMS, AND LEAVES: THE HISTORY CURRICULUM, STANDARDIZED TESTS, AND SAVAGE AFRICANS**

In this chapter, my aim is to demonstrate the role played by the historical thought regarding Africans as uncivilized in the development of the school accountability model throughout the period from 1954 to the present. Up to this point one of my aims has been to establish the basis for my contention that by studying the period immediately following Brown we will gain valuable insight on the school accountability model's nature. It is then that we witness the reformulation and standardization of the social studies curriculum. Therefore, it is useful here to examine Rainach's historical thought and track how that thought has reified over time. My focus here is on Louisiana's history curriculum and on Louisiana's mandated testing program, which is a tool of ideological management that insures that this perspective on history be the only perspective taught in schools.

In the first chapter, I mentioned that Rainach gave citizens council members directive to study "the history which is being taught in schools" and to "submit to the State Association reports of any *objectionable* material" so that the state association "can compile a state-wide survey and suggest appropriate steps for safeguarding and improving our textbooks" (The Councilor, 1957, p. 6). I also discussed the article entitled "Africa the Birth Place of Slavery," which exemplifies Rainach's historical perspective as it relates to the interplay between the cultural other and progress. The following statements by Rainach provide further examples of his historical thought regarding African people

Negroes were not exactly people (Stowe, 1989, p. 15).

Intelligence is something that must be bred into people over thousands of years and, biologically speaking, the Negro mentality has not evolved to the same mental plan (sic) as that of the whites (Stowe, 1989, p. 17).

You don't have to discriminate against Negroes.... Nature already has discriminated against them...intelligence is something that must be bred into people through long generations (Stowe, 1988, p. 107).

Ani (1994) writes that “the asili determines cultural development and the form that the culture takes acts to maintain the integrity of the asili. It acts as a screen, incorporating or rejecting innovations, depending on their compatibility with its own essential nature. It is as though the asili were a principle of self-realization” (p. 12). According to Stowe, Rainach “hounded State Superintendent of Education Shelby M. Jackson over textbooks for ‘improprieties’ as small as a picture of ‘an integrated group play scene that is calculated to promote the acceptance of race mixing in our schools.’” This screening activity applied to new purchases and books already in use. Rainach reasoned with Jackson that “if a substantial number of volumes are still being used... the books we already have on hand will continue to propagandize the minds of the students” (Stowe, 1989, p. 206). This demonstrates the screening function of the asili rejecting ideas incompatible with its appetite for power.

Rainach had no tolerance for black authors such as Richard Wright, James Weldon Johnson, and Langston Hughes. When he received correspondence from citizen Florence W. Jones about Langston Hughes' book *Laughing to Keep From Crying*, stating that “never in...my life [had she seen] as much downgrading of a white race, and excelling of a negro [sic] race,” Rainach wrote Tangipahoa Parish librarian Adele Booker sympathizing with her concerning the “difficulties librarians encounter in *screening* their purchases and gifts to eliminate materials destructive to our social order.” He then made clear that “books by Langston Hughes [should] be removed from your library shelves” [emphasis mine] (Stowe, pp. 208-9). It is significant here

that the savage African imagery publicized in *The Councilor* is not “objectionable” but publications that are critical of Whites and praise Blacks are objectionable. Why? One serves the asili’s appetite for power and the other does not.

Rainach was clearly trying to standardize his view of history. It is during this time that we first witness talk of standardizing the social studies curriculum and the use of standardized social studies tests. An October 2, 1959 *State Times* article that reports on the findings of a two-year study done by so-called “outstanding educators in Louisiana” is insightful. The report was critical of the “incredible variation among parish teachers in material covered in class and in teaching philosophy” and called for the “development of courses of study and syllabi to guide the work of all teachers throughout the system.” The article uses as an example World History classes at Baton Rouge High School that had been observed.

Two parallel sections of world history in Baton Rouge High School may be cited. In one section, considerable enrichment of text was effected by the use of many supplementary books, pamphlets and audiovisual aids. In contrast, the teacher of another section of the same course stated that the textbook represented almost exclusively the content of the course” (“School Survey Group Presents Findings,” *State Times*, October 2, 1959).

It just so happened that this is where we first witness standardized tests being used to control the content being taught in social studies classes. For example, a January 15, 1959 *State Times* article notes that 10<sup>th</sup> grade students at Baton Rouge High were required to take a test called the Iowa Test of Educational Development which was a series “of nine tests showing a student’s mastery of social studies, science, English and mathematics” (“School Guidance Program Aids Teen-Agers,” *State Times*, January 15, 1959). The point that I am making is that Citizen’s Council social studies movement was intended to standardize the white nationalist historical perspective in order to serve the asili’s appetite for power.

The 1970's represents another critical juncture. Up to this point schools were still segregated for all practical purposes saving some token integration but pressure was mounting for more forced integration. Indeed, it was a period of ambivalence and intense confrontation. Again the asili reveals its nature during times when white superiority is perceived to be threatened. The historical utamawzo and utamaroho reveals itself in a proclamation made by Louisiana Governor Edwin Edwards who arrogantly states:

WHEREAS, Louisiana has a long history dating back to the first European's visit here in 1519; ... WHEREAS, Louisiana's background covers a fascinating *progression* of human events including ten flags of government; and WHEREAS, Louisiana still retains vestiges of its *glorious past* in restored historic sites, such as *mansions*, forts and museums.... NOW, THEREFORE, I, EDWIN EDWARDS, Governor of the state of Louisiana, do hereby proclaim the week of April 26 – May 2, 1975, as Louisiana History.

It is useful here to remember Ani's statement that progress is "superiority placed into the dimension of lineal time." What stands out is that according to the proclamation, history in Louisiana began with the arrival of Europeans. This is interesting in light of Carter G. Woodson's (1935) statement that "on the West Coast of Africa the Negroes developed to the extent that they braved the high seas in quest of other lands. Africans it is said, crossed the Atlantic Ocean and discovered and explored parts of America thousands of years ago (p. 13). And as previously stated, Houston in 1926 wrote that

The mysterious mound builders [America] represent the ancient Cushite race. We study the peculiar culture and genius of the fierce Aztec, who acknowledged that he received the germs of civilization from the earlier Cushite inhabitants. We pass southward and examine the higher development of the wonderful Mayas of North America, whose ruins are attracting special study today, and we find there transplanted the Cushite arts of the ancient world (p. 6)

Indeed these statements are inconsistent with the savage African imagery. How could Africans cross the Atlantic Ocean before Europeans? Indeed, the cultural other can have no history aside

from being objects of European progress. They can have a past, like a rock, but not a history—no heritage. Note too how Edward’s proclamation talks of a past that is characterized as glorious and progressive. And to show exactly how ignorant he is, he uses plantation homes, which he refers to as mansions, as a demonstration of this supposed “glorious past.” An African-centered question would be: glorious for who? progress for who?

Likewise we witness in the 1970s the standardization of historical thought by way of standardized social studies tests. Like the 1950s we see the combining of social studies with standardized testing as a tool of ideological management. A 1976 newspaper article reports that a statewide sample of 12,000 students from 400 schools had taken a social studies assessment tests during in 1974-75 school year (“Louisiana Students Rate Poorly on Social Studies Tests,” April 12, 1976, *The Advocate*; “State Check on Social Studies Students Below Average,” April 13, 1976, *The Advocate*). Likewise, a 1977 *Advocate* article reports that 4,686 seniors had taken a standardized social studies test in November of 1976 (“Assessment of Social Studies Implies Major Course Changes,” *The Advocate*, May 29, 1977). We are witnessing Rainach’s historical thought reifying and being standardized as time passes.

It is also important to note that during the early 1970s Africans in America were fighting to make African history a part of the curriculum. A 1972 *Advocate* article reports that Black studies programs were being “slowly woven into high school curriculums throughout Louisiana.” The article notes that “the recent surge of Black awareness has brought about a keen desire for these school age people to learn of the ancestry, environment and experiences of Blacks.” The article also notes that Southern University “had developed two one year programs, the Institute in Black Studies and the Experienced Fellowship Program, to give Louisiana teachers an overall view of the Negro’s significance in the making of America and to give direction for fusing black



studies into the curriculum” (“Black Studies Program Appear In Number of La. High Schools,” *The Advocate*, March 16, 1972). It is safe to assume that the standardized social studies tests discussed above were not aligned with Southern University’s Black Studies programs.

The screening activity that Rainach inspired during the late 1950s was very much still alive in the mid-1970s. A May 20, 1975 *Advocate* article reports on a complaint heard from an East Baton Rouge group called “Concerned *Citizens* and Taxpayers for Decent Schools” concerning once again - “objectionable” books. The group was wearing “Ban Dirty Books” signs. The article notes that one of the group member, Mrs. Carolyn Groves “spoke specifically against books in the parish school system that centered on blacks or black history.” She is quoted as saying that children were “bombarded with this kind of garbage day in and day out” (“‘Objectionable’ Books Discussed at Hearing,” *The Advocate*, March 20, 1975).

The parallel between the choice of language (“citizen” and “objectionable”) should not be taken lightly. It seems from my research that the White Citizen’s Council spawned many little white citizens associations. For example, a February 5, 1971 *Advocate* article reports that a meeting between the school board and NAACP officials was followed by a meeting with “several white organizations, including the White Youth Alliance, the White Citizens Council, the Concerned Parents Association and the Baton Rouge Council for Law and Order.” The article quotes NAACP president D’Orsay Bryant as saying that he was “loathe to come to the school board, for I know there’ll be a white reactionary group coming right behind” (“Black White groups Ponder School Racial Matters,” *The Advocate*, February 5, 1971). When “progress” is perceived to be threatened, Whites are motivated to act collectively. The asili’s aggressive nature has continually kept out the African-centered historical perspective.

A January 24, 1993 *Advocate* article reports on a community meeting sponsored by the Coalition for Black Unity which was organized to push for an African-centered education. The article quotes Kofi Lomotey who would in 2008 become chancellor of Southern University. He says:

Schools try to force a white-male, protestant value system on all students, though most students in urban school systems are not white...if you don't buy into that value system, you are considered to be wrong, maladjusted or whatever...when you operate in someone else's value system, you make decisions in their best interests, not your own...it is very clear to me that we still live in a society, a world, that is dangerously racist, sexist and classist... I emphasize that it is not an accident. It is by design...There is not one school system in this country where African-American children have done well...Our children are not being prepared to fit in and serve this society. Instead, they are prepared to be misfits-and that is not an accident...Part of the solution is to show black students they can do anything by encouraging more black people to become teachers and school administrators, but putting pictures of black people in textbooks, and acknowledging the contributions of blacks throughout history.

Echoing Richard Wright's 1883 testimony, the article notes that Lomotey offered as examples "accomplishments of Ancient Egyptians, the creators of the modern calendar, the embalming skills of Africans, and the African works studied by Pythagoras." Lomotey went on to state that "if you are told that you come from a long line of people who are slaves, then your perception of where you can go is not much more than the perceptions a slave...the best solution lies in looking at all information through African centered lenses" ("Coalition Seeks African Centered Education," *The Advocate*, January 24, 1993).

Furthermore, The Council of Independent Black Institutions held its biannual convention in November of 1994 at Southern University and at the Ramada Inn. The convention's theme was "The future of African-American Education: Defining Success in African-Centered Terms." The list of speakers consisted of such respected African intellectuals as Marimba Ani, Asa Hilliard and Kwame Agyeri Akoto. Mwalimu J. Shujaa served as the executive officer. The

council serves as an umbrella group for independent African-centered schools throughout America. (“Black Education Group to Me,” *The Advocate*, October 26, 1994). In spite of these efforts, Louisiana’s coming mandated social studies curriculum as well as the increasing vitality of standardized social studies tests would once again insure that ideas that did not serve the asili’s appetite for power would be screened away.

In 2003, Judge John Brady declared the East Baton Rouge Parish school system unitary. Since then, Rainach’s historical perspective has reified and become more standardized. In regard to the social studies curriculum, Louisiana began requiring that students take the state’s “comprehensive” curriculum in 2005. Also, students were required to take a standardized test called edusoft after each unit. A December 18, 2005 *Advocate* article is worth quoting at length as it reveals the level of standardization that has been achieved. The point that I aim to make here is that this is an outgrowth of the social studies reforms put in play through Rainach’s dictum in the 1957 *Councilor*. It demonstrates the asili’s increasing vitality and endurance as time has passed.

East Baton Rouge Parish is at the forefront of efforts to standardize what teachers teach in their classrooms...All 68 school systems in Louisiana adopted a system-wide curriculum this year. All but a few are using one supplied by the state, called the Louisiana Comprehensive Curriculum. The Concept is simple. Students in one classroom should be learning roughly the same thing as a student in another part of the state...The new curriculum is supposed to ensure a closer relationship between what is taught and what students will confront on standardized tests each spring...Baton Rouge Parish...has gone farther than most other school districts in its adherence to the new curriculum...The school system has turned up the pressure in other ways. At the end of each unit, students take a district developed test, which is then scanned, scored and analyzed quickly via a program called edusoft. (“Standardized Teaching Has Rough Row in EBR,” *The Advocate*, December 18, 2005).

It is also important to note the images that are being standardized. The image of the savage or primitive African is still present. For example, a unit in the World Geography

curriculum entitled “Africa Below the Sahara” demonstrates the persistence of the uncivilized African imagery. The unit description states that “this unit focuses on the physical and human geography of Africa south of the Sahara.” This is all well and good until one sees that the title of Activity two is entitled “An African Safari.” The question arises: why would a unit that supposedly deals with the *human* and physical geography of Africa be considered a safari? The directions to the teachers are as follows: “have students work in pairs to complete an African safari project. Provide students with an outline map of Africa that students can write on. Also provide students with copies of population density, natural resources, climate, vegetation, precipitation, physical and political maps of Africa” (“World Geography,” Louisiana Comprehensive Curriculum, 2008, pp. 60-9). Why then the term safari when the students are studying African people?

We can also witness the persistence of the notion of progress which Ani explains is what gives history meaning. An example from the World History and U.S. History curriculums demonstrates the role of progress as an organizing principle underlying the curriculum. Indeed, it is as Ani said of progress “superiority placed into the dimension of lineal time.” The World History curriculum, for example, begins with a unit that focuses on the period from 1350 to 1770 and is entitled “Renaissance, Reformation, Scientific Revolution, and the Age of Enlightenment” (“World History, Louisiana Comprehensive Curriculum, 2008, pp. 1-12). Now from an African centered point of view this title is problematic. Aside from the fact that it veils 2.3 million years of African history, it provokes the questions: how did African people experience this so called Age of “Enlightenment?” Enlightenment for who? It is during this period when we Africans had our lights put out.

The similarity to The 1959 *Councilor* article “Africa the Birthplace of Slavery” cited above becomes more apparent when we consider the opening activity for this opening unit of World History. It reads as follows:

Have students create four parallel timelines of the main historical events in the four major areas of the world from 5000 B.C. to 1500 A.D. to help them understand that no event in history, such as the Renaissance, occurs in isolation, but rather, is influenced by prior events, nature, and human impact. The four timelines should depict important events in Africa and the Near East, Europe, Asia, and the Americas (“World History,” Louisiana Comprehensive Curriculum, 2008, pp. 2-3).

This activity is clearly designed to encourage students to think lineally and comparatively so that progress might be measured and compared and the notions of superiority might be reinforced since no information is provided to the student as to the advanced nature of African civilizations before the invasion of Africa by Europeans and Asians as it relates to writing, science, and art. The terms used to describe the unit “Renaissance,” “Reformation,” “Scientific Revolution,” and “Enlightenment” implies progress. It might as well be named progress, progress, progress, progress and more progress. It is important to note that this title veils what was really going on – the Enslavement of African, the destruction of African civilizations and the struggles that African people were waging to maintain our humanity. When the history of Africa is erased and replaced by the historical image of Africans as savages, slavery is made to look like progress.

The U.S. History Curriculum provides yet another example of how the notion of progress and the cultural other is built into its very design. For example, the U.S. History curriculum entitles a unit that spans the period 1897 to 1920 the “progressive era” (U.S. History, Louisiana Comprehensive Curriculum, (2008), pp. 21-32). Again, from an African-centered perspective this period can hardly be depicted as “progressive.” It was during this period that the European

colonial regime was extended throughout Africa and the Caribbean and Jim Crow laws spread quickly through the southern United States. Lynching was epidemic. What we are witnessing during this period from an African-centered point of view is the emergence of a more sophisticated mode of slavery. We see here the notion of progress veiling African exploitation and oppression, as well as the struggle of Africans to maintain our humanity.

When this unit is seen in light of a statement that Rainach made in 1959, the meaning of progress becomes even more apparent. He states that “in 1897 Louisiana started to enact voter qualification laws and by 1940 the Negro registration had shrunk to .1 of 1 percent, the lowest it has ever been... Our forefathers cleaned up the situation ...since the constitution of 1897, the Louisiana registration and voting laws have given us the power we need.” (“Rainach Cites Emphasis Shift in South’s Fight,” *State Times*, January 22, 1959). Indeed, it appears that progress means as Ani (1994) writes “‘we are wining’; ‘we have triumphed over!’” (p. 503)

My aim in this chapter has been to demonstrate that Rainach’s historical thought has persisted and become more standardized as a consequence of the standardized testing program being used as an ideological management tool. Within this official history curriculum, we see the savage African and correspondingly the notion of progress reifying over time. Relatedly, I have also sought to demonstrate that the Afrocentric perspective is continuously screened away. In the next chapter, I will elaborate more on the archaeological evidence in order to establish a basis upon which the validity of Rainach’s historical thought and that of African-centered historians might be judged. My aim is to further demonstrate the political nature of Rainach’s historical thought by demonstrating the tremendous gap between Rainach’s historical thought, the testimony of the ancients and archaeological evidence. I demonstrate that Rainach’s

perspective has no evidentiary foundation whatsoever. In fact, the evidence supports the African origin of civilization thesis.

## CHAPTER 4

### **THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE: A HOSTILE HISTORICAL HABITAT THAT MUST BE CONQUORED**

My aim in the preceding chapter was to demonstrate that the image of Africa as savage that underlies the school accountability model serves the political agenda of European domination. In this chapter, I will present archaeological evidence that contradicts the notion of the cultural other and shocks the European utamaroho. The archaeological evidence strongly suggests that Africans created the first civilization that flowered on the earth. Furthermore, it was Africans who brought civilization to both Europe and America. In Europe, it was Africans who brought writing, science, and art to ancient Greece. And, again, it was African Moors who brought writing, science, and art that would bring Europe out of the Dark Ages. And it was Africans that brought writing, science, and art to the Americas—thousands of years ago. This is what the archaeological evidence suggests. Nevertheless, the image of Africans as uncivilized remains deeply rooted in school policy.

Why then does this image of Africa persist? I argue that this image provides a rationale for the plunder of Africa and the continual enslavement of African people. Marimba Ani (1994) notes that

The European utamaroho requires a self-image of not merely superiority but supremacy, and the “idea of progress” makes Europeans supreme among humans. It is superiority placed into the dimension of lineal time. . .without the idea and this conceptual slight of hand, cultures would merely be different. European culture would merely be intensely and obsessively rational; with the assumption of the idea of progress Europe becomes “better.” In this way indicated, then, the idea of progress supports the expansionism and supremism inherent in the European utamaroho (p. 494).

Evidence that suggests that Africans are the originators of civilization is simply inconsistent with the European utamaroho and utamawazo. Therefore, in order to make the notion of progress real



for practical purposes, the image of Africans as civilizers and certainly evidence that suggests Africans “civilized” Europeans is overpowered by the Asili’s aggressive nature. Once the history of Africans as the originators of civilization is overwhelmed and replaced by the historical image of Africans as savages even slavery can be called progress. Progress then becomes an energizing force for the continuing political-economic and cultural domination of the so called uncivilized African.

I will open this chapter by first arguing that the original inhabitants of the Nile Valley were Africans. Many are unaware of the role racist historians had in constructing the lie that originators of Nile Valley civilization were not African. It seems that anytime Europeans see something beautiful or marvelous they pose the question – when did we do that? or what part did we play?

I will continue this chapter by first discussing why and when European historians ripped Africa from the pages of world history. I will then argue that Nile Valley civilization was a creation of African culture. I will present evidence that demonstrates that Nile Valley civilization was brought down the Nile from Africans migrating from the African interior. I will follow this by presenting evidence that shows the level of development along the Nile River as it relates to the markers of civilization - writing, science, and art. I will conclude by arguing that Nile Valley civilization is the mother civilization of European and American civilizations, which Europeans have, of course, taken credit for.

### **The Slave Trade, Racist Historians, and the Savage African**

As I noted above, the model of history as handed down by the ancients themselves was replaced by a white supremacy model during the period of slavery. This theory argues in part that the civilizing influence on the Nile Valley came from the North or Northeast via the Nile

delta. Yet this is a theory that is backed by no evidence. Or at least it is not backed by a careful synthesis of the available evidence. The literary and archaeological evidence suggests that writing, science and art came from the Great Lakes region of central Africa (ancient Ethiopia).

Cheik Anta Diop (1974), in his argument that Africans are the originators of civilization demonstrates how ridiculous the theorizing and theories are that argue that the originators of Nile Valley civilization were white. Diop writes that

Throughout these transformations in the Negro's relations with the rest of the world, it became increasingly difficult each day and even inadmissible, for those unaware of his past glory-and for Blacks themselves-to believe that they could have originated the first civilization which flowered on earth, a civilization to which humanity owes most of its progress...even when the proofs are piled high before their eyes, the experts will not see them except through blinkers and will always interpret them falsely. They will build the most improbable theories, since any improbability seems more logical to them than the truth of the most important historical document attesting the early civilizing role of Blacks (pp. 26-7).

Diop points to the enormity of evidence that has been screened away by historians in order to make the white supremacy model more believable. The statement is important too due to the fact that it is consistent with Marimba Ani's observance of the "screening" function imbedded in the European cultural asili.

Concerning the invasions and migrations of people from Asia and Europe, Woodson writes that "African civilization...may have been influenced by an influx from Asia, but before that time Africans had demonstrated their gifts. Africans by themselves had developed systems of writing...." (Quoted From Perry, 1975, p. 21) And I add, as the evidence suggests, it was a long, long, and very long time before an influx from Asia or Europe. And that no evidence exists that suggests that this influx from Asia or Europe brought with them writing, science, and art.

Nevertheless, African centered historians have been compelled to deal with the twisted theories that Whites somehow originated Nile Valley civilization (Dubois 1946, Houston 1926).

Dubois notes that

there can be but one adequate explanation of this vagary of nineteenth-century science: it was due to the slave trade and Negro slavery. It was due to the fact that the rise and support of capitalism called for rationalization based upon degrading and discrediting the Negroid peoples. It is especially significant that the science of Egyptology arose and flourished at the very time that the cotton kingdom reached its greatest power on the foundation of American Negro slavery” (p. 99).

This degrading of African people that occurred during slavery is nothing more than the creation of the cultural other of which Ani speaks. Houston too feels compelled to note the racist attitudes behind this image.

In most modern books there seems to be preconcerted understanding to calumniate and disgust the world with abominable pictures of the ruined Ethiopian, ruined by the African slave trade of four hundred years. There seems to be a worldwide conspiracy in literature to conceal the facts that this book unfolds. Because of this suppression of truth, world crimes have been easily made possible against the Ethiopian... (Houston, 1926, p. 8)

Cushites [Ethiopians] reached the true zenith of democracy.... This was the uniform testimony of ancient records. Modern writers seem of superficial research, either being unaware of these facts, or knowing, purposely ignore them. Archaeologists dig up the proofs, ethnologists announce their origin, but history refuses to change its antiquated and exploded theories (p. 16).

I present these quotes because it is important to know the historical roots of the modern critique of the Afrocentric paradigm.

### **The Central African Origin of Nile Valley Civilization**

The following news articles validate Dubois’ and Houston’s assertions regarding racist historians. Aside from demonstrating the enormity of evidence suggesting that Africans were the originators of civilization, the power in the articles lie in the fact that they are from national newspapers and therefore demonstrate the broad accessibility of this evidence. This makes it all

the more suspicious that none of it made it in to the corpus of knowledge that makes up the official Social Studies curriculum. A February 5, 1911 *New York Times* article notes the scale and substance of evidence. The evidence clearly points to a central African origin of Nile Valley civilization. The author states that

No reader of the newspapers can have failed to be struck with the increasing number of dispatches concerning archaeological discoveries that European correspondents find worth cabling to this country... Within the past 10 years a new world has been discovered, a world that even the men who lived 3,000 years ago knew but dimly. That our fathers quite generally put down as mythical...(McLean 1911).

The author demonstrates the chauvinistic attitudes of those responsible for degrading the African image when she acknowledges that the ancient Greek writers and even the Egyptians themselves said that they were Africans. It is an important note that before the slave trade the testimony of the ancients was the only authority regarding the race of the originators of Nile Valley civilization. For example, McLean writes that

For centuries poor old Herodotus has had the reputation of being a better fictionist than historian, but he, too, is coming into his own. He was not far wrong in his tales of the wonders of Ethiopia as work along the upper Nile shows...

We seem to have been wrong in our manner of giving credit of the origin of civilization. The black civilization of the Soudan was probably not acquired from Egypt, but the Egyptians earned their arts from the blacks. Incidentally, they always said they did, but we thought we knew better...

So in general the tendency among scientists is to revise altogether the old idea of Africa, to claim that it originated much of the civilization, and that many of its tribes are not by any means a primitive people in the childhood of their race, but the descendants of powerful nations, broken by the slave trade and by misfortune in successive wars. It is not always, as history tells plainly enough, the more highly civilized who conquer in war.

In short, the last ten years have thrown out half the theories of the beginning of civilization. The good old Aryan theory that all civilization came from the East is down (McLean 1911).

Likewise, McClean notes that Egyptians always said that they came from Ethiopia (or from the African interior) “but we thought we knew better” (McLean 2011). Therefore, all of the ancient eyewitness testimony and ancient records left by Africans on the Nile themselves were ignored when considering the question concerning the race of the original Nile Valley inhabitants. This is because the European utamaroho cannot handle an interpretation of history that some other people founded what they call “civilization,” especially Africans. The important point that I want to make is that the evidence suggests that civilization came down the Nile from the African interior and not via the delta from North and East. Since Dubois and Houston wrote their thesis, archaeological evidence has continuously supported their argument that Africans are the originators of Nile Valley civilization. This evidence, too, has consistently been ignored.

Again, an important note to make is that before the advent of the slavery era and the racist history that it inspired, the only authorities as to the question concerning the race of the Egyptians was the ancients themselves. As Mclean (1911) notes, it was during the slavery era that Herodotus gained the reputation as the “father of lies” as her subtitle suggests:

“Archaeologists Demonstrate That Herodotus Was Not ‘The Father of Lies,’ That The Old Legends Were Facts...” Too it is an important note that as Anderson (1988) points out that for educators such as Wright, were educated in the classics before the invention of the modern social studies curriculum (Lybarger 1983). Anderson writes that “the classical course was not so much the imposition of an alien white culture that would make blacks feel inferior as it was a means to understanding the development of the Western world and blacks’ inherent rights...” (Anderson, 1988, p. 30).

Houston argues “Cushites (Ethiopian) reached the true zenith of democracy.... This was the uniform testimony of ancient records.” Leo Hansbury wrote that

In the beginning of European literature, few names are better known and none is older than that of Ethiopia. Europe’s earliest poetry sings of no foreign people quite so romantic; its geography records no country more distant; and its efforts at history memorializes no nation thought more ancient than that designated by this celebrated name...it is a curious fact that centuries before the geographical and historical terms Babylon and Assyria, Persia, Carthage, and Europe, or for that matter the terms Greece and Rome themselves, had made their first appearance in the writings of classical authors, Ethiopia was already an old and familiar expression (Harris, 1977, p. 20).

Furthermore, concerning Ancients whose testimony has been handed down throughout the centuries Dubois (1946) writes

“If we follow inherent probability, ancient testimony, and legend, this would seem to have been the history of northeast Africa: In Ethiopia the sunrise of human culture took place, spreading down into the Nile Valley. Ethiopia, land of the blacks, was thus the cradle of Egyptian civilization...But this interpretation of Negro history contradicts the theory of the natural and eternal inferiority of black folk, which rendered them natural slaves and a cheap labor force for nineteenth-century industry. Those who depended on slavery and colonialism for living and luxury naturally, and often without conscious intent, sought eagerly for a science and history which would deny this interpretation of African history. They came gradually to declare vehemently that Egypt began her culture in the delta region, and Ethiopia was a far-off frontier and slave mart” (p. 117).

Relatedly, there is no evidence that suggests that Nile Valley civilization was brought into African from Asia or Europe via the Nile delta. For example, a 1978 *New York Times* article quotes James P. Allen, assistant director of the American Research Center in Egypt as saying “Now 80 to 90 percent of our knowledge is in Upper Egypt...it is like writing about the United states knowing only about sites east of the Mississippi. If we knew more about the delta, we’d see a more cosmopolitan influence, because the delta was the major area of contact between Egypt and the outside world” (“56 Years After Tut Discovery, Hunt for fine Things Widen,”

New York Times, December 31, 1978). That the delta hypothesis persists in light of the fact that very little research has been done there is telling. It evidences the chauvinism inherent in European historical scholarship.

Likewise, most of the archaeological finds have been found in the area of southern Egypt and Northern Sudan (Nubia). A 1930 *New York Times* article reports on an excavation mission provoked by the future building of the Assuan Dam which would flood an area of approximately 1000 square miles. The article notes that sixteen cemeteries and 250 tombs were found and that

one of which is regarded as the most important, because it contains all materials intact and is pre-historic...Most of the finds appertain to the civilization of Meroe, the second capital of ancient Ethiopia, first mentioned by Herodotus. The Assuan Dam is about 150 miles up (South) the Nile from Luxor, the site of ancient Thebes, where the tomb of Tut-ankh-Amen revealed the opulence of the eighteenth dynasty...The prehistoric tomb among the finds south of Assuan should represent Egyptian culture before Upper (southern) and Lower (Northern) Egypt were united under Menes and the first dynasty ("Intact Prehistoric Tomb Found Near Assuan: 249 Others Also Bared in Area to Be Flooded," *New York Times*, April 24, 1930).

Furthermore, a later article notes the tragic consequences of the construction project, which began in the early 1960s. The article reports that

Six thousand years of the recorded history of the life of man along the upper Nile in Egypt and the Sudan will be fathoms deep under water in four or five years. When the great dam at Aswan...is completed, a storage basin more than 300 miles long will engulf the temples and burial grounds of the early rulers of Nubia back to 4,000 years before Christ...the losses on the Sudanese side of the twenty-second Parallel, the dividing line between the two counties, will be even greater than those in Egypt. Much less work has been done there. ("Aswan High Dam to Blot Out History," *New York Times*, November 2, 1958).

The inevitable construction project did, however, provoke emergency excavations, which yielded additional evidence concerning Nile Valley civilization's origin.

A March 1, 1979 *New York Times* article demonstrates the importance of the area. The emergency excavations resulted in a very important find that supports the thesis that Nile Valley civilization began in Central Africa. The article begins “*Until now* it had been assumed that at that time the ancient Nubian culture, which existed in what is now northern Sudan and Southern Egypt, had not advanced beyond a collection of scattered tribal clans and chiefdoms” [emphasis mine]. I point this out to demonstrate how modern scholars refuse to accept evidence that contradicts the asili’s appetite for power. It is as Druisilla Dungee Houston said, “Archaeologists dig up the proofs, ethnologists announce their origin, but history refuses to change its antiquated and exploded theories” (p. 16). To use the phrase “until now it has been assumed” forces the question assumed by who? What about the testimonies of the Ancients themselves? What about the early twentieth century evidence cited in the 1911 *New York Times* article cited above (McLean 1911)? What about Black historians such as Dubois, Woodson, Houston, Jackson, and others who had already synthesized the evidence and drawn this conclusion?

The article goes on to note that the most important finding was a stone incense burner which depicted “a palace façade, a crowned king sitting on a throne in a boat, a royal standard before the king, and, hovering above the king, the falcon god Horus. Most of the images are ones commonly associated with kingship in later Egyptian traditions.” The article notes too that this finding “is expected to stimulate a new appraisal of the origins of civilization in Africa, raising the question of to what extent later Egyptian culture may have derived its advanced political structure from the Nubians...The New findings suggests that the ancient Nubians may have reached this state of political development...several generations before the earliest documented Egyptian king.” (“Ancient Nubian Artifacts Yield Evidence of Earliest Monarchy,” *New York Times*, March 1, 1979). It is important to note that it seems that a reappraisal of the



white supremacy model would have begun in 1911 *New York Times* article due to the evidence that was pouring in at that time. Or perhaps even better it should not even have had to be reappraised because it was never supported by any evidence, literary or archaeological, in the first place.

In the 1911 *New York Times* article, McLean makes a note that is bound to disturb the European utamaroho. She writes that “the art of working metals was discovered well in the interior of Africa. So, at least, a large proportion of the highest authorities agree. The black man, not the white—if there were any white then—made the mighty step that took men out of the stone age” (McLean 1911, “Myths of the Past Turn Out to Be True History,” *New York Times*, February 5, 1911). Indeed she is implying that the evidence suggested the existence of metallurgy, which is another marker of “civilization,” at a time when there is no evidence suggesting White folk themselves existed.

A February 8, 1970 *New York Times* article further substantiates the central African origin thesis and furthermore suggests an extreme antiquity of African civilization. The article reports that South African archaeologists discovered the “world’s oldest mine,” which as radio-carbon dated to be 43,000 years old (“43,000-Year-Old Mine Discovered in Swaziland,” *New York Times*, February 8, 1970). Indeed, this find substantiates Carter G. Woodson’s claim made in his 1930 speech “the history which we learn is poor from lack of familiarity with the Negro. We find that the principle of making iron merged from the brain of a Negro” (Quoted in Perry, 1976, p. 196). The important point which I aim to make is that archaeological evidence suggests that knowledge of metallurgy existed in Africa at least 40,000 years before the first *recorded* monarchy of Taseti which happened to be in modern day Sudan.

Likewise, A 2005 USA today article reporting on the significance of an archaeological find in a South African Cave of some shell necklaces which were dated to be 75,000 years old. The article notes that the beads represent the oldest known evidence of modern human behavior. The article notes that “Some researchers have argued that the ability to use symbolism did not arrive until later in human development, after people had migrated from Africa to the Middle East and Europe.” The article is revealing of how the European cultural Asili consistently screens out evidence of African humanity (“Oldest Known Ornament Found in S. Africa,” USA, April 5, 2004).

### **Nile Valley Civilization: The Origin of Writing, Art and Science**

My aim in this section is to present evidence that demonstrates the high level of development regarding writing, science, and art that characterize Nile Valley Civilization during a very remote time in history or during a time period often referred to as pre-history. The evidence suggests that writing developed to a high level of sophistication in Africa at an extremely ancient time, even before the establishment of Egypt herself. This too points to a central African origin of Nile Valley Civilization. My aim is to demonstrate the level of development of Nile Valley Civilization and thereby deconstruct the notion of the savage African (the cultural other) and relatedly the notion of progress that energizes the Asili.

An August 4, 1881 *New York Times* article that discusses “a famous papyrus” demonstrates the substance of archaeological evidence with respect to what it suggests about the age of the civilization and writing in Africa. The article informs us that the papyrus contains the proverbs of Ptah-hotep and is considered to be “the most ancient book in the world.” The papyrus was written during the third dynasty and was written to counsel the youth on “sayings of the past.” The author writes that “it is strange at this remote age, in the days of the pyramids, to

catch such a view of an antiquity beyond; but this is always so in Egypt, and warns us not to think we are ever near the beginning of her long-lived civilization” (“Proverbs of Ptah-Hotep, *New York Times*, August 4, 1881).

Likewise, another *New York Times* article states that “The Maxims of Ptahhotep belongs to the age of the Pyramids, and therefore have an antiquity exceeding, from 15 to 20 centuries, the highest claimed for the oldest portion of the Rig Veda...but it appeals, nevertheless, to the authority of those who were then ancients” (“The Egyptian The Oldest Literature,” *New York Times*, July 11, 1880).

A July 9, 1904 *New York Times* article notes the extreme antiquity and breath of topics that comprise the books in Nile Valley Libraries. The article reports on a book written by noted archaeologist Professor Sayce.

Prof. Sayce declares that Egyptian literature goes back almost to the earliest period of Egypt’s history. Notes written in a “cursive hand” have been found in First dynasty tombs. Some chapters of the Book of the Dead—the ancient Egyptian prayer book are older than King Menes. The Proverbs of Ptah-Hotep, written more than 5,000 years ago, had been preceded by earlier books, one of which, a moral treatise by Qaqemna (of the Third dynasty) has come down to us in a mutilated form...Egyptian libraries were stocked with literature of the most varied character, including novels, political satires, and books of travel. The spell of Egyptian literary culture was irresistible...” (“Monument Facts,” *New York Times*, July 8, 1904).

Hence, the evidence suggests that there were writing of all types. A March 29, 1912 *New York Times* article discusses Dr. Carl H. Von Klein’s translation of the Ebers papyrus. The article reveals the high level of sophistication reached by Nile Valley Africans in the area of medical science. It also further demonstrates Houston’s contention that “Archaeologists dig up the proofs, ethnologists announce their origin, but history refuses to change its antiquated and exploded theories” (Houston, 1926, p.16). The article states that “with the aid of Ludwid Stern

and some Egyptologists, published the fact that Hippocrates of Cos [Greece] who had been known as the “Father of Medicine,” no longer possessed that title. The date of the papyrus was so remote as to place *Hippocrates in the ranks of modern physicians*” [emphasis mine] (“Old Hippocrates Ousted,” *New York Times*, March 29, 1912). Indeed this author suggests that Europe has no ancient history. This provokes in my mind the question: why then should Africa be considered a “Third World” continent? If Africa is third world, then who’s first?

Likewise, an earlier *New York Times* articles reveals the high level of development and remote antiquity of Egyptian medical science. An 1878 article notes that

Medical science attained so high a degree of perfection in Egypt that there were specialist in the different branches of the art, and the physician was only allowed to practice in his own branch. There were oculists, and dentists, those who treated mental disorders and those who investigated obscure diseases. There are several papyri which treat of these several diseases. In the hermaic books a whole chapter is devoted to diseases of the eye, ... Athothos, son and successor to Menes, the first King of Egypt, wrote a book on anatomy (“Medical Science in Egypt,” *New York Times*, August 18, 1878).

It is important to once again note how historians fails to embrace this knowledge. For instance, the 1912 article referenced above notes that Hippocrates should no longer be considered the “father of medicine. If this 1878 article had been embraced the writer of the 1912 article would have already known that Hippocrates no longer possessed the title of “father of medicine.”

Indeed, if they had simply consorted Hippocrates, he probably would have himself told them that he was not the father of medicine but a child of Hermes. Furthermore, this points to an African origin of European civilization, a point which I will discuss below.

Likewise, an article that discusses a prior translation of the Ebers papyrus makes note that the author makes constant reference to the book of Hermes-i.e., Tot, the ancient Egyptian God of science, whom the Ebers papyrus describes as the “leader of the physicians” (*Egyptian Medicine*,

New York Times, June 24, 1883). Therefore, the Eber's papyrus points to an even more ancient past. Furthermore, perhaps, we even derived the word thought from this African God.

All genres of literature that we find in "modern" society seem to have been present in the Nile Valley. A 1894 *New York Times* article notes that "one of the most ancient examples of fiction in the world, one which has survived the rise and fall of many ancient and many a modern empire, is a Egyptian romance entitled "The Tale of the Two Brothers. It was penned some three thousand two hundred years ago by a Theban scribe named Ennana" ("The Oldest Fiction," *New York Times*, October 7, 1894).

Likewise, an 1884 *New York Times* article discusses an Egyptian Fable entitled "Chansons Recreatives" which is "a love trio recited by three trees-an old sycamore, a young sycamore, and a fig tree- in praise of a beautiful woman who, with her lover, frequents the garden where they grow." The article points out that the fable "is very similar to that of the Song of Solomon, the imagery being largely borrowed from the same sources. The fable is the most remarkable novelty in the volume, being neither more nor less than an Egyptian version (or ought we not say the Egyptian original?)" ("Old Egyptian Fables," *New York Times*, January 13, 1884). This "borrowing" of Nile Valley knowledge is epidemic.

As far as mathematics is concern, the Rhind papyrus has been handed down to us from ancient times. An 1883 *New York Times* article is insightful. This is the same year that Richard Wright testified as to the supposed inferiority of "the Negro" in front of the U.S. Senate Committee. The article reports that

Algebra is an Arabic word, denoting the science of combining the separated. The Moslems in Cairo zealously cultivated it, and after they came to know Euclid they became great mathematicians on the basis of the writings of Claudius Ptolemaeus, and also great astronomers and geographers. In this province, too, they owe to the ancient Egyptians more than has hitherto been acknowledged. It is by no means accidental that

the greatest mathematicians of Hellenic antiquity were styled pupils of the Egyptians, or that it was said of them that they had lived on the Nile...In all this there is nothing new to mathematicians, but few of them have any acquaintance with the records that make known to us the state of mathematical science among the Egyptians in the Beginning of the second millennium B.C. The Rhind Papyrus may be termed a hand-book of ancient Egyptian mathematics...The Rhind papyrus establishes the remarkable fact that certain processes of reckoning used by the writer of that very ancient document are identical with processes found among the Greeks, and, through them, among the Arabs and the Western mathematicians of the Middle Ages, to whom the writings of the Arabs were made known, for the most part, by Jewish scholars. When we find, for example, the arithmetical process of the 'false stating' to have been practiced from the time of Ashmesu (about 1700 B.C.) down to the sixteenth century A.D., that seems remarkable enough; *but it is more astonishing still to find that certain examples of progression which extort a smile from us on account of the heterogeneous character of their arrangement, are contained in the writings of Fibonnci (Leonardo von Pisa) about the year 200 A.D., in exactly the same form in which they are given by Ashmesu.* (The Source of Mathematics", New York Times, July 1, 1883) [Emphasis mine]

Again this article demonstrates the advanced nature of the Nile Valley technological foundation as well as the anteriority of Nile Valley Civilization to other later, much later, civilizations.

Furthermore, the article points out that the Egyptians were great astronomers too.

The invention of the 365 day calendar demonstrates both the level of sophistication in the area of Astronomy as well as the great antiquity of Nile Valley civilization. According to Diop, the 365 day calendar was invented in the Nile Valley and began during the year 4245 B.C. Diop (1974) derives a chronology from this feat due to how long the stars had to have been tracked.

He writes that

The civilization, called Egyptian in our period, developed for a long time in its early cradle; then it slowly descended the Nile Valley to spread out around the Mediterranean basin. This cycle of civilization the longest in history, presumably lasted 10,000 years. This is a reasonable compromise between the long chronology (based on data provided by Egyptian priests, Herodotus and Manetho place the beginning at 17,000 B.C.) and the short chronology of the moderns—for the latter are obliged to admit that by 4245 B.C. the Egyptians had already invented the calendar (which necessarily requires the passage of thousands of years) (p. 22).

As can be seen from the foregoing discussion, in many respects Nile Valley Civilization was much like modern society. Dubois' (1946) comments are worth noting here. He writes that

The history of civilization which began in Egypt was not so much a matter of dynasties and dates. It was an attempt to settle certain problems of living together—of government, defense, religion, family, property, science, and art. What we must remember is that in these seven lines of human endeavor, it was African Egypt that made the beginning and set the pace. *In some respects what they did has not been greatly improved upon even down to the twentieth century* [emphasis mine] (p. 103).

That Nile Valley civilization appears modern might in many respects be an understatement. In fact in some areas one might argue that civilization has declined as opposed to progressed since ancient times. In regard to the arts for example a *New York Times* article reviews a book entitled *Pyramids and Temples* by Julius Maier-Graefe. The article notes that the book tells of the author's journey through Egypt, Palestine, Greece and Constantinople, in that order. The review notes that Maier-Graef is an art critic who believes "that the one really worthwhile expression of a people is to be found in its art, and in this score he rates the Egyptians highly, giving them that credit which the long prevalent Greek-obsession has so often caused to be withheld."

The article goes on to note that the author places Egyptian architecture anterior to that of Greece. "Those fluted columns discovered in the temple of Zoser, which prove that the architects employed by the great Pharaoh of the Third Dynasty, used this form long before the Greeks." It quotes the author as saying that "Fluted columns existed, then, 2,500 years before Olympia and the Parthenon; and later, in the new kingdom, plenty of Greeks came to the delta, so that no further connection is required..."

Furthermore, he is quoted as saying that “The sculptors of the old kingdom knew everything that we know today. They could play about with any part of the body and let it go: they knew the secrets of simplification like ripe masters. Creation was spontaneous and complete...” The article goes on to paraphrase Maier-Graefe as writing that “In Egypt humanity first discovered form...the Egyptians were ‘the greatest artistic race on earth’ and their sculpture rose ‘to a point which no other people has ever reached.’” As for the Greeks the reviewer writes that “from Greece the author constantly gazes back toward Egypt. Greek art, he wavers, was to some extent prejudiced by its inborn affinity for the surface. Even when their builders and sculptors were at the height of their powers, they seem to have clung to the flat surface\*\*\*sculptor and architecture came from the outside...” (“An Art Critic Among the Nile’s Ruins,” *The New York Times*, October 19, 1930).

This article establishes the anteriority of Nile Valley Civilization in regard to the arts and also suggests that artistic expression actually decayed as a consequence of Nile Valley Civilization’s descent. In regard to music, Africans were too in the forefront. An 1882 *New York Times* article reports on a lecture given by Chief-Justice Charles P. Daly which was delivered in the hall of the Long Island historical Society in Brooklyn on the subject of Songs and Song-writers. According to Daly

The ancient Egyptians possessed no less than 17 different musical instruments, among them being the cymbal, the drum, the tambourine, the pipe, the flute, the triangular harp, the bow-shaped harp, the lyre, and the guitar. Instruments were to be divided into three classes—instruments of concussion, wind instruments, and string instruments. The fife was the first wind instrument inverted and the organ the last, and first string instruments the lyre was the first and the piano the last. Speaking of the troubadours, the lecture said they were to be regarded as the first lyric poets. The troubadours were the originators of the ballad and the roundelay (“Songs and Song-Writers,” *New York Times*, November 29, 1882).



Indeed, Nile Valley civilization appears modern in many respects. Likewise, a later *New York Times* article entitled “Before Athens” places Nile Valley art in chronological perspective.

The article notes that

When Joseph was carried captive into Egypt...the rustic Hebrew found himself in the heart of a rich and populous country filled with great cities adorned with magnificent buildings—a country governed by ancient and equitable laws—having a vernal church wealthily endowed, and an enlightened priesthood; containing numerous colleges and schools, and teeming with product of the known world... Various gymnastic exercises, and the games of draughts, ball, mora, and other well-known modern amusements were common at the same period...sculptors, painters, and scribes abounded, and three modes of writing were practiced. Musical instruments were numerous, and consisted of cymbals, trumpets, drums, harps, guitars, lyres, flutes, pipes, and others. There were bands of music, as with us. *Yet Troy was not built until about three and a half centuries after. Two hundred years elapsed before Athens was founded, and a thousand before Romulus laid the foundations of Rome; 800 before Hercules was born, and 1,200 before Pythagoras wandered into Egypt and drank from the fountains of ancient learning* [emphasis mine] (“Before Athens,” *New York Times*, April 22, 1894).

Now, from the foregoing discussion it seems that if Europeans “civilized” Africans, they would have civilized themselves first.

Thus far in this chapter my aim has been to argue that what historians call “civilization” is a product of African culture and came from the African interior and not from the north and east of Africa. In addition, the evidence suggests that Africans reached a high sophistication in terms of writing, science, and art while in central Africa even prior to Egypt’s founding. In the remainder of this chapter, I will argue that Nile Valley civilization, the civilization that Africans created, is the foundation civilization upon which the “White” civilizations of Europe and America rest.

## **Africa the Mother of European and American Civilizations**

My aim in this section is to present evidence that suggests that African civilization is the mother civilization of other major civilizations throughout the world. This is what the archaeological and literary evidence suggest. I will focus here on the role that Africans played in the establishment of the first civilizations in Europe and the Americas. I argued earlier against the thesis that Nile Valley Civilization was brought to Africa from outsiders via the Nile and argued otherwise that civilization traveled down the Nile from Central Africa. Furthermore, the archaeological evidence overwhelmingly suggests that Africans took civilization to Europe via the delta and Mediterranean. In other words historians twisted the facts and got everything backward. Again, my aim is to further deconstruct the notions of progress and the savage African and to demonstrate the role that Africans have played in providing the foundation upon which the so called White civilizations of Europe and America rest.

## **The African Foundation of Greek Civilization**

I begin here with a 1917 lecture that was published in the *Journal of Negro History*. The fact that this journal was established and edited by Carter G. Woodson gives the lecture added significance since Carter G. Woodson's ideas were embraced by Black teachers as evidenced by the national appeal of Negro History Week, which Woodson also established. It is similar to the 1911 *New York Times* article discussed earlier in this chapter which demonstrated the enormous amount of evidence that had been recently discovered that supported the Central African origin of Egyptian civilization theses. Likewise, the lecturer here does the same thing except this time he demonstrates the enormous amount of evidence that supports the African origin of Grecian civilization thesis. This is important because European scholars consider

Greece to be the fountain of European civilization. The lecturer thereby demonstrates how racist historians construct the cultural other by concealing evidence that contradicts their racist ideas.

The lecture begins by noting the impossibility of Grecian Civilization being the creation of Aryans.

Historians have written that Greece was invaded by Aryans about 1400 B.C., and that henceforth arose the wonderful civilization; but the student knows that such was an impossibility and that some vital factor has been left out of the equation. When the Aryans invaded Greece they were savages from Neolithic Europe and could not possibly have possessed the high artistic capacities and rich culture necessary for the unfolding of Aegean civilization. (“The African Origin of Grecian Civilization,” 1917, pp. 335-36)

The author then browses through some of the many recent archaeological findings that contradict the Aryan theory. He discusses the work of Dr. Schlieman who “armed with a spade he went to the classic lands and brought to light a real Troy; at Tiryns and Mycenae he laid to view the palaces and tombs and treasures of Homeric kings. His message back to scholars who waited tensely for his verdict was, “it looks to me like the civilization of an African people”.... (IBID, p. 336)

From here the lecture notes that “traces of this prehistoric civilization began to make their appearance far beyond the limits of Greece itself. From Cyprus and Palestine to Sicily and Southern Italy, and even to the coast of Spain, the colonial and industrial enterprise of the Mycenaean has left its mark throughout the Mediterranean basin.” Concerning these discoveries Sir Arthur Evans is quoted as saying before the London Hellenic Society that “classical students must consider origins. The Grecians whom we discern in the new dawn were not the pale-skinned northerners, but essentially the dark-haired, brown-complexioned race.” The lecture notes that Sir Author Evans was elected in 1916 as the President of the British

Association which was “the most notable assemblage of scholars in the world.” Likewise, the lecturer quotes Professor Sergi of the University of Rome as writing

Until recent years the Greeks and Romans were regarded as Aryans, and then as Aryanized peoples; the great discoveries in the Mediterranean have overturned all these views. Today, although a few belated supporters of Aryanism still remain, it is becoming clear that the most ancient civilization of the Mediterranean is not of Aryan origin. The Aryans were savages when they invaded Europe; they destroyed in part the superior civilization of the Neolithic populations, and could not have created the Graeco-Latin civilization. The primitive populations of Europe originated in Africa and the basin of the Mediterranean was the chief center of movement when the African migration reached the center and north of Europe (IBID, p. 337).

The work of Sir Arthur Evans, the lecturer tells us, provides the most conclusive evidence of all. He notes that Evans in 1894 undertook a series of archaeological campaigns in central and eastern Crete and found the palace of Minos who was founder of the royal city of Knossos and to him the lecture explains is attributed the founding of the great Minoan civilization. The lecturer goes on to note that

that which is most valuable in establishing the claim of the African origin of the Grecian civilization is the discovery of the frescoes on the palace walls. These open up a new epoch in painting and are of the utmost interest to the world. The colors are almost as brilliant as when laid down more than three thousand years ago. Among these frescoes are numerous representations of the race whose civilization they represent. It was a race neither Aryan nor Semitic, but African. The portraiture follows the Egyptian precedent and for the first time the mysterious Minoan and Mycenaean people rise before us...the hair is black and curling and the lips somewhat full, giving the entire physiognomy a distinct African cast... You will pardon me, I trust, if occasion is taken here to impress upon you the value of genuine archeological evidence. Historians may write anything to reflect their vanity or their prejudices, but when the remains of ancient civilizations rise out of the dust and sand give the lie to their assertions there is nothing more to be said. Egypt, Mesopotamia, Phoenicia, Greece, and Rome, have all been claimed for the Aryan, but the spade has unearthed stone that bears sentiment witness to the fact that Africa has been the pioneer in the field of civilization. We wonder, then, why the historians continue to ignore these remains and persist in continuing falsehood. There can be but one answer and that is racial vanity prefers falsehood to truth and prejudice demands suppression rather than expression (IBID, p. 338).

The author continues by noting that the ancients themselves said the same thing with respect to the African origin of Grecian civilization. “Yet these frescoes of Crete need not be such a surprise to scholars and public after all. The very classics themselves have more than hinted of the great part played by Africa in the development of Grecian civilization.” Likewise, the lecturer continues by quoting Sir Author Evans:

My own recent investigations have more and more brought home to me the all pervading community between Minoan Crete and the land of Pharaohs. When we realize the great indebtedness of the succeeding classical culture of Greece to its Minoan predecessor the full significance of this conclusion will be understood. Ancient Egypt itself can no longer be regarded as something apart from general human history. Its influences are seen to lie about the very cradle of our civilization. The first quickening impulse came to Crete from the Egyptian and not from the Oriental side (IBID, p. 343).

Concerning the archaeological evidence of the past 50 years the author concludes by noting the level of distortion needed to keep the white supremacy model alive

Take all the archeological facts of the last fifty years and read them up or down, across or diagonally, inside and out, and this fact rises into your mind like a Banquo that will not down. Historians may distort truth and rob the African race of its historical position, but facts are everywhere throwing open the secret closet of nations and exposing ethnic skeletons that laugh and jest at our racial vanities... (IBID, p. 343).

It makes all the more ridiculous the hypothesis that Nile Valley civilization was bought by Whites via the delta when no evidence suggests that Whites had reached Southern Europe in significant numbers at the time that Egypt was founded. Furthermore, when Whites did reach southern Europe there is no evidence that they brought writing with them. It was already there.

### **The African Foundation of American Civilization**

Now, I often times ask my students in a Freshmen orientation class that I teach, who were the first people to arrive in the Americas? This is how the session usually develops. Most have now been informed that Columbus did not discover America. There is usually one student who

very confidently answers – the Vikings. After I inform them that that in all probability is not true and that there is certainly no evidence that suggests that it is, they begin calling out other countries in Europe and Asia, both eastern and western, even the ones far from the ocean. They call out everywhere but Africa. Never Africans. Once when I asked the class what if I told you that Africans were the first people to reach the Americas. One student, a Black student, blurted out – that’s impossible! I asked, why? He answered, because no one had come to get us yet. This is an example of how Africans have been objectified even in our own minds.

Yet, that Africans reached the Americas before anyone else is just what the archaeological evidence suggests. Evidence suggest that Africans have been in the Americas for tens of thousands of years. A 1986 *New York Times* article demonstrates the point that I am trying to make. Nevertheless, no matter the evidence presented it is impossible for many to believe that Africans, of all people, traversed the oceans and landed in the Americas. This is the case even though Africa is closer to the Americas than any other continent. The article starts by noting that “new discoveries in the Arctic and in South America are rekindling scholarly debate over some of the most intractable problems in American archaeology: how and when did humans first enter the New World? *What kind of people were they?*” The article goes on to state that “the generally accepted *assumption* is that they migrated from Siberia to Alaska in the ice age of the late Pleistocene, when Asia was connected to North America by a broad plain stretching at what is now the Bering Strait” [emphasis mine].

The article goes on to cite evidence that human beings have been in South America as long ago as 33,000 years. For instance the article notes that “at an excavation site in Chile, an anthropologist at the University of Kentucky, said he had found preliminary evidence of human occupation possibly as long ago as 33,000 years.” In addition the article reports a French

scientist discovered a rock shelter in Brazil with “charcoal associated with stone tools and other artifacts were dated at 32,000 years.” Another example, from a French-Brazilian excavation, found charcoal in another rock shelter dated to 32,000 years as well. Likewise, the article mentions cave art found in a layer dated at 17,000 years. The article notes that “other scientists had already been finding traces of humans in Brazil, Venezuela and Peru at least 13,000 years ago.” And at the Chilean site, Tom D. Dilleha, an anthropologist at the University of Kentucky, had excavate tools and well-preserved wood from what he believes were the 13,000-year-old foundation of the earliest architecture yet found in the Americas.”

Ironically, from this evidence scientists hypothesized that the findings “strongly suggest that the migration from Asia to North America occurred earlier’ than 32,000 years ago.” I must note that there is no physical evidence of a northern migration via the bearing strait. Then what is the basis of this reasoning? The writer poses the question “if humans were in South America as early as 32,000 or 33,000 years ago, where was the evidence that they had been in North America as early or earlier? *They had to have been*, if there is any truth to the hypothesis of the Bering land bridge migration.” Excuse my sarcasm but - maybe they jumped over North America and landed in Brazil. This answer would be more plausible to the white supremacist mind than the correct and most plausible answer that Africans were the first to inhabit South America and they came across the Atlantic Ocean or earlier before the Americas drifted from Africa. Furthermore, the article states that there is no evidence that people had inhabited the islands of the pacific earlier than 3000 years ago. This is the type of foolishness that African-centered historians have to deal with. If it was not so sad it would be funny.

Here I reiterate Houston’s (1926) claim regarding early American civilizations and the ancient Cushites or Ethiopians. She wrote that

The mysterious mound builders [America] represent the ancient Cushite race. We study the peculiar culture and genius of the fierce Aztec, who acknowledged that he received the germs of civilization from the earlier Cushite [Ehiopian] inhabitants. We pass southward and examine the higher development of the wonderful Mayas of North America, whose ruins are attracting special study today, and we find there transplanted the Cushite arts of the ancient world (p. 6).

Now, in regard to one of the earliest documented civilizations of the Americas, a 1952 *New York Times* article demonstrates the connection between the Americas and the Nile Valley.

The article reports that

Remarkable parallels with the burial customs of ancient Egypt have been found in a newly discovered Mayan tomb at Palenque, a ruined city in the heart of Mexico's southern jungle, which archaeologists say has been deserted for at least a thousand years. The tomb which was opened this week, lay at the base of a pyramid surmounted by a handsome temple called the 'Temple of Inscriptions.' ... The Palenque discovery will give new orientation to Mexican archaeology and perhaps lead to an illumination of the *mysterious* development of the Mayan empire. Besides the fact that the pyramid was obviously constructed to hold its princely burial chamber, the discoverers found offerings, sacrifices and a double-lidded sarcophagus, all reminiscent of Egyptian practices [emphasis mine].

The article continues by paraphrasing Dr. Alberto Ruz of the Mexican Institute of Archaeology who led the expedition as saying that he "considers the parallels evidence that man, wherever he lived, developed his culture along similar lines rather than as a sign that Egyptian influence ever reached the Western Hemisphere in pre-Columbian times ("Mayan Find Shows Egyptian Parallel," *New York Times*, December 5, 1952). We seem to get the same story from historians again and again. Why? It shocks the European Utamaroho.

If the reader would like to see how the Mayans depicted themselves they would simply have to do an image search on Google of the various Maya Murals. In the Mural of Bonampak, for example, the Mayans depict themselves as an African people.



In regard to the markers of civilization a 1940 *New York Times* article reports that Dr. H. J. Spinden, curator of American art and primitive cultures to the Brooklyn Museum, spoke before the Mexican Scientific Congress and said that

recent decipherment of the monuments of the ancient Mayas in Yucatan and Guatemala have provided striking evidence that these early Americans were ‘a race of Newtons and Einstein’s.’ Whose knowledge of the movements of the planets, celestial mechanics, and astronomy in general was more than 1,250 years ahead of European astronomers and mathematicians...the Mayans had a superior technique for getting at the facts. They employed the modern empirical methods of science that European scientist did not arrive at until after Galileo and Newton (“New Findings Told of Mayan Learning,” *New York Times*, May 17, 1940).

Furthermore, the Olmec civilization, which preceded the Mayans, is the oldest documented civilization in the Americas. They are known primarily by the colossal stone heads, some weighing as much as 40,000 tons, that they left behind on the Yucatan Peninsula. What is important here is they depict themselves as an African people with wide African noses and thick African lips. The stone heads have been dated to be from a period from as early as 800 B.C. Ivan Van Sertima exclaimed that “clearly American history has to be reconstructed to account for this irrefutable piece of archaeological data. Explanations, not excuses, have got to be found. The implications of these discoveries can no longer be dismissed or ignored” (Van Sertima, 1975, p. 24).

All of this forces me to recall a passage that Diop (1974) concluded his book *The African origin of Civilization*,

The difference in the intellectual approach of the African and European research often causes these misunderstandings in the interpretation of facts and their relative importance. The scientific interest of the European scholar with regard to African data is essentially analytical. Seeing things from the outside, often reluctant to synthesize, the European clings basically to explosive, more or less biased microanalysis of the facts and constantly postpones *ad infinitum* the state of synthesis. The African scholar distrusts

this “scientific” activity, the aim of which seems to be fragmentation of the collective historical African consciousness into minute facts and details (p. 275).

## CHAPTER 5

### **A PREDATORIAL PLANT: THE DESTRUCTION OF THE SEGREGATED AFRICAN SCHOOL SYSTEM—A CRITIQUE OF PROGRESS**

In this chapter, I will provide a critique of the notion that desegregation represents progress for African people in America. My focus here is on faculty desegregation in the Baton Rouge metropolitan area. I will argue that faculty desegregation destroyed a valuable institution – the “segregated” African school system in America - through which African people had practiced some degree of self-determination. This is not so easy a task since much confusion has been caused by the accepted version of history that Africans in America have always been passive recipients of education from philanthropic organizations such as the Freedman’s Bureau, Rosenwald Fund, etc... and before that from the slave master. This version of history also depicts the so called segregated schools and their African educators as unilaterally inferior to their white counterparts. This history is not totally true and exists simply to bolster the European utamaroho and thereby serve the European cultural asili’s appetite for power. It is true that African people have to a large extent been passive recipients of Eurocentric education (Woodson 1932); however, this is not the total story. Some Africans in America have been relentless opponents of Eurocentric education and have, since our arrival in America, fought to educate ourselves in a manner that would free us from European bondage.

#### **A Brief Outline of Black Education From Antiquity Through Desegregation**

Before I discuss the role that Africans have played in our own education since slavery it is important to first note that this was not the first time African people had been involved in developing our own educational institutions. According to John Henrik Clark (1991) “the Africans who eventually became slaves in the United States once lived in a society where

university life was fairly common and scholars were beheld with reverence” (p. 69). This should be clear from the Richard Wright’s 1883 testimony that I quoted earlier and from the empirical evidence put forth in the previous chapter that suggests an advanced philosophical and technological foundation upon which Nile Valley civilization rested. There simply had to have been a very sophisticated school system.

Educational historian Asa Hilliard (1994) wrote that “the evidence that gives information about the educational system can be found in paintings, monuments, architecture, technology and, above all, in the hieroglyphic and demonic writings, which include stories, rituals, songs and so forth...we are not short of evidence for the fact that educational systems existed...” (p. 84). Furthermore, Hilliard writes that

long before the colonization of the African continent by European nations, and long before the first-record invasion of the African continent by any nation outside the continent. Africans had developed the most sophisticated system of education to be found in early records. Those records show that the African system of education, especially its classical expression in ancient KMT (later called Egypt by the Greeks), was the parent of other systems of education, especially early European education in Greece and Rome (p. 117).

One important side note is that Africans referred to Egypt as Kemet. This is likely where the word chemistry is derived. Therefore, university life and formal education institution appeared in Africa at a time very remote in Antiquity. Furthermore, university life was a creation of African people.

Furthermore, John Henrik Clarke (1991) reminds us that university life was common in West Africa, up to the eve of the slave trade and continued for a considerable time after the slave trade had begun. Another important side note is that central and East Africa is also the homeland of West Africans. The legends of the various West African ethnic groups unanimously testify that they came from the East (Harris 1977). Clark (1991) writes that

During the period in West African history—from the early part of the fourteenth century to the time of the Moroccan invasion in 1591, the city of Timbuktu and the University of Sankore in the Songhai Empire was the intellectual center of Africa. Black scholars enjoyed a renaissance that was known and respected throughout most of Africa and in parts of Europe. At this period of African history, the University of Sankore, at Timbuktu, was the educational capital of the Western Sudan (p. 69).

That Africans had universities that preceded and provided the basis for the establishment of universities by Europeans is clearly inconsistent with the image of the cultural other (the savage African) and would imply a very different educational policy than what we Africans have been inflicted with in America. Furthermore, the erasure of this history is important for the notion that desegregation policy represents progress for African people to have any validity.

Slavery, in fact, never totally destroyed the African spirit. According to James Anderson, Africans in America began the first movement to establish a system of public education in the south. In fact, the evidence suggests that the first thing that “formerly enslaved” Africans did following our so called emancipation was to establish schools. He notes that many of the African teachers during reconstruction were radicals who had acquired literacy under the yoke of slavery at the risk of life and limb and therefore had a special understanding of the relationship between literacy and liberation. Anderson (1988) writes that

No other class of native southerners had experienced literacy in this context. Hence emancipation extruded an ex-slave class with a fundamentally different consciousness of literacy, a class that viewed reading and writing as a contradiction of oppression...After slavery many of the leading black educators emerged from among the rebel literates, those slaves who had sustained their own learning process in defiance of the slave-owners’ authority (p. 17).

Most northern missionaries went south with the preconceived idea that the slave regime laws were so brutal and dehumanizing that blacks were little more than uncivilized victims who needed to be taught the values and rules of civil society. They were bent on treating the freedmen almost wholly as objects. Many missionaries were astonished, and later chagrined, however, to discover that many ex-slaves had established their own

educational collectives and associations, staffed schools entirely with black teachers, and were unwilling to allow their educational movement to be controlled by the ‘civilized’ Yankees (p. 6).

Anderson continues by quoting John W. Alvord, the national superintendent of schools for the Freedmen’s Bureau, who depicted these schools as “self-sustaining.” In his first report in 1866 after having traveled through most of the confederate states Alvord wrote that he found “native schools... throughout the entire south” and that there were “at least 500 schools of this descriptions already in operation throughout the South” (p. 7). Anderson commented that a 1869 report, which Alvord admitted to being conservative in its estimates, “enumerated 1,512 Sabbath schools with 6,146 teachers and 107,109 pupils” (p. 13). This contradicts the official version that Africans were passive recipients of education from the so called “philanthropists.”

Concerning “segregated” African schools, Vanessa Siddle Walker provides a critique of the literature which reinforces the image of these schools and their teachers as being unilaterally inferior to their White counterparts. Relatedly, she reviews and synthesizes research that suggests that these schools were valued by the Black community and valuable to the Black community. She notes that one thing that united these schools was their celebration of Negro history week which was established by Carter G. Woodson (Walker 2000). The literature on segregated African schools which seeks to understand what type of education Black communities were trying to provide Black children has grown since the publication of James Anderson’s *The Education of Blacks in the South* which chronicles the efforts of African people in the American south from the Reconstruction era until 1935.

Vanessa Siddle Walker (1999) writes that Anderson’s book covers the period up to 1935 and “provides an important context for understanding the schools that were created and sustained from 1935 to 1969 (p. 257). Her review covers the period from 1935 to 1965 a period that she

writes “roughly corresponds with the emergence of widespread state-supported education for African American segregated education... and concludes approximately during the dismantling of segregated systems” during the desegregation period (p. 256). She summarizes the findings of her review as follows.

The available literature indicates that the segregated schools in the south appear to have certain consistent characteristics. These included exemplary teachers and principals who increasingly were well trained and who created their own culture of teaching; curricular and extra curriculum activities that reinforced the values of the school and community; parental support of school, both in its financial needs and its cultural programs; and school principals who provided the leadership that implemented the vision that parents and teachers held about how to uplift the race (p. 276).

A most significant finding of this review is that none of this scholarship contradicts the earlier historical accounts in the frank description of inequality. To the contrary, they confirm the presence and injustice of a system that failed to meet the needs of some of its students based on color. However, the studies do extend understanding of the schools by providing an up-close view of the education that occurred in these settings and they stand in opposition to the studies that depict African American segregated schooling as unilaterally inferior. What emerges in these accounts is a particular kind of schooling born of the struggles associated with inequality, but nevertheless associated with successful schooling practices in the minds of constituents and on some limited objective criteria. The consistency of this perspective demands that it be welded into a comprehensive understanding of the era of segregated education (p. 277).

Writing after the Black school system had been dismantled, Adair (1984) adds an additional perspective on the value of the segregated African schools systems. It clears up another misconception concerning Jim Crow era African schools, which is that these schools operated as if they were islands isolated from one another. In fact it was a regional school system with much organization at the local, state, and regional level with much potential.

At least blacks once had institutional structures with which to achieve equity and parity in the American society. Without these institutional supports, the struggle for justice is based on individual Blacks' achievements. The reality has been that uncoordinated individual initiatives do not result in system or institution-wide progress and change. It is

only through collective and organized efforts that meaningful change is effected (pp. 132-33).

### **Faculty Desegregation and African History**

It is important to understand desegregation as a cultural and spiritual war among other things. Ani writes that “the cultural other is a creation of European culture, constructed, in part, to answer the needs of the European utamarho. The utamarho is expansionistic... In European ideology the cultural other is like the land-territory or a space into which Europeans expand themselves. The cultural other is there for Europeans to define, to “make over.” That is why they can describe their new awareness of objects, peoples, and territories as their “discoveries” (403). Indeed, desegregation has resulted in an extension of White power over schools where Black children are educated. Furthermore, Ani writes that

European culture has an enormous capacity for the perpetration of physical violence against other cultures; it’s integrity is not threatened nor disrupted by such occurrences. The physical body may be critical to the maintenance of human existence, but the quality of that existence depends very much on our mental and spiritual condition. First world cultures tend to be spiritually oriented, and therefore cultural violence (ideology and psychological) is at least as damaging to their humanity as is physical violence (p. 427).

These statements are confirmed by my analysis of faculty desegregation as I will demonstrate in this section.

According to Linda Tillman (2004), when the Brown ruling was handed down in 1954 there were 82,000 African teachers who were responsible for teaching 2 million African students. By 1965 over 38,000 African teachers had been dismissed or demoted. Black schools were systematically closed and Black youth sent to predominately white schools where they were not wanted. Yet, at this time desegregation had not yet reached the deep-south. East Baton Rouge would not begin integrating faculty until 1970. A cruel irony is that White teachers did not even want to teach African youth. Faculty desegregation was one of the many tragic events



in the history of Africans in America. The 100 year struggle of African people to build schools since the end of slavery was for all practical purposes a struggle in vein. The 1970s would prove to be a tragic decade for African educators throughout the south.

Sensing the encroachment of faculty desegregation coming to Louisiana, J.K. Haynes, executive secretary of the Louisiana Education Association (LEA) is quoted as prophetically stating

dissolving the separate black and white school systems has not led to true integration but has resulted in demotions of Negro principals and the transfer of the best Negro teachers into white classrooms. 'In nearly every instance in the unitary school system the assumption is that a black principal, regardless of his qualifications, is not to serve as administrator in an integrated school,' he said. As for the effects of this trend that he sees, Haynes stated: 'the black school in many instances has historically been a prestigious institution in the black community. The black educators have provided the image and to a great extent some degree of affluence in the black community. *In the absence of this institution and the black educator there is created a void in the black community and as a consequence the black youngsters will be emasculated of all motivation, aspiration and hope.*'" [emphasis mine] ("Veteran Educator Bemoans Loss of Negro Teachers and Principals," The Advocate, October 6, 1968).

What Haynes is predicting is spiritual destruction. This is in part a war on the African spirit.

Likewise at a 1960 conference of Black social science teachers, Dubois (1973) prophesized on the future of Black teachers and Black history once desegregation began,

Take for instance the current problem of the education of our children. By the law of the land today they should be admitted to the public schools. If and when they are admitted to these schools certain things will inevitably follow. Negro teachers will become rarer and in many cases will disappear... Negro history will be taught less or not at all (p. 151).

Therefore, when we consider Dubois' historical perspective that Africans were the originators of civilization, it becomes clear that the social studies taught in black schools had powerful currents that were contradictory to the European cultural asili's image of the cultural other and therefore

did not serve its drive for power. Dubois' version of history regarding the role Africans have played in the development of "civilization" is simply intolerable to white utamaroho.

Faculty desegregation began in Baton Rouge during the 1970-71 school-year. African American teachers began almost immediately trying to make Black studies a part of the social studies curriculum. A 1972 *Advocate* article, for example, reports that "Black studies programs are being slowly woven into high school curriculums throughout Louisiana...many Louisiana school systems, although without an official policy statement from the state Department of Education, are developing bibliographies and teaching guides for black studies programs." The article goes on to note that "Southern University in Baton Rouge developed two one-year programs, the instituted in Black Studies and the Experienced Fellowship program." ("Black Studies Programs Appear In Number of La. High Schools," *The Advocate*, March 16, 1972) Although the Department of Education never produced an official policy statement concerning Black Studies, their policy of demoting and firing black teachers throughout the state was certainly indicative of state authorities' feelings about black history.

For example, a 1973 *Advocate* article reports on a Louisiana Education Association report (LEA), which was the state's black teachers association. The article demonstrates the tragic impact of desegregation policy on Black teachers and, relatedly, Black communities.

The desegregation process in Louisiana continues to take its toll on black teachers and principals, a study conducted by the Louisiana Education Association indicates. Blacks represented 36.8 percent of all teachers in the 1966-67 school year but this proportion had declined to 33.5 percent by 1971-72 the last full year covered by the LEA report. There was a decline of 151 principals during the period, or 10 percent of the number of black principals in the first year included in the reports. The percentage of black principals fell from 35.3 per cent to 25.5 per cent of the total number of principals. Nine of the state's 66 school systems now have no black principals. In 1966-67 these nine school systems had a total of 23 black principals among them ("Loss of Black Principals, Teachers Hit in LEA Report," *The Advocate*, April 29, 1973).

The article continues by reporting on an NEA report that stated that “the wholesale demotion and dismissal of black teachers and administrators in the South threaten eventually to render the teaching profession in the Southern states totally white.” Furthermore, the LEA estimated “that if the percentage of black teachers and principals were the same today as in 1966-67, there would be 1,402 additional black teachers and 139 black principals” (IBID).

A 1969 *Advocate* article reveals the vicious nature of this plant. The article reports on a National Education Association (NEA) investigation into discriminatory faculty desegregation practices. The article states that

Several complaints in written form were given to a National Education Association field team which canvassed the state some three months ago investigation discriminatory practices. At meetings held in Livingston and Baton Rouge the NEA team heard reports that some Negro teachers had been demoted to the point where they were assigned some of the janitorial duties of a school (“Five Negro Educators file Motion in District Court,” *The Advocate*, February 17, 1970).

The cultural other can be treated any kind of way.

The issue of protecting ‘black identity dominated the LEA’s 1973 convention. An *Advocate* article reports that “The survival of ‘black identity’...dominated the annual convention of the Louisiana Education Association this week... speaker after speaker hammered home the more localized point that blacks must preserve their ethnic identity while forming alliances with whites and other groups to achieve political goals” (“‘Black Identity’ Issue Dominates LEA Meet”, *The Advocate*, November 22, 1973). This is a consequence of the European cultural asili which is unable to respect other cultures. During this time calls were being made and plans were being drawn up that would require teachers to pass a standardized tests in order to teach in Louisiana. This is a development that would have tragic consequence for Black teachers and Black colleges of education and relatedly the African community.

## **Testing Teachers and the Impact on Black Colleges of Education**

Standardized tests have been the primary tool used to dismiss African educators and to reduce the number of Africans entering the field. A 1977 *Advocate* article reports that the Louisiana legislature passed Act 16 which stipulated that anyone applying for a teaching license after September 15, 1978 must pass an examination which includes English proficiency, pedagogical knowledge (knowledge of teaching in general) and knowledge in the area of specialization (“Study of Teacher’s Exam to Start Soon,” *The Advocate*, October 2, 1977). The article goes on to note that “the most vocal opponent in Louisiana has been the predominantly Black Louisiana Education Association, which views the examination as a tool of racial discrimination.” African teachers had reason to be afraid.

An August 10, 1978 *Advocate* article is revealing in regard to the asili’s tenacity. Considering the context it is safe to assume that the tests were geared to keep Africans from entering the teaching profession. It is also important to remember that these tests embody the image of the cultural other (the savage African). The article reports that J. Kelly Nix, superintendent of education said that the certification test “is going to put pressure on universities to improve their programs to turn out better qualified teachers.” The article goes on to report that Nix had said that he “expects a substantial number of those who take the test to fail.” Nix is then quoted as saying that “I think it’s going to weed out a lot of those who never should have graduated from the university in the first place.”

The article also demonstrates the arbitrariness of passing scores. Nix said that he had not yet determined the score required to pass the exam but admitted that “he wants to set the score at the high end of the scale.” He is quoted as predicting that “a lot of *them* are going to fail it and not be able to get a job in Louisiana... then they’re going to look back at where they graduated

from and they're going to say, 'what happened? How come I went to school four years and can't pass the NTE?'" [emphasis mine] ("Nix Says NTE Certification Tests Will Put Pressure on Universities," *The Advocate*, August 10, 1978). And it worked.

It is important to note here that the teaching tradition at Historically Black Colleges and Universities has always and necessarily been vastly different from that of White colleges and universities. This can be demonstrated in part by the fact that HBCUs were often proponents of teaching Black history. Likewise, Black colleges and universities were more concerned with the uplift of African people in America, whereas White colleges and universities were not. Furthermore, it is safe to assume that the curriculum being offered at Black schools were not used as a standard for what teachers entering the profession should know as it relates to determining what should be on the test. In other words, the tests were not aligned with the HBCU teacher training curriculum. Hence the tests should be considered inherently unfair.

The very year that faculty desegregation was started in 1970, Representative Donald W. Williamson had offered recommendations for improving public education in Louisiana by reappraising all colleges with "rigid, uniform tests" and that "all programs which produced graduates with substandard teaching degrees should be upgraded, or if impossible to do so, eliminated and then consolidated into other schools." ("La. Lawmakers Recommends Improvements in Teaching," *The Advocate*, March 4, 1970). Considering the context, the good representative must have been talking about Southern and Grambling which produced most of Louisiana's African teachers. The implication is that Black colleges would have to align their curriculum with the teacher certification tests, which would effectively make them irrelevant to the black experience, or be shut down. This is exactly what happened.

An April 23, 1979 *State Times* article paraphrases Southern Universities Board of Supervisor President Reverend Lionel Johnson as saying that “some improvement in Southern’s NTE scores will occur in the next few exams, but a big enough gain won’t be made until the curricula in the school of education is changed.” The article goes on to quote Dean Edward Ellois as saying “I’m convinced we are maximizing our efforts to help students meet the education requirements... The education is going through a metamorphosis. And I think it will be changed for the better... We hope to eventually improve our NTE scores by taking another look at our curricula and by studying the scores” (“SU Says Poor NTE Scores Were Expected This Time,” *State Time*, April 23, 1979). Indeed, the certification tests worked just as planned.

A *Journal of Negro Education* article written by, of all people, an employee of the Educational Testing Service, reveals the impact of teacher testing on Grambling University’s College of Education. The article notes that “of 494 students completing teacher-education programs at public Black colleges in the state only 14 passed the certification tests-less than 3 percent. Only 8 of 156 Grambling State University (GSU) students taking the tests achieved the score required for certification” (Spencer, 1988, p. 294). Aside from the question of fairness when we considering the context and the deceptive nature of the European cultural asili, the question arises, did all of these students really fail the test? Really? Can the ETS and state officials even be trusted with such a powerful tool? I don’t believe they can be. The question that arises in my mind is how can we be certain that this many students actually failed?

Nevertheless, the article states, “despite a united effort by Grambling and other Black colleges in the state to resist the NTE requirement, it remains in effect. In time, the need to serve its students well caused Grambling’s College of Education officials to move from resistance, and focus instead on improving the teacher-education program to ensure that its graduates would

pass the NTE” (Spencer, 1988, p. 297). The changes effectively turned Grambling into a testing center. For example, the article notes the following changes in addition to changes in the curriculum and admission were made: (1) implementation of computer and software for remediation and instruction in test-taking skills; (2) offered intensive in-service training for faculty in test development and how to monitor student progress more effectively; (3) provide test-taking skill seminar to students; and (4) implemented diagnostic testing and remediation programs (Spencer 1988, p. 298). From my recent observation of Southern University’s College of Education, it is easy to see that these changes were also implemented there and persist til this day.

### **The Continuing Denial of Black Power and the Extension of White Power in “Integrated” but Predominately African Schools**

Adair’s (1984) comments are instructive for understanding what desegregation policy means in terms of African people having influence on the destiny of African children.

The many landmark court decisions in civil rights cases are examples of assaults upon this white stronghold. Yet this White power empire remains fully intact. In fact, their power has now been strengthened in the educational system as a result of the extension of their direct control over the management and administration of public education for Blacks at the school building and classroom levels. This supplantation was the direct consequence of the desegregation movement, which has been one-way, from quasi-Black control of Black schools to practically total white control (p. 16).

When one considers the results of desegregation policy the notion that desegregation represents progress for black people seems utterly ridiculous. Dubois (1935) made a similar point back in 1933. To the question as to “Are these separate schools and institutions needed?” he answered,

And the answer, to my mind, is perfectly clear. They are needed just so far as they are necessary for the proper education of the Negro race the proper education of any people includes sympathetic touch between teacher and pupil; knowledge on the part of the teacher, not simply of the individual taught, but of his surroundings and background, and the history of his class and group (p. 328).

Dubois was pointing to the fact that the White teaching force as a collective was not able or willing to provide Africans with the education that they needed in order to prepare us for life in America. Martin Luther King made this point as well during the 1960s.

I favor integration on buses and in all areas of public accommodation and travel. I am for equality. However, I think integration of our public schools is different. In that setting, you are dealing with one of the most important assets of an individual—the mind. White people view Black people as inferior. A large percentage of them have a very low opinion of our race. People with such a low view of the Black race cannot be given free rein and put in charge of intellectual care and development of our boys and girls (Brown 2004, p. 203-204).

Dubois' and King's point provokes the question: if not African teachers for African children then Who? How in the world can closing Black schools and firing African educators on such an enormous scale be considered progress?

Since Black and White faculties were desegregated, faculty turnover has continually plagued schools that primarily “educate” African children. An *Advocate* articles during the late 1960s reveal that school officials feared a mass exodus of white teachers that would destroy the public education system if integrated. The article reports that

Louisiana's pubic school leaders are seriously concerned about a mass exodus of teachers from classrooms when total integration hits the school system in September. Already the teacher retirement office is receiving inquiries from white teachers about how to go about retiring in the face of almost sure assignment to Negro Schools in September under the federal court's total school integration order. The teacher shortage could become so acute this fall that it could be necessary for the governor to step in and ask the legislature to take some kind of action...in a few parishes school boards have experimented with assignment of white teachers to Negro schools and almost unanimously it has not worked out... the white teachers usually ask to be relieved after a few days – usually because of pressure from families and friends...School boards are now trying to recruit volunteers from among white teachers to move to negro schools, but so far have few takers. Another move will be to try to assign new teachers in a system to Negro schools to comply with court orders... (“School Integration May Cause Teacher Exodus,” *The Advocate*, June 9, 1967).



Another *Advocate* article 10 years later states that

a special committee has been studying the reasons for faculty instability [as if they did not already know] and possibly may report by early March on recommendation for dealing with the problem. The proportionately higher number of inexperienced teachers in predominantly black schools results from the combination of two policies – a “seniority” provision used when involuntary transfers are necessary and the “three year” rule applied in granting voluntary transfers...U.S. District Judge E. Gordon West, for the 1970-1971 school year, approved a faculty desegregation plan...under the plan when a teacher was to be moved, if there were no volunteers, the teacher with the least seniority was transferred. Because white teacher outnumbered black teachers and because there were proportionality more ‘experienced’ black teachers than there were ‘experienced’ white teachers the transfer procedure often resulted in ‘white’ schools getting experienced black teachers, and ‘black’ schools getting inexperienced white teachers [emphasis mine] (“Teacher transfers Add to Problem,” *The Advocate*, January 17, 1978).

This article, therefore, is evidence that the Blacks schools were better before desegregation since the Black schools got the worst teachers from White schools and White schools got the best teachers from Black schools. And if that was not enough, the White teachers were given the chance to leave after three years if they were not satisfied, which for all practical purposes placed Black schools at the bottom of the career ladder. It in fact compounded the problem because once the three years was up another first year teacher was bought in. Another point worth making is that Black teachers had more of the right kind of experience if we take Dubois’ statement about the importance of culture seriously. After all, Black teachers were once Black children. The notion that integration represents progress is ridiculous.

Teacher turnover has continued unabated since. A May 17, 1996 *Advocate* article notes that “At North Highlands Elementary School, two of every three teachers quit or transferred in the five years ending in May 1994. Including turnover this year, 14 of the school's 33 teachers have three years or less experience.” The article quotes Principal Helair as saying that “new teachers are often energetic and fresh, but the constant turnover doesn't do much for the stability

of her school. Teachers ‘don't get to know the kids well, or the community well. You have to know the culture,’ Helair said. Some new teachers have trouble dealing with inner-city children. ‘It is so different from what they expected,’ Helair said” (“With a Higher Teacher Turnover Rate and Buildings in Worse Physical Shape Than the Majority of White Schools, Majority Black Schools in East Baton Rouge Parish are...; Striving for Equity,” *The Advocate*, May 17, 1996).

From my own experience teaching a freshman level college course, a semester never passes without Teach for America trying to recruit college students to teach in predominately Black schools for two years. I tell them no. Therefore, Black schools have gone from having experienced teachers who were part of the community to having many inexperienced teachers who have never attended a class in a college of education. Furthermore, most have spent their entire life up to that point trying to stay as far away from Black folk as possible.

### **The Struggle Continues for African Educators**

A 1993 *Times Picayune* article speaks of a plan offered to the Louisiana Board of Regents that would improve the education services provided to the African community. The plan was created by officials of the J.K. Haynes Foundation and sought a \$10 million grant that would increase the number of Black teachers throughout the state. The proposed plan called for

historically black colleges in Louisiana – private Xavier and Dillard universities and public Grambling State and Southern universities – to form a consortium ‘dedicated to the development and implementation of a plan for increasing the availability of certified, competent and challenging black teachers in the state’ through ‘aggressive recruitment of talented black high school graduates to prepare for the teaching profession (“Teachers: Proposal Calls For More Black Educators,” *Times Picayune*, December 11, 1993).

The plan was never supported by the state, which continued a long history of denying the Black community control of our own education. It is important to reconsider Dubois' statement at the conference of Black Social Studies teaches that I mentioned above. Indeed, black teachers are a necessary component for an African history curriculum. Without, African teachers there can be and never will be African history.

In the next chapter, I will discuss the reforms that began during the early and mid-1990s which have blossomed into the accountability school model. This is when the U.S. Supreme court began releasing school districts from its authority. This allowed the school accountability model to more rapidly mature. The hopes, aspirations, and dreams of Africans for African children were once again ignored. During the period of Federal Court supervision, schools were required to have at least 40% of its faculty black. I recently observed a so called autonomous school that had only one Black teacher while only one student was white. Dubois' prediction that black teachers might disappear totally could possibly become reality.

## CHAPTER 6

### **FULL BLOOM AND POISONOUS FRUIT: WILLIE RAINACH'S SCHOOL ACCOUNTABILITY MODEL REACHES MATURITY**

In this chapter, my aim is to demonstrate that the school accountability model which consists of the private corporations managing schools regulated by standardized test scores is an outgrowth of the European cultural asili reengineered by Rainach. The school model that has grown out of the 1950s legislation was stunted by federal court supervision; however, it remained spiritually potent until Federal Court's began releasing school districts from its control. In the 1991 *Dowell v. Oklahoma City* case, the U.S. Supreme Court declared the Oklahoma City school district "unitary," thus handing down the first decision freeing a school district from Federal court supervision. Soon thereafter Louisiana's school authorities began pruning the old energy sapping branches and making way for vigorous new growth. The federal court retreat provided a more hospitable habitat in which the plant could vigorously mature into full adulthood.

A 1957 *State Times* article demonstrates the astuteness of Rainach's vision as it relates to the limits of the law. The article quotes Rainach, referring to a recent district court ruling against his 1956 legislation package, as saying

We're gaining strength in every state in the South and also nationally. The legislatures of the South are taking action along a pattern Louisiana laid out originally. Louisiana was the first state in the South to lead the fight against the 1954 Supreme Court decision. The district court acted unwisely in handing down this opinion. I think it is just a matter of time until we'll amass enough strength so the federal courts will have to seize upon some point of law to extricate themselves from the mess they've gotten themselves into with their decisions. ("State's 1956 School Acts Invalid, U.S. Court Ruling," *State Times*, April 17, 1957)

Rainach's words were prophetic as recent developments demonstrate. Like the history curriculum, which I discussed in an earlier chapter, laws and court rulings that do not serve the asili's appetite for power are unenforceable and must eventually yield to the asili's aggressive nature. The legal structure will eventually revert to a pattern consistent with the asili's nature.

A 2003 Baton Rouge *Advocate* article that reports on the Federal Court's decision to release East Baton Rouge Parish from Court supervision evidences Rainach's astuteness. It quotes Brace Godfree, a leader of the *Citizen's* Task Force on Education Improvement, which was a group of White local business and community leaders formed to bring the case to an end. He says "The law has finally reached its limits." ("Settlement Signed\*\*\*Judge Gives Up Control of Schools," *The Advocate*, August 15, 2003).

It is an interesting note that when the suit was finally settled, objections were filed by five members of the NAACP Education Committee and Fannie Godwin, activist, and Mattie Cox, mother of a 4-year old girl. Judge Brady claimed that he took the objections seriously but said they are better directed at the school board. These objections were critical and provide insight into the level of destruction to African education that had been done over the years. Furthermore, it provides an indictment of the notion that desegregation represents progress and in addition allows us to better understand the meaning of progress. Clara Glasper, head of the education committee, objected to the large number of inexperienced and untrained teachers in the parish from programs such as Teach for America. This must be understood in light of Walker's research noted in the previous chapter that demonstrates the high number of experienced African teachers in segregated Black schools which had been unfairly characterized and dismantled. In addition, Cox objected to the creation of a school wide magnet program that would be created at the expense of neighborhood schools attended mostly by Black children. As an example she

provided Polk Elementary, which she mentioned had received accolades for its efforts to improve reading. Cox is quoted as saying that “This court has a long record of destroying successful programs” (“Settlement Signed\*\*\*Judge Gives Up Control of Schools,” The Advocate, August 15, 2003).

Before moving on, it must be noted here that during the 1950s the asili’s nature was overt— Rainach never bit his tongue. Like Ani says the asili reveals its essence in times of confrontation and ambivalence. As I aim to demonstrate the current school model has grown from the asili that was reengineered by Rainach. Although these laws were ruled unconstitutional by federal court rulings, they were merely reconstituted in different language and fed to the public as if they were new and altruistic. Make no mistake, Rainach’s law is the law that we live by. Furthermore, Ani (1994) writes that European law works by disarming the cultural other with its moralistic but meaningless words.

it victimizes those people unfortunate enough to get in the way of Europe’s imperial stride. Such victims unfortunately confuse the concept with “morality”; but the ideas of legality and morality have little relationship; in European ideology. ‘Legality’ has to do with behavioral consistency and order and is secularly sanctioned...the separation of morality and law, the phenomenon of mass hypocrisy; the separation of emotional commitment from action are all encouraged by the European tradition in the use of words without meaning (p. 416).

Ani raises the question, “How many times have the victims of European hypocrisy been duped into trying to deal with those laws rather than with the true nature of the European ethic?” (p. 414) That European law has to do only with behavioral constituency and not justice or morality is evidenced by Rainach’s statement to citizen’s council members at a 1961 rally “No force on earth can stop you from arranging your own social order if you are determined” (“Brownfields Citizens Eye Private Schools,” State Times, May 9, 1961). They were determined

and they eventually arranged *their* social order the way it had been and the way they wanted it to continue to be – Whites at the top and Blacks at the Bottom.

As I mentioned the 1991 *Dowell v. Oklahoma City* decision marks the beginning of the period where the asili could began to unfold without restraint. And in the 2003 *Davis v. East Baton Rouge Parish* decision we witness the beginning of the period in which the school accountability model could vigorously mature into the deadly plant that we see today. Since 2003 the newspaper has been littered with reports of public schools being taken over and chartered out to private management organizations. It is important to note that these schools are considered bad schools not so much because they are public schools but because they are predominately Black. All schools that have been taken over by the state of Louisiana have had a population of students that is overwhelmingly African.

As I noted above the state takeovers are justified by standardized test scores. As I noted in an earlier chapter, the standardized testing program embody the image of the intellectually inferior and uncivilized African. Indeed, the moment that the testing program began is exactly when we first hear cries from the legislature to close public schools. A 1954 *Advocate* article reports on an amendment to Louisiana's constitution that would empower the legislature to abolish the entire public school system, "As explained at the legislative session, the amendment would mean that if the Legislature saw fit to abolish the public schools in an effort to continue segregation, this proposal could be submitted to the electorate at a special election instead of waiting for two years" (Segregation Amendment Is One of four on Schools," *The Advocate*, October 21, 1954). Furthermore, a law that would provide for the establishment of an alternative private schools system died in a legislative session ("Consider Abolishment of Public School System as Last Resort Defense Against Integration," *State Times*, September 30, 1957).

Nevertheless, Rainach was relentless in his political activities. In 1958 the privatization law became a reality. A 1958 *State Times* article demonstrates that school privatization was intended to serve the agenda of white domination. The article notes that past laws had been declared unconstitutional by federal courts and continues by quoting Rainach. He states:

Louisiana was the first state in the United States to strike back at the black Monday decision of the Supreme Court on May 17, 1954. We struck back with legislation which has prevented to this day any integration in our public schools... We struck back in 1956, but they have not seen anything until they see the 1958 Legislature in action... We now are ready to assume the offensive in the segregation fight and plan to come out with laws closing our schools... We plan to reopen those schools under the police powers of the state. If that fails, we plan measures which will open them as private schools... (“Occupied State Schools to close Sen. Rainach Says,” *State Times*, January 27, 1958).

A January 4, 1961 article makes lucid the anatomy of this plant as it began to unfold from inside of the asili. The article quotes then Governor Jimmie Davis as stating that

In 1958 the people of Louisiana voted for and approved a constitutional amendment authorizing the legislature to provide for the education of Louisiana children in private, non-sectarian, nonprofit schools on an elementary and secondary level. The legislature passed enabling acts 257 and 258 in 1958, to establish educational cooperatives. The acts stated, ‘It shall be the policy of the state to make an education expense grant available to each eligible child, as provided under this act, which is equal to the per day, per student amount of state and local funds expended on public schools throughout the state...’ This is a mandate from the people to the governor and the legislature to provide adequate funds for the grant-in-aid program (“Text of Davis’ Statement,” *The Advocate*, January 4, 1961).

Furthermore a new law was passed in 1961 that would allow educational cooperatives to acquire public school property. The new bill read as follows

Any parish or city school board may sell, lease or otherwise dispose of, at public or private sale, for cash or on terms of credit, any real or personal property used in connection with the operation of any school or schools within its jurisdiction, to any person, firm or corporation. Any such sale, lease or disposal of such property shall be on such terms and conditions and for such consideration as the school board shall prescribe



(“Local Option School Plan voted in House; Okay EBR Board Bill,” State Times, February 17, 1961).

Therefore, the legislative program of 1958 constituted what was then called educational cooperatives and grant-in-aid. My aim is to make it evident that educational cooperatives are what we now referred to as charter schools and grant-in-aid is what we now refer to as vouchers. Therefore, these fundamental components of the accountability school model can be seen as it began to unfold during the years immediately following *Brown*.

What we are witnessing here is the unfolding of charter schools and vouchers. Therefore it is clear that Rainach was attempting to structure a legal framework within which a system of private schools could operate. Why? Ani (1994) explains that capitalistic, exploitative, aggressive behaviors complementary to racialist thought (p. 258). Furthermore, Ani explains that

because of the spiritual void in European culture and its ideological individualism, capitalism was able to gain hold and to flourish...And because of the success of capitalism in the West the concepts of individual freedom and possession were reinforced, while any attempt to discover human spirituality was discouraged. The essence of the human spirit is inseparable from communalism. The ethos of capitalism presupposes and thrives on ‘moral ‘individualism and autonomy—the denial of human spirituality (pp. 381-82).

In the accountability school model, charter schools behave like corporations acting without any moral restraint to maximize the bottom line—test scores. They compete relentlessly against one another—school district against school districts, schools against schools, teachers against teachers, and students against students. Every school and every student is out for self-glorification. This is the paradise for the European utamaroho.

Likewise, vouchers serve the same role in school systems that money serves in the marketplace. Although money is not a European creation it fits the European utamaroho and in

Europe it became the force that it is today. H.G. Wells' (1949) discussion concerning the evolution, role, and impact money had in Greece and Rome is insightful. He explains

Another respect in which the Roman system was a crude anticipation of our own, and different from any preceding political system we have considered, was that it was a cash-and credit-using system. Money had been in the world as yet for only a few centuries. But its use had been growing; it was providing a fluid medium for trade and enterprise, and changing economic conditions profoundly. In republican Rome, the financier and the 'money' interest began to play a part recognizably similar to their roles to-day.

We have already noted-in our account of Herodotus-that a first effect of money was to give freedom of movement and leisure to a number of people who could not otherwise have enjoyed these privileges. And that is the peculiar value of money to mankind. Instead of a worker or helper being paid in kind and in such a way that he is tied as much in his enjoyment as in his labour, money leaves him free to do as he pleases amidst a wide choice of purchasable aids, eases, and indulgences. He may eat his money or drink it or give it to a temple or spend it in learning something or save it against some foreseen occasion. That is the good of money, the freedom of its universal convertibility. But the freedom money gives the poor man is nothing to the freedom money has given the rich man. With money rich men ceased to be tied to lands, houses, stores, flocks, and herds. They could change the nature and locality of their possessions with an unheard-of freedom.. In the third and second century B.C., this release, this untethering of wealth, began to tell upon the general economic life of the Roman and Hellenized world. People began to buy land and the like not for use, but to sell again at a profit; people borrowed to buy, speculations developed. No doubt there were bankers in the Babylon of 1,000 B.C., but they lent in a far more limited and solid way, bars of metal and stocks of goods. That earlier world was a world of barter and payment in kind, and it went slowly-and much more staidly and stably-for that reason (pp. 458-59)

It is not a coincidence that money appears in its current form with the ascendance of Greece and Rome. Perhaps, then, money is the root of all evil. It allows individualism to flourish. It is useful here and now to recall Ani's (1994) assertion that "the essence of the human spirit is inseparable from communalism. The ethos of capitalism presupposes and thrives on 'moral individualism and autonomy—the denial of human spirituality'" (pp. 381-820). Since spirituality implies connectivity, money represents the destruction of the human spirit. Likewise, vouchers

destroy the potential of communities working together to build healthy community schools. This is because it kills everyone's interest in community schools as each is "freed" to chase their individual self-interest elsewhere.

This is the case unless you are poor since as Wells note from Herodutus that "the freedom money gives the poor man is nothing to the freedom money has given the rich man." Frank Brown (2004), educational historian, makes this point in his critique of the charter school and voucher movement. He explains that

the promoters of school choice give the impression to Black parents that simply having the option to choose the school their children will attend allows these parents control over the education of their children. The history of such programs is that there are limited options because of geographical distance to some schools and the attractiveness of these schools for middle-class families with more political influence...in the absence of more politically powerful consumers, vouchers may not purchase superior schooling for poor Black children, and an expansion of vouchers to all income groups may further segment schools by race, ethnicity, income, and ability (p. 199).

Here we can see a clear connection between ancient Greece and Rome on the one hand and the accountability school model on the other. Plantation education has very deep roots.

The economic utamawazo for the accountability school model is represented by the Free Enterprise curriculum. It is no coincident that the Free Enterprise curriculum was mandated starting in 1961. This is the moment that the Supreme Court ordered the New Orleans school district to integrate and school privatization laws went into effect. The Free Enterprise curriculum provides the economic understanding needed in order to manage a school within a system of privatized schools and to function efficiently as a student within this framework. Thus in 1961 we witness the Free Enterprise curriculums being articulated and refined along side the creation of educational cooperatives and vouchers all of which are provoked by the savage African imagery.

Relatedly, the standardized testing program is another component of the state accountability program. As I mentioned in the opening chapter the state accountability (testing) program can be traced to joint resolution no. 27 which authorized the legislature to use parish school boards to gather racial data via I.Q. tests upon which a legislative program can be based. Furthermore, East Baton Rouge Parish began its testing program during the 1954-1955 school year. From this beginning standardized testing has grown to dominate school policy.

Rainach's official reign as chairman of the Joint Segregation committee ended in 1959 as a consequence of his unsuccessful bid for Louisiana's governor's office. His endorsement, however, was a primary factor in James "Jimmie" Davis subsequently being elected to serve as governor (Stowe 1989). Jimmie Davis background is important here. He was a former Social Studies teacher at his old school at Beech Springs and Weston Grammar School and later taught Social Science at Dodd College in Shreveport after he had received a master's degree from Louisiana State University in 1927 ("Louisiana's New Governor Master of the 'Soft Sell,'" *The Advocate*, January 3, 1960, *The Advocate*). This is important because Davis was governor when Louisiana's first schools were integrated in 1960.

Davis' (1927) master's thesis demonstrates his racial thought as it relates to history and intellect as it relates to the rightful place of Africans in American society. In it he began by writing

The present status of the negro brings America face to face with one of its greatest problems...in this brief study it is our plan to lay aside all prejudice and find out scientifically some of the specific points of similarity and difference between the children of the two races, and thus endeavor to assist in determining the position of each in accordance with his intellectual efficiency. (p. 4)

He continues by citing a passage from an 1898 book by Le Bon: "Doubtless very different races, the black and the white, for example, may fuse but the half-breeds that result constitutes a

population very inferior to those from which it is sprung, and utterly incapable of creating, or continuing, a civilization” (p. 11). This statement is clearly consistent with Ani’s notion of the cultural other. It also demonstrates the utamaroho since white supremacy serves as a motivational force. For data Davis compared I.Q. test scores between White, Mulatto, and Black children from Baton Rouge. He concluded that “The greatest difference between the white and the colored children was in reasoning power, in which the whites were very superior to both the mulattoes and the blacks” (p. 13).

The first Black students entered Baton Rouge’s White High schools in 1963. They had to pass “screening tests” in order to be admitted. A July 8, 1963 *Advocate* article notes that twenty eight of thirty eight students who had applied for school transfers successfully passed the screening tests. The desegregation plan which was approved by Federal Judge West involved only grade twelve and would include the eleventh grade the following year and an additional grade each successive year. (“28 Negroes Pass Screening Tests To EBR Schools,” *The Advocate*, August 24, 1963). This plan was opposed by the NAACP who was in favor of wanting integration to begin at the elementary school level. However, the court approved plan was favored by school officials because it would allow school personnel to consider “*intelligence tests*, past school work and other factors in deciding favorably or unfavorably on school transfers” [emphasis mine](“School Plan is Opposed by NAACP,” *The Advocate*, July 8, 1963).

In 1967 William Dodd, state superintendent of education, revealed one function of the 13-story Department of Education building then under construction. The article paraphrases Dodd as saying that “when the department moves into its new 13-story building now under construction a computer and data processing system will be established.” The article continues with a direct quote, “We envision a state-wide computer setup for education—one that will save

us millions of dollars and make it possible for us to evaluate factually all facets of education, both business and teaching” (“Dodd Says La. Public Schools Curriculum Being Improved,” *State Times*, August 23, 1967). Since the testing program’s initiation it has steadily grown to be more and more encompassing.

In 1977 the legislature passed Act 709 which created the “program of shared educational accountability.” An *Advocate* article reports that “The law calls for development of appropriate yardsticks for measuring the ability and progress of students and their teachers, as well as for educational administrators and other professional personnel at the local and state levels.” Dr. C.E. Thompson, assistant superintendent for research and development, called the program “a giant step forward” (“Ed Accountability Plan Presentation Set April 28,” *The Advocate*, February 22, 1977). The teacher certification test discussed in the previous chapter was a part of this accountability program.

The LEAP exam was one of the most controversial components of the 1999 accountability program reform. This is a high stakes test that determines whether or not students in the fourth and eighth grades would be promoted. It is not a new idea. We can witness it coming into being in 1978. In 1978 Louisiana’s Superintendent Kelly Nix, who we discussed in the previous chapter regarding teacher certification tests, discussed the possibility of such a test back in 1978 at the same time that the teaching tests were being constituted. An October 23, 1978 article reports that Nix discussed the possibilities of eighth graders being tested for functional literacy beginning in 1980 to determine if they would be promoted. The article reports that Nix predicted that “the state will have to provide alternative programs or ‘we’ll have the largest eighth grade in the history of the state”” (“NTE Applicants Expected to Do Well”

State Times, October 23, 1978). Indeed, Nix had the same sinister intent for African students as he had for African teachers. The consequences have been mutually devastating.

### **Vigorous Growth Begins**

I remind the reader that in 1991 the federal courts began to declare local school districts unitary thereby releasing them from its control. This decision allowed for a more hospitable habitat for the asili to more vigorously mature. The 2003 East Baton Rouge settlement bought on a period in which the plant began an even more rapid maturity into adulthood. A December 14, 1994 *Advocate* article reports that “a group of companies on Tuesday made a pitch for the state to move toward allowing private businesses to run some of Louisiana’s 1,400-plus public schools.” The article notes that the group referred to itself as “The Alliance For Schools That Work” and was comprised of four companies including KMPG Peat Marwick, Computer Curriculum Inc., Johnson Controls, and Education Alternatives Inc. The plan that Gaskins proposed is consistent with the citizen’s council school model—because it’s the very same model.

The article reports that the plan called for “the local school board continues to set policy, the local superintendent maintains his or her role, and the teachers are still public school employees as are the principals” (“Group Wants La. Schools Privatized,” *The Advocate*, December 14, 1994). During the next legislative session they got their way. An April 16, 1995 article reports that “a major push will be made during the current legislative session to launch an experiment in public education to test charter schools which would receive public funds but be free of most state regulation” (“Charter School Plan Under Construction,” *The Advocate*, April 16, 1995). The school model that had been stunted began to rapidly mature. A May 7, 1995 article reports on Senate Bill 1305 that would allow up to eight city or Parish school boards to have charter schools. The article also notes that “there has been a push by some for a voucher

system in which parents would receive credits from the state which could be used to pay tuition at any school of the parents' choice." Furthermore, the article coincidentally notes that eleven states had enacted legislation since 1991 that allowed charter schools. It just so happened that Federal Courts began releasing school districts from its control in that very year.

It is no a coincidence that 1957 *State Times* article paraphrases Rainach as saying that "discussion of possible abolishment of public schools was geared to a yet unformed plan to provide state aid to private schools with the State Board of Education and parish school boards retained to supervise and set educational standards" ("Consider Abolishment of Public School System as Last Resort Defense Against Integration," *State Times*, September 30, 1957). The point that I aim to make is that the charter school legislation grew from the asili that Rainach had reengineered during 1950s. It is for all practical purposes the same privatization legislation passed during the 1958 legislative session—just put in a more politically correct way.

In 1997 a voucher bill came up one vote short of approval from a Senate committee. Senate bill 343 would have provided a subsidy directly to students equal to the average per-pupil public school expenditure ("Voucher System Fails by One Vote; Senate Panel Votes 4-3 Against Bill," *The Advocate*, May 2, 1997). During the 1999 legislative session Senate Bill 299 made it past the senate committee. However, it would not become law. The bill would have been connected to "a new statewide educational accountability" program which ranked schools from "exemplary" to "academically unacceptable" based on student test scores, attendance and dropout rates ("School Voucher Plan Wins First Round," *The Advocate*, May 7, 1999).

In 1999 the accountability program that was constituted in 1978 was further refined and reconstituted in a manner in which individual schools would receive report cards so that they could be classified and compared based on whether or not they met growth requirement as



measured by improvement on standardized tests in order to justify which schools would be taken over. A 1999 *Advocate* article notes that schools would be classified based on the Louisiana Educational Assessment Program tests (LEAP), scores from the Iowa tests and attendance and dropout figures. The article goes on to state that one of the primary criticisms was that the “Leap tests *unintentionally* favor the white cultural experience” [emphasis mine] (“Accountability Can Be New Start For Education,” *The Advocate*, October 3, 1999).

It was also during this time that the Free Enterprise curriculum was being refined and reinforced. As I mentioned above, in 1961 Louisiana became the first state in the nation to mandate Free Enterprise and that this coincided with the establishment of educational cooperatives. I take this to mean that this is the *utamawazo* that is necessary to operate in the capitalistic system of schools both as managers and as students. It is how people must think in order for this model to function efficiently. In 2000 a group of businesses leaders calling themselves the Louisiana Coalition for Personal Financial Literacy lobbied state officials “to add personal finance to the list of requirements for all students, possibly in free enterprise classes.” At the time, the article notes that “some Louisiana schools do offer lessons in personal finance in class or extracurricular programs, there is no statewide program to ensure all students receive such training” (“Businesses Tout Plan to Teach Basic Finance,” *The Advocate*, February 6, 2000). The coalition consisted of the Credit Bureau of Baton Rouge Inc., the Consumer Credit Counseling Services, the Louisiana League of Credit Unions, the Catholic School Office of the Diocese of Baton Rouge, the Louisiana Retailers Association, Louisiana Public Broadcasting, the Chamber of Commerce of Greater Baton Rouge, the Louisiana Council on Economic Education, and a representative from the consumer finance industry (“Teachers Learn How to Add Personal-Finance Lessons,” *The Advocate*, June 8, 2000).

The coalition pushed East Baton Rouge Parish to begin training 60 teachers to use a program called “Wallet Wisdom” that would be used during the Fall 2000 semester (IBID). They also sponsored legislative Act 296 of the 2003 legislative session which required financial literacy topics be included in the Free Enterprise curriculum. In that year about 280 teachers participated in a month long personal finance workshop that would train them in “money management” (“Teachers Learn About Instruction in Money Matters,” *The Advocate*, June 28, 2003). The coalition was enormously successful. A 2007 *Advocate* article reports that according to a survey done by the National Council on Economic Education, “Louisiana ranks among the best states in delivering economics and personal finance education through its k-12 public schools...one of only nine states to require a course with personal finance content and to require testing on it” (“Louisiana Ranks High in Finance Education,” *The Advocate*, June 16, 2007).

Alfie Kohn (2004), insightfully reveals the strategy of the privatization game. It is perfectly vicious.

I try to imagine myself as a privatizer. How would I proceed? If my objective were to dismantle public schools, I would begin by trying to discredit them...Most important, if I had the power, I would ratchet up the number and difficulty of standardized tests that students had to take, in order that I could point to the predictably pitiful results. I would then defy my opponents to defend the schools that had produced students who had done so poorly (p. 81).

Therefore, if we are to take Kohn’s assertion to heart, we can see that the very privatizers who claim to want the best for kids are actually the ones that want public schools to fail in order for them to make them better by owning them. These people are a living contradiction.

The year 2003 was the year of reckoning or the year that schools would receive their judgment regarding whether they would live or die based on their report cards. A 2003 *Advocate* article reports that 6 East Baton Rouge schools were labeled “academically unacceptable” and

66% did not meet the minimum academic standards or failed to reach student growth rate.

“Roughly two-thirds of the public schools in Baton Rouge still don’t meet minimum academic standards or have failed to hit their latest student-growth targets. According to school performance scores released Thursday...Thursday’s scores mean 46 more schools are considered in need of ‘school improvement.’ They join 12 schools already in some state of this four stage process. These schools have failed to meet minimum standards or show sufficient annual academic growth. The longer they fall short, the more likely they are to suffer escalating penalties, including ultimately being placed under new management” (“66% of EBR Schools Fall Short of Standards or Growth Targets,” *The Advocate*, November 21, 2003).

Another advocate article quotes Clayton Wilcox, superintendent as stating that “We need more dramatic results, therefore we need drastic changes...” The article continues by noting that Wilcox intended to create a “district within a district” of schools *under his strict control* consisting of 12 schools that the state had identified as being in the “school improvement” process. The article continues by noting that Wilcox said that “more district wide changes, including increased use of *private education companies*, charter schools and more offerings for homeschooled students, are in the offering” [emphasis mine] (“Drastic School Plan Proposed” *The Advocate*, November 19, 2003).

A January 31, 2008 *Advocate* article notes that the state expected to take over 15 schools in EBR in the coming fall. And the number of schools that are vulnerable to state takeover continues to grow. “The state already oversees 66 troubled schools in New Orleans. They make up the Recovery School District. The four Baton Rouge public schools and seven others – 11 in all—could be added to that list next month. That tally may grow by another 39 this fall, including the 15 in East Baton Rouge Parish, said Scott Norton, assistant superintendent for student and

school performance.” The article continues by citing a Department of Education report that notes that throughout the state there were 49 failed public schools, 64 failing schools and 259 that were at risk for failing. And that the total represents 26 percent of the state’s approximately 1,500 public schools (“State Takeover Looms\*\*\*State Could Control 15 in East Baton Rouge,” *The Advocate*, January 31, 2008). At this rate Rainach might finally get his ultimate wish – to abolish the entire public education system. This seems to be a strong possibility for the not so distant future.

This indeed seems to be the intent. A 2010 *Advocate* article demonstrates the arbitrary nature of the scores that schools must make in order to avoid state takeover.

The minimum score required for public schools to avoid state takeovers will rise by 25 percent in the next two years state educators decided Tuesday. The State Board of Elementary and Secondary Education, which sets school policies statewide, voted 6-3 for the new rules. The guidelines apply to school performance scores, which are like annual state report cards that measure key test scores, attendance and dropout rates. Under existing rules, schools have to score at least 60 out of about 200 to avoid state sanctions, including state takeovers...The new rules raise the minimum score to 60 in 2011 and 75 in 2012 (“BESE Raises School Takeover Score,” *The Advocate*, January 13, 2010).

The article continues by noting that “the East Baton Rouge Parish school district has 38 schools with scores below 75.”

The eugenicist survival of the fittest mentality overtly evident during 1954 remains alive and well in the Louisiana legislature. A 2008 *Times Picayune* article reports that Louisiana Representative Johnny LaBruzzo proposed a plan that would “pay poor women \$1000 to have their Fallopian tubes tied.” The article reports that Labruzzo “worryes that people receiving government aid such as food stamps and publicly subsidized housing are reproducing at a faster rate than more affluent, better-education people.” The program would have also “include tax incentives for college-educated, higher income people to have more children.” The article reports

that LaBruzzo said that “other mainstream strategies for attacking poverty, such as education reforms...have repeatedly failed to solve the problem (“LaBruzzo: Sterilization Plan Fights Poverty; Tying Poor Women’s Tubes Could Help Taxpayers, Legislator Says,” Times Picayune, September 24, 2008). Indeed the school model is based on a survival of the fittest mindset. Capitalism and eugenics are perfectly compatible.

Correspondingly, a 2009 *Advocate* article reports on a House Bill 519 that would allow for more charter schools. Prior to this Louisiana law limited the number of charter schools to 70. The article reports that the bill was necessary so that Louisiana would be able to compete for charter school grants from the U.S. Department of Education. The article notes that the U.S. Department of Education was to be distributing grants from the \$4.35 billion Race to the Top Fund (“BESE Raises School Takeover Score,” *The Advocate*, January 13, 2010). Indeed the European utamaroho always wants to compete; it needs to constantly assure itself and all others that it is indeed superior.

As I mentioned above, two bills which would have established a system of vouchers failed to become law in 1997 and 1999, respectively. However, in 2008 governor Jindal proposed another voucher plan. This time vouchers were referred to as “scholarships.” An *Advocate* paraphrases Representative Jean-Paul Morrell as stating that “the new proposal is a way to get a foothold for vouchers in state laws and perhaps raise the budget for them later (“Jindal Floats Voucher Plan,” *The Advocate*, April 8, 2008). Jindal’s proposal became law in 2008 and provided \$10,000 for 1,500 students in the New Orleans public schools to attend private or parochial schools (“Aided Groups’ Scores Lacking\*\*\*State’s Tuition Plan Evaluated,” *The Advocate*, July 12, 2010). Within the New Orleans area we can see Rainach’s accountability school model reach full maturity.

Baton Rouge may not be too far behind. An April 15, 2011 *Advocate* article notes that a national pro-voucher group name the “Black Alliance for Educational Options” was recently in Baton Rouge attempting to generate support for private school vouchers. The meeting was held at a church in Scottlandville, a Black neighborhood where historically black Southern University is located. What does a Black group supporting a program initiated by the White Citizens Council signify? It signifies a break in the historical continuity with respect to the struggle against racist school policy. Relatedly, it signifies a critical lack of understanding of European culture. It signifies African people working within a white value system. It signifies African people working within a European value system and against their own self-interests. It signifies the power of the asili to conquer minds.

We also witness with the reconstitution of charter schools and vouchers the consistent denial of Africans in the educational process of African children. A 1995 *Advocate* article notes that “The Louisiana House on Tuesday approved a Senate-passed bill to allow experimental schools free of most public school rules and regulations. Ignoring worries expressed by some black lawmakers, the House voted 79-20 in favor of Sen. Cecil Picard’s SB1305 to allow charter schools to open in eight Louisiana public school districts...Seventeen of the 20 House members who voted against the proposal are Black” (“House Approves Bill on Charter Schools; Senate to Consider Amendments,” *The Advocate*, June 7, 1995).

What does the voucher development signify? Recalling Ani’s (1994) statement “The essence of the human spirit is inseparable from communalism. The ethos of capitalism presupposes and thrives on ‘moral ‘individualism and autonomy—the denial of human spirituality” (pp. 381-820). We can take this to mean that this development represents the death of community schools, the heart of the community, and therefore the death of spirit.

Indeed, it should be recalled that in the preceding chapter I discussed that during the early and mid-1990s just when the charter school, voucher, and accountability legislation were being formulated, a group of Black educators were calling for more black teachers and an African-centered school curriculum as a remedy to school problems. I also mentioned that their recommendation fell on deaf ears. Of course, how could anything that the cultural other have to say be worth listening to, let alone consideration. When the 1995 charter legislation was passed six groups filed for East Baton Rouge Parish Charters.

Two Black groups filed for charters, the J.K. Haynes Foundation and the House of Songhai. The experiences of these two groups are telling. The House of Songay proposed a school that would provide an African-centered curriculum and was led by Texas Southern professor Imari Obadele. Obadele was also the president of the Republic of New Afrika whose principal program of action included the establishment of an independent republic of New Africa in five southern states including Louisiana (“Multicultural issue shunted to Weiss in 8-4 board vote,” *The Advocate*, September 3, 1993). The House of Songhai’s charter proposal was denied.

The J.K. Haynes charter proposal was accepted and they established a charter school in 1997, teaching kids from kindergarten through second grade and added third grade in 1998. The faculty composition and student population was entirely African and the school used traditional teaching methods with small class sizes. Controversy arose over tests results in 1999 the year that the “new” accountability system was established and the first school report cards were issued. That year J.K. Haynes did exceptionally well on the standardized tests. According to an *Advocate* article test scores were in the top 10 percent to 20 percent in the country (“Test Scores Probe Racist, Official Says\*\*\*J.K. Haynes Head Critics School Worker, *The Advocate*,” The

Advocate, October 15, 1999). In the summer of that year J.K. Haynes officials requested that they be allowed to expand by adding grades four through six. They were denied.

A June 24, 1999 *Advocate* article notes that charter schools are experimental and that the idea is for the school system to adopt successful ideas. In addition the article reports that J.K. Haynes Elementary did better than schools in wealthier areas of the parish. Of the schools success Superintendent of schools Matthews is quoted as saying “What they've done defies the demographics of this test...They've defied the odds and I'm glad for them.” The article continues by paraphrasing Mathews as saying that “J.K. Haynes uses traditional teaching methods with small class sizes, and *East Baton Rouge doesn't have the money or space to duplicate that.*” The article goes on to quote Maurice Haynes, son of J.K. Haynes and one of the schools founders as saying that "We've worked too hard to get this kind of result...We weren't supposed to do well. Now that we are doing well, they're trying to defeat us...The American Dream says that if you do well, you get rewarded for it...We're doing well and we get punished" [emphasis mine] (“BESE Shy in Charter School Flap \*\*\* Panel Won't Back J.K. Haynes Appeal,” *The Advocate*, June 24, 1999).

J.K. Haynes officials then filed a lawsuit in July accusing the school board and BESE of “stonewalling” their efforts to expand. The school board then began to investigate J.K. Haynes for cheating and released a report to *The Advocate* without notifying J.K. Haynes officials. About the investigation Nelson Taylor, J.K. Haynes official, is reported as saying that “racism has a behavior pattern, a modus operandi, and we think that we’re looking at it...and if you want to know why the black community doesn’t trust school officials then you’re looking at an example and you’re participating in it. It’s historical and we think it’s despicable...We think that we’re being retaliated against because we exercised our right to criticize this School Board and



administration” (Test Scores Probe Racist, Official Says\*\*\*J.K. Haynes Head Criticizes School Worker,” The Advocate, October 15, 1999).

This case provides an example of how the asili works. We are in a no win situation. If a school population is comprised of an all-African faculty and student population and beat Whites on the test, it contradicts the notion of the cultural other and tests are rendered invalid. In addition, it disallows the European Utamaroho’s primary element, progress, to work effectively since Europeans are the standard of progress and Europeans then have no one to civilize since we are supposed to be moving on a path of evolution toward Europeaness. Nevertheless, it can be seen that when the notion of progress is shocked, Europeans are inspired to act in a vicious manner toward the cultural other.

We must remember that Rainach suggested that it would take thousands of years for Africans to reach the point of evolutionary development “achieved” by Europeans. “Intelligence is something that must be bred into people over thousands of years and, biologically speaking, the Negro mentality has not evolved to the same mental plan (sic) as that of the whites...statistics show... that the average level of negro (sic) intelligence is considerably below that of whites. (Stowe, 1989, p. 17). It is ironic that an African school comprised of an all-African faculty and student body achieved at a higher level than wealthier European schools during the first year that charter schools, Rainach’s invention, were assessed by standardized tests, Rainach’s policy. I mention this not to demonstrate that Africans can “achieve” at an “equal” level to Europeans but to demonstrate the foolishness of the European notion of racial equality of which Europeans are the standard. Who are they to be equal to? Who do they think they are?

## CHAPTER 7

### CONCLUSION AND RESEARCH IMPLICATIONS: RECOGNIZING FORBIDDEN FRUIT AND RESEEDING THE WORLD WITH INDIGENOUS AFRICAN SEEDS

My aim in this dissertation has been to demonstrate the power of African-centered thought to understand the essence of European culture in general and the school accountability model, specifically. I used Marimba Ani's Asili concept to conceptually frame my analysis. I demonstrated that the accountability school model grew in part from this European cultural Asili that William Rainach reengineered. I showed that standardized testing of teachers and students and the state takeover and subsequent privatization of public schools grew out of this asili which was reengineered in order to maintain European domination over Africans after the *Brown* ruling. I have shown that the image of the savage African is the foundation upon which accountability law rests. I have shown that the school accountability model is essentially power seeking.

Likewise, I have attempted to demonstrate that the utamaroho, which is one of the primary components of the asili, represents the spirit life or energy source of the culture, it is that which motivates European to act collectively. I demonstrated that throughout the period, progress and the European image of self as superior to all others was the primary energizing source. Thus when White supremacy or "progress," which again is white supremacy superimposed over time, is perceived to be threatened, you better watch out. I have attempted to demonstrate that the notion of progress has energized Europeans throughout the period under investigation.

Furthermore, another component of the Asili is the utamawazo, which is the cognitive thought structure that ensures that people think in a certain manner that will allow the Asili to

unfold and mature. The cultural other is the primary component of the utamawzo. It is a socially constructed image of non-Europeans as less than human. The cultural other are those who Europeans can and “should” have power over and treat any kind of way. They are those who Europeans defined as savage so that they can act savagely against them. I have shown that the image of Africans as savage and uncivilized is a false image and yet it serves as the foundation upon which school policy rest. The image of Africans as savage is embodied in the social studies curriculum and standardized tests have provided the rationalization for racist school policy throughout the period. Relatedly, standardized tests have served as a tool of state ideological management that ensures that alternative ways of thinking about African people inconsistent with the utamwazo don’t enter the Social Studies classroom.

Again, it is important to remember that the utamawazo and the utamaroho are not separate entities in reality. For example, the image of Africans as savage as opposed to the image of Africans as originators of what racist European scholars and authorities have called civilization is necessary for the notion of progress to have legitimacy. Once Africans are seen as savages even slavery can be called progress. Any school policy can be seen as progress. After all, nothing could be worse than leaving Africans in Africa or leaving Africans in control of our own education. In the European mode of thought Africans should be grateful. Therefore, the cultural other motivates Europeans to save we Africans from ourselves when we Africans need to save ourselves from them Europeans.

I have demonstrated that school accountability has done more harm to Africans in America than good, if any good has been done at all. This can be seen most vividly in faculty desegregation policy. Faculty desegregation policy destroyed the “segregated” African school system. Europeans gained even more control over Africans communities in America than they

previously had. Yet, this is not as much a question of what was as much as it is a question of what might have been. These schools provided a potential base for an independent self-sustaining African nation. Again, this was done primarily by propagating a false historical image of African teachers. It serves the European Utamaroho. Europeans can now be proud that Africans have been “integrated,” an idea consistent with their self-image as civilizers.

My research serves only as a preface to the research implications. As I mentioned above, African-centered analysis is more about what Africans have done than what has been done to Africans. It is important to understand what has been done to Africans. But this must be considered in conjunction with the question of what Africans have done so that we might understand what African people can and must do. We must understand the power of history. We must tell our own story. This is necessary so that we might know who we are. This is necessary so that we might, as Agyei and Akoto puts it, reafrikanize ourselves. There must be a Sankofa movement, meaning the reclamation and reconstruction of the Afrikan world. (Agyei and Akoto 2000). Sankofa is an Akan term symbolized by a bird looking backward. Indeed, one role that birds play in nature is reseeding the world.

We reap only that which is sown. Therefore, we must sow seeds that embody the indigenous African spirit and culture. We must reject those seeds that are harmful to our African essence. Likewise, we must pull from our garden those plants that strangle our Africaness. Too, we must nurture the African seeds that have already been sown. As I have demonstrated in this dissertation, the thoughts of many brilliant African educators have consistently been denied by the aggressiveness of the European cultural asili which screens out thoughts that does not serve its appetite for power; it seeks nothing less than total control.

Therefore, we must look within ourselves, we must believe in our own ability, our own essential Africaness. We must study and synthesize the works of our own intellectuals in order to develop a philosophy that is truly and authentically African and therefore truly revolutionary. We must produce a truly African enlightenment. We must produce an enlightenment that will provide the sunshine that is essential for our African essence to unfold and mature. We must produce a revolution. This revolution must not simply destroy the European cultural order merely to rebuild another European cultural order. We must revolt further back in history. This is the importance of history, this is the importance of knowing who we were before our contact with foreigners—before the series of invasions that have culminated in our current condition as slaves. We must know our history so that we can build a self-sustaining African Nation.

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