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Dr. Beverly Gordon, Ohio State University

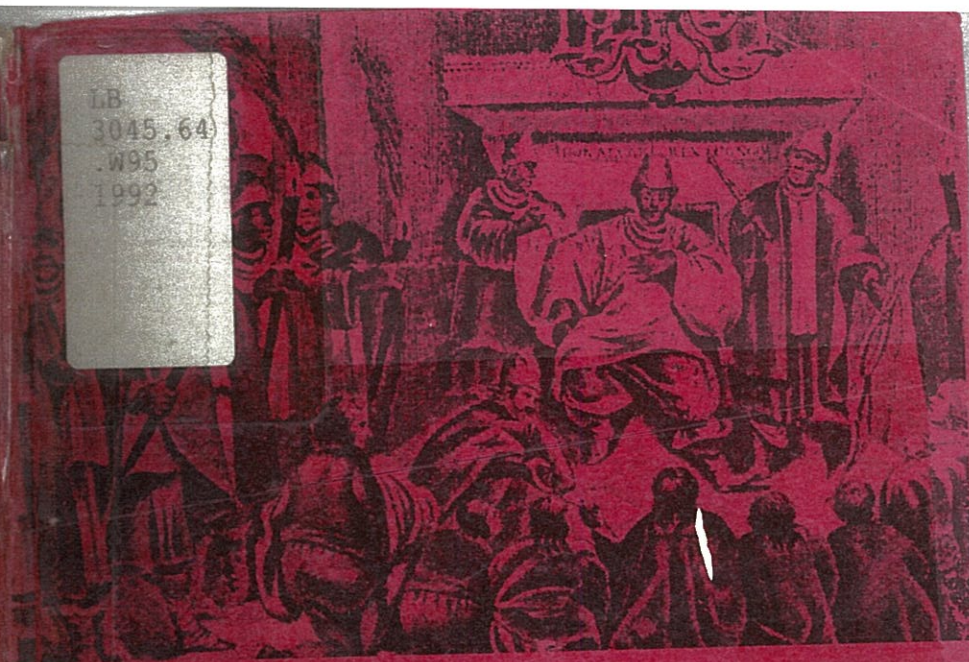


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and Spanish and Portuguese at Stanford University.

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# Do Not Call Us Negros'

HOW 'MULTICULTURAL' TEXTBOOKS PERPETUATE RACISM

SYLVIA WYNTER

WITH INTRODUCTION AND COMMENTARY

By DR. JOYCE KING

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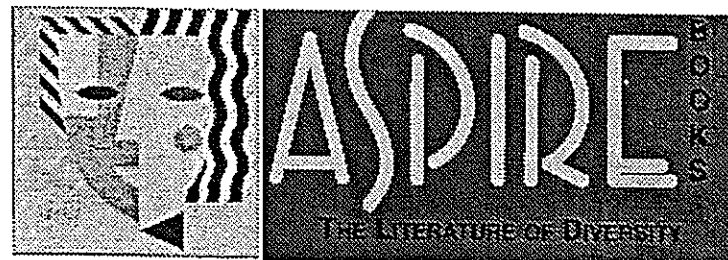


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# Do NOT CALL Us NEGROS\*

How "MULTICULTURAL" TEXTBOOKS  
PERPETUATE RACISM

BY SYLVIA WYNTER  
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\* Quote from Capuchin Missionary Si Padre Antonio de Teruel, Descripcion narrative de la mission sarafrica de los capachinos y sus progressus en le reyno de Congo, 1663-1664, m.s. 35333 Biblioteca Nationale Madrid (See page 86)

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Sylvia Wynter

## INTRODUCTION

BY DR. JOYCE KING  
Associate Professor &  
Director of Teacher Education  
Santa Clara University

Professor Wynter wrote this essay to the California State Board of Education to support my position opposing the History/Social Science textbook adoption. As a scholarly document, it raises profound issues that go far beyond the textbook critique. This essay addresses issues that are "immediate and urgent ones" in the context of the "imperative transformation of our present industrial system of education. Thus she asks:

...how would Black students ever find themselves caught up and intellectually motivated by a historical continuum which reaches back to the Congolese and Las Casas, to Nat Turner, John Brown, Frederick Douglass, Garrison and Harriet Beecher Stowe, to the Montgomery Bus Boycott, the Civil Rights Struggle and James Baldwin's The Fire Next Time, in order to understand that all of those battles had to be fought against the Ideology of "Race" which had, for centuries, denied to him/her the very right to be a citizen? And an ideology which now...still represents him/her... as a secondary add-on to the real story of the generic American citizen-- the Euro-Immigrant whose historical continuum, on the other hand, the textbook magnificently canonizes.

This essay shows how a specific kind of "inclusion" that misrepresents and distorts history has contributed to the disturbingly familiar indices of crisis for urban Black males, for example, who face a:

...10 percent chance of death by homicide (for whites, it's 1 in 80) 27 percent decline in average real income for black men in their 20s from the early '70s to the mid-80s, during roughly the same period, they filled just one out of every 1,000 new jobs created; white life expectancy is still rising, but life spans for black males declined four years in a row in the 1980s, dipping below 65; Black males account for one in four cases of AIDS, 46 percent of all prisoners in the United States; they are jailed at a rate four times higher than in

South Africa....In Milwaukee, black males account for less than 30 percent of the students, but they face 50 percent of the suspensions and over 90 percent of the expulsions. Less than 2 percent of black males maintain an A or B average and less than 20 percent sustain a C average or better. [S. Karp, "Is All Black and All Male Right? Zeta Magazine, June 1991: 87]

In a searing analysis of the 5th grade textbook, America Will Be, Professor Wynter uses a "cultural model approach" to redefine in scientific terms the "prescriptive rules" and the "specific cultural rationality"--that function as an ideology and --produce the distortions in the textbooks and the California curriculum framework. She argues that such distortions have contributed to the crises in our schools and society.

Fundamentally, Sylvia Wynter's essay challenges the terms of "multiculturalism" and "pluralism" in current thinking about curriculum change and education. She says that a Black Studies Perspective, which she defines in the first chapter, must necessarily ask different questions.

- How did the dispossession of the indigenous peoples, their subordination and the mass enslavement of the peoples of Black African descent (the Prietos) come to seem "just and virtuous" actions to those who effected them?

- How does the continuance today of this initial dispossession in the jobless, alcohol-ridden reservations, the jobless drug and crime-ridden inner city ghettos and barrios, still come to seem to all of us, as just, or at the very least to be in the nature of things?

You, too, will ask those fundamental questions, after reading her groundbreaking scholarship.

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction - America as a World	
Chapter 1	
A Black Studies Perspective and "Cultural Model" Framework	6
The Cultural Model and the Particularism of the Immigrant Perspective	8
After the Sixties: Recoding the Immigrant Perspective	
With the Strategies of Pluralism and Diversity	11
Why Not Cultural Pluralism and Multiculturalism	16
Chapter 2 Textbooks and What They Do	19
Chapter 3 A Cultural Model Critique of <u>America Will Be</u>	25
Alternative Modes of Knowing	31
Chapter 4 Politics of Representation	35
Replacing the Time of American History	37
Angels, White Skin and Blue Eyes	
Chapter 5 The Central Institution of Slavery	53
Representing the "Implied" Immigrant Student as	54
An "American You"	56
Empathic Identification	59
Geographic Determinism	62
A Mere Historical Map	63
Personalizing the Gold Seekers	65
Chapter 6 Excising the Perspective of the non-Immigrant	69
Backgrounding Race	73
Chapter 7 Repressing the Issue of Justness	81
Appendix I Statement of Dr. Joyce King to the California Curriculum Development and Supplemental Materials Commission in	
Opposition to Adoption of Social Science Texts	97
Appendix II The Betrayal of King Affonso from <i>The River Congo</i>	
by Peter Forbath	110
Index	121

# I AMERICA AS A WORLD

## A BLACK STUDIES PERSPECTIVE AND "CULTURAL MODEL" FRAMEWORK

How should we define a "Black Studies perspective?" Initially, let us understand that the "Black Studies perspective" is based on a "cultural model" approach, rather than on a "multicultural" approach.

The "Black Studies perspective" also differs from the approach of the present California History/Social Science framework, a document used to guide the development of curriculum and instructional tools. That framework represents an ethnically "particularistic" approach represented as inclusive and "objective."

Let us first define the "Black Studies perspective" with an example. As David Bradley points out in a 1982 essay, American literary scholars have for years advertised a course "American Fiction" which has reflexly included White American scholars as it excluded Black (and other non-White) authors. A "Black Studies perspective," instead of proposing an alternative, multicultural course (in "Black" and/or "non-White" American Fiction), or including a few token books as inclusive add-ons to the "real" American fiction, would instead ask some "cultural model" questions.

First, what are the prescriptive rules that determine inclusion and exclusion? Second, how do those rules pre-determine the scholar's acts of in and exclusion. Widening out from Bradley's point, to a view from Ralph Ellison (in a witty essay "What Would America Be Like Without Blacks?"), what prescribes the insistent effort of all Americans, including Black Americans themselves, "to get shut of the Negro?" to erase altogether his/her presence out of America, or, as in the case of the present textbooks, to strategically

Sylvia Wynter

marginalize the centrality of the "inherited baggage" that the slaves of African descent brought with them on the slave ships across the Middle Passage, to the syncretic and emerging world culture of the Americas? What are the world of rules which determines that there should be a highly acclaimed monument to Ellis Island, and none to the Middle Passage?

The "cultural model" approach of a Black Studies perspective is based on a seminal proposal made by the Eritrean anthropologist, Asmarom Legesse. This proposal, is that these rules of in and exclusion are pre-determined by the "prescriptive rules" of the native model of the "public culture" in whose "world of rules" we live, think and act.

The definition of American Fiction as normally written by authors of Euro-American descent, responds to the prescriptive value-opposition between White and Black that creates our present "native model," as one from which the more extended cultural opposition between White and all non-Whites, as well as between all non-Blacks and Blacks, is generated.

Legesse writes:

"One of the many prescriptive rules in America, is the classification of human beings into Blacks and Whites. These are mutually exclusive categories in the sense that one cannot be both Black and White at the same time. One cannot but be impressed by the extreme rigidity of this native model. It denies the fact that Blacks and Whites do marry and enter into elaborate illicit sexual liaisons. The myth of the two races is preserved by the simple rule that all the offsprings of interracial unions are automatically classified as Black.

(Legesse, 1973)

## Do Not Call Us Negroes

### THE CULTURAL MODEL AND THE PARTICULARISM OF THE IMMIGRANT PERSPECTIVE

This "native model," I propose, is the cultural model on whose basis the United States is instituted as a nation, whose identity is generically EuroAmerican and White. The definition of American Fiction as a fiction exclusively written by white Americans is a rule-governed effect of the conception of the United States (in the wake of the Civil War, the failure of radical Reconstruction, and the influx of European immigrants on a large scale), as a unified and integrated "nation of immigrants."

Therefore, this conception of the nation, by its very definition, must ontologically erase the existence of the indigenous inhabitants of the continent, as well of the other founding population group who had come, not as immigrants in search of freedom, but as slaves in chains. Erased therefore, to use Gary B. Nash's terms in his excellent 1970 essay in "The Great Fear: Race in the Mind of America," is the reality of the Red and the Black, leaving only that of the White.

A "cultural model" perspective enables us to see that the conception of America as a "land of immigrants" who are generically White already functions within the prescriptive rules of the "native model." From the "limited imaginings" of that model comes the massive error about the founding categories of America. That error produces cognitive distortions throughout the textbook series under review, as pointed out by Dr. Joyce King (appendix 1) and Ms. Ellen Swartz (unpublished letter to State Board of Education).

The following extract from the section A Land of Promise of one of the textbooks, Toward a More Perfect Union exemplifies from a Black Studies perspective a category mistake of a particularistic immigrant conception, that is represented as universally applicable:

America was different promises to different people. For Columbus, it was the hope of a faster trade route to Asia. For the Spanish explorers, it was an opportunity for fame and fortune. For the Pilgrims, it was a refuge from religious persecution. And for thousands of European settlers, it was a chance for political freedom and economic opportunity. Whatever the promise, the wilderness land that greeted

## Sylvia Wynter

these newcomers seemed as large and grand as their dreams.

### Toward a More Perfect Union p. 1

This erasure of the two major population groups, the Red and Black, (who clearly cannot be included in the above categories, yet, who, together with the White, are central to the reality of the United States as a historico-existential community) is conceptually central to the United States self conception of itself in the terms of national identity.

Author Benedict Anderson traces the development of national identity based on an imagined "biological body" in the discourse and doctrines of 18th and 19th century Europe. The "native cultural model" of the dynastic state (or as in the United States, of the pre-Industrial Republic), was transformed into that of the Industrial nation.

He writes:

"The nation is imagined as limited because even the largest of them, encompassing perhaps a billion living human beings, has finite, if elastic boundaries, beyond which lie other nations. No nation imagines itself coterminous with mankind...It is imagined as sovereign because the concept was born in an age in which Enlightenment and Revolution were destroying the legitimacy of the divinely-ordained, hierarchical dynastic realm...Finally, it is imagined as a community because regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep horizontal comradeship. Ultimately, it is this fraternity that makes it possible, over the past two centuries, for many millions of people not so much to kill, as willingly to die for such limited imaginings."

The United States was faced with the problem, after the 1870s, of the massive European immigration which fueled the Industrial Revolution, and therefore, with the need to find a unifying principle beyond the ethnic and national rivalries of Europe.

The exclusion of the Black and the Red at the level of empirical reality, was correlated with a school curriculum whose system of knowledge represented the nation as being bonded by the shared biogenetic characteristic of "Whiteness." This representation was made possible only on the basis of the systematic exclusion of the Red and Black constituent elements of the



American reality and national identity, in as much as it was their mode of difference which alone enabled the selection of a shared biogenetic characteristic, that of Whiteness to serve as the unifying principle of the nation conceived of as a "Biological Body."

This principle took the earlier places of both the Holy Body of the Pilgrims, and that of the Political Body of pre-Industrial Jeffersonian America.

The construct of "race" expressed in the rigidity of the native model's prescriptive insistence on labeling the children of mixed White/Black marriages as "Black" (because deviant from the "True" national identity of White biological being), is therefore central to the United States' present self-conception as Nation.

The exclusion of Black and Red Americans and the marginalization of all other non-White Americans, was and is an imperative function of the integration of European immigrants as all equally American and "White" -- in effect, as all members of a single biological body (or race).

AFTER THE SIXTIES:  
RECODING THE IMMIGRANT PERSPECTIVE  
WITH THE STRATEGIES OF  
"PLURALISM" AND "DIVERSITY"

The American Civil Rights struggle, which came to worldwide attention with the Montgomery bus boycott in the mid-50s and climaxed with the call for Black and other non-White (as well as Feminist) studies, in the wake of Martin Luther King's assassination, was a struggle directed against the social hierarchies generated from the "prescriptive rules" of our present "cultural model." The issue then was clearly seen to be one of "race."

In the wake of the Sixties, a subtle shift took place. Whilst America is still conceptualized as an Immigrant nation, it has begun to be reconceptualized as one which rather than being a generically White one, is generically non-Black and non-Red. The code words for this shift have been the terms

- minority (in which the issue of racism becomes simply a "minority" issue;
- "model minority" (used for later coming middle class and lighter-skinned Asians and Hispanics) and, now the terms,
- "ethnic diversity" and "cultural pluralism" the basis on which the framework of these textbooks has been conceptualized.

As a result, the above code words have simply functioned to transform the White Immigrant Body of the nation into that of a non-Black (and non-Red) Immigrant Body. The transformation was needed because of the Sixties' call both for a social transformation and for a rewriting and reorganization of the system of knowledge, a call as profound as that effected by the cultural revolution of humanism in 14th and 15th century Europe.

Toni Morrison recounts in a recent magazine interview how her young school friends whom she helped, as incoming recent immigrants to the United States from Europe, all at once came to despise her once they had learned the magic password nigger which converted them into an instant aristocracy. Richard Pryor's quip marks the shift from the White to the non-Black and non-Red Immigrant Body.

## Do Not Call Us Negros

"The Vietnamese are learning how to be good Americans. They've got classes to teach them how to say nigger."

In the wake of the Civil Rights struggle to transform the hierarchical relations between White on the one hand, and Black and Red (and by extrapolation of all non-Whites) into a reciprocal set of relations, the authors of the Immigrant conceptualization of America have reasserted themselves. The strategy is to deploy the ostensible "cultural diversity" of multiple groups in order to marginalize the centrality of Black and Red America to the instituting of America.

The goal is to repress the fact that it is from their experience, together with that of the Chicanos, as the three physically subjugated non-Immigrant groups, that the major thrust for the reinvention of the United States in new "world" terms has begun to emerge.

The non-conscious aim of the New California History and Social Science Framework lies specifically in its thrust to integrate, by means of code words such as "cultural diversity" and "pluralism," all non-White Immigrants of lighter-skinned and middle class origin (since poor incoming Latinos are assimilated into the Black and Red categories) who are now represented as sharing in an achievement oriented and "model minority" Immigrant Body within the terms of an America, which while no longer hegemonically WASP, is also essentially non-Black, non-Red and non-lower class.

(Never mind that the only incessantly creative cultural expression today, and one which is increasingly widening out from being an American to being a world cultural expression is generated only from the field of lower-class Black culture and is being disseminated from the Beatles to Springsteen, to the Latin beat, by the non-middle class.)

In his discussion of the North American "cultural model", Legesse pointed out that in the Latin American cultural variant of this model, while the White/Black division remains as founding, the offspring of Black and White are integrated as an intermediate and third category, whose value-status depends on their degrees of nearness, physiognomically and culturally, to the White/Euro norm, and of their distance from the Black/Afro as well as from the Red/Indian Others.

Historian Elsa Goveia has shown how, in the parallel case of the Caribbean, the strategy of representing the Caribbean as a culturally pluralist society, works to the benefit of the in-between categories while keeping

## Sylvia Wynter

the Other categories locked in at the bottom, even after social movements of protest in which their members had been the prime movers.

Goveia, in opposition to Caribbean anthropologist M.G. Smith, who had argued that Caribbean societies were plural-cultural societies, pointed out that Caribbean societies were integrated on the basis of a single culture, and therefore, on the basis of the founding beliefs, which gave expression to its "native model."

The unifying belief was the racial inferiority of the Black population group and the African-derived cultural matrix of which they are the bearers. This belief is internalized by all the ethnic groups who make up the Caribbean.

Allied to this was the acceptance by all of the represented racial superiority of the White; and therefore, of the absolute superiority of the Euro-derived and essentially middle class cultural matrix, of which he/she was the bearer.

The superiority/inferiority ranking rule then served as the status-organizing and integrative principle of the social order. It provided the ranking "scale of being" which predetermined the "value" not only of the respective "selves" of the differing "ethnic" groups (according to their degrees of nearness to the Norm and distance from its alter ego) but also of the cultural elements which each group had brought to the Caribbean mosaic.

Because of this ranking, the culture of the Black Caribbean, as indeed that of the Black Americas as a whole found itself everywhere the least equal of the "equal", "plural" cultures, even when the other cultures had so minimal an impact on the shared public culture as to be non-existent.

The ranking came despite the preponderance of evidence that the Black Americas provide the richest creative elements in the syncretization that creates the coexistence necessary for the popular basis of the "national cultures" of North, Central and South America.

(*Ed. note.* As an example, opera as a European art form has remained relatively unchanged upon being brought to the Americas -- still performed in European languages. Despite the extensive attention and resources given to its practice, it is still foreign to most Americans on both continents.)

In contrast, the musical styles developed by African cultures of the Americas, ranging from jazz to reggae have become truly universal popular music.



## Do Not Call Us Negros

Elsa Goveia's seminal insight here -- that cultural pluralism has been a smoke screen for the integration of the Caribbean society's ethnic and racial groups on the basis of a single shared and common culture which was both unifying and hierarchical -- can be applied to the issue being fought out with respect to the interpretive framework of these textbooks.

Diane Ravitch (one of the scholars who developed the California History and Social Science Framework) argues, and legitimately so from her own Euro-Immigrant perspective, we are integrated on the basis of a single culture given that "Europe's legacy to us is a set of moral and political values that we Americans subsequently refined and reshaped to enable us, in all our diversity to live together in freedom and peace." However, she cannot see, from her own racially dominant perspective, that the "common values" which integrate our order are both unifying and hierarchical. No culture, for example, was more unified than that of the European feudal order whose "common values" were supernaturally guaranteed. Yet, no culture was also more rigidly hierarchical, under the temporal dominance of the feudal nobility and the intellectual hegemony of the Clergy and its Scholastic order of knowledge.

Indeed, it was the "counter-exertion" of the lay intelligentsia, the Laity, whose cultural revolution of humanism was to call in question those supernaturally guaranteed "common values" of the feudal order, that laid the basis for the modern world, for the single history of the human that we now live and for the single "common" but divisive (because stratified along lines of race and class), native cultural model in whose "worlds of rules" we all normally think, behave, act and feel.

In the same fashion as the Laity and non-Nobles of feudal Europe, all of the groups who have been subjugated by Ravitch's common values -- Black America, Red America, lower-class White America and the poor non-White America of the inner cities -- understand that Ravitch's "set of moral and political values" have been reshaped by Immigrant middle-class America in order to assure its own group well being, based on its race, class and intellectual dominance.

The issue now cannot be one of the mere recognition of America's cultural diversity or pluralism. Rather, the issue must be that of their being able to reshape those values, i.e., of our present "native model," as comprehensively as did the lay humanists at the end of the European Middle Ages. That is the only way these excluded groups can bring to an end their own social subjugation as "racial" population groups -- a "subjugation" which our

## Sylvia Wynter

present "common values" now serve to legitimate and empirically replicate.

## WHY NOT CULTURAL PLURALISM OR MULTICULTURALISM? BLACK AMERICA AS ALTER EGO RATHER THAN "MINORITY"

The issue from a Black Studies intellectual perspective, therefore, is the transformation of the present "native model" of Immigrant America and of its "common" yet hierarchical-divisive race and class values.

Multiculturalism can seem to be an attractive answer to the particularism of the Euro-Immigrant perspective from which the present textbooks are written. That approach itself still remains trapped by the prescriptive rules of the native model of the single public culture, on whose basis the U.S. is integrated as a nation and in whose terms the debate is now taking place.

✧ Rather than seeking to reinvent our present cultural native model, the multi-culturalism alternative seeks to "save" the nation model by multiculturalizing it. It does not move outside the conceptual field of our present EuroAmerican cultural model.

✧ A Black Studies perspective sets out to reinvent the present "cultural model" and rewrites the organization of social knowledge in which the prescriptive rules are conceptually expressed.

For as Elsa Goveia shows, and Legesse suggests, a multicultural nation-state model will work to the advantage of the in-between groups, including the Black middle class, and still keep Black/Red/Chicano lower class America locked securely in their excluded Pariah place. At the same time, it will exclude the non-middle class of all races, locking up their formidable intellectual creative energies to the detriment of an America now hard pressed to ensure her competitive position in the world, and imperatively needing to liberate the intellectual energies of all her peoples.

Black Americans as a population group can not validly see themselves as one "multicultural" culture among others, but rather as the emerging alternative world view of America reconceptualized as a civilization or "world." One must understand the specific role of Black American as prescribed by the "native model" of the nation-state -- a role which in the total degree of intensity is unique to it.

Sociologist Bauman, referring to the Holocaust, points out that although millions of other peoples and population groups besides Jews were exterminated in the Nazi death camps, it was the totality of the genocidal extinction reserved for Jewish population groups that set the latter apart.

This distinction in the degrees of genocide, Bauman points out, was due to the traditional role imposed on Jews over millenia, as the alter ego, or Other to the incorporated Body of Christendom. As a result of this role, the conceptual Jew had come to play the role of Other in both the learned and popular discourses of Christian Europe.

The conceptual Jew, Bauman notes, performed a function of prime importance. This function was that of inducing the prescriptively orthodox behaviors of the Christian subject, by embodying his/her subjugated person, what would be the consequences of not behaving -- and therefore of not being -- according to the Ideal model of the Orthodox Christian identity.

Bauman writes:

"He visualized the horrifying consequences of boundary transgression, of not remaining fully in the fold, of any conduct short of unconditional loyalty and unambiguous choice; he was the prototype and arch-pattern of all non-conformity, heterodoxy, anomaly and aberration. As an evidence of the mind-boggling, uncanny unreason of deviation, the conceptual Jew discredited in advance the alternative to that order of things which had been defined, narrated and practiced by the Church. For this reason, he was a most reliable frontier-guard of that order. The conceptual Jew carried a message; alternative to this order here and now is not another order, but chaos and devastation."

The conceptual Black (as imaged in Griffith's Birth of a Nation and to whose category the conceptual Red was assimilated in the period of the Western frontier Euro-immigrant expansion) came to play and still plays the same role for the United States conceptualized as a nation.

S/he is the alter ego who embodies the alternative of chaos to the orthodox behaviors expressive of the normative national identity.

The issue that confronts us is the de-imagining of the United States as a nation and its re-imagining as a "world" or historico-existential community of communities integrated on the basis of a consensually, because con-

sciously crafted "native model."

In this context, both the "cultural pluralism" of the textbook series, and its proposed multicultural model, are seen as the twin responses of an intellectual counter-Reformation which seeks to displace the brief but dazzling intellectual openings of the late Sixties and Seventies.

(One thinks, for example, of books such as the ones edited and written by Gary B. Nash and Richard Weiss, i.e., The Great Fear: Race in the Mind of America 1970)

Both these strategies function at the intellectual level, as does the equally strategic concept of "minority and women" at the bureaucratic level, to replace the systemic challenge posed by the Sixties to our present cultural model, with "ethnic" and "gender" single issues that are of benefit mainly to the middle classes; and to the in-between ethnic and racial categories between the Whites on one hand and the excluded lower class Black, Red and Chicano on the other.

According to the Economist, the strategy of classifying the Black and Red issues with the innumerable issues gathered together under the category "minorities and women" defused the thrust to reduce the structural inequalities of the U.S. order.

Less disadvantaged groups, such as White middle class women and incoming non-White middle class immigrants, were able to make use of affirmative action programs in order to leapfrog over Black and Red America and to push these two population groups back to their bottom of the ladder role and place. A selected one-third of the Black population group was incorporated into the hegemonic middle class, once they had internalized its immigrant model of material betterment and upward and onward achievement orientation.

While a multicultural perspective represents Black America as one more "ethnic" group of Americans, the "cultural model" perspective defines the Black American population group as the alter-ego and boundary category of our present "native model." Black Americans are the category whose prescribed marginalization serves to integrate the United States as a "nation of immigrants."

## II

### TEXTBOOKS AND WHAT THEY DO: THE CONCEPTUAL BREAKTHROUGH OF CARTER G. WOODSON

The refusal of Black and other non-White Americans to accept their systematically imposed roles, beginning with the Montgomery Bus Boycott, was also a challenge to our present mainstream order of knowledge.

In a secular society such as the United States, the prescriptive categories and rules of our native model are inscribed in the organization of knowledge and disseminated by the school curriculum and its systems of classification -- such as the all-White authors of "American Fiction."

Mainstream scholars, Legesse points out, must necessarily elaborate their systems of knowledge within the terms of the prescriptive rules of their "native model" in order to maintain the unity and stable functioning of their "respective order."

However, it is the Liminal or boundary-category outcast, functioning as the Other to the Norm category, who is able to break free of the normative ways of knowing Self, Other and world, mandated by the prescriptive rules. This category's difference generates the principle of sameness. Only this category must call into question the rules of the "native model" of its order in order to attempt to escape its imposed Other role.

A Black Studies perspective is necessarily such a Liminal (or Lay) perspective, and its function calls into question the rules of functioning on whose basis the United States conceptualizes itself as a generically "White" nation, and elaborates its present system of societal self-knowledge.

A Black Studies perspective calls for the re-imagining of America beyond the "nation" and for textbooks based on a rewriting of knowledge which no longer functions non-consciously, as does multiculturalism, within the prescriptive rules of our present "native model." Multicultural scholars seek to re-imagine America as a multicultural nation.



This rewriting of knowledge is the issue and the imperative. The "cultural model" approach proposes that the present high drop-out rate of Black/Red and Chicano/Latino students, and increasingly in the post-industrial order, of the White lower-classes, can be directly correlated with our present order of knowledge and its conceptualization of the American past and present, as developed in these textbooks.

Black historian Carter G. Woodson, creator of African-American Heritage Month, made this point about the social impact of the school curriculum of the early 1930s, and it is still pertinent today.

These textbooks, in Woodson's terms, motivate selected groups of American students and demotivate others. In the past Industrial order, there was a need for a hierarchy of less skilled and more skilled, more educated and less educated workers. This demotivating of large sections of lower-class Americans, while destructive for their groups, had been useful for the economy. This is no longer so.

In the Age of Information, and the subsequent need for the accelerated development of "brain power," the United States can no longer afford a system of education which demotivates a large portion of its school population. The Immigrant and middle-class conception of the American past and present, which provides the interpretive framework of these textbooks, must necessarily lead to the demotivation of those students..

Woodson's The Miseducation of the Negro, cited below, is seminal to a "cultural model" and Black Studies (or neo-Lay) approach. The systematic representations which Woodson identified in the 30's school curriculum were generated through the rules of the cultural "native model" of American, conceptualized as a nation of Immigrants, and therefore, as generically White and European. Those representations functioned to motivate a selected group of students and to demotivate an equally selected Other group.

"The same educational process which inspires and stimulates the oppressor with the thought that he is everything and has accomplished everything worthwhile, depresses and crushes as the same time the spark of genius in the Negro by making him feel that his race does not amount to much and never will measure up to the standards of other peoples...Negroes are taught to admire the Hebrew, the Greek, the Latin and the Teuton and to despise the African... The thought of the inferiority of the Negro is drilled into him in

almost every book that he studies..It is strange then that the friends of truth...have not risen up against the present propaganda in the school...This crusade is much more important than the anti-lynching movement -- because there would be no lynching if it did not start in the classroom. Why not exploit, enslave or exterminate a class that everybody is taught to regard as inferior?"

The representation of Afro (Black) inferiority and Euro (White) superiority that Woodson has identified, are not mere "slights" against the "special interests" of Black Americans which can be rectified by either the "equal time" or "equal glory" approach.

Adding a few more Black individuals would not be any more effective than the attempts of the lay intelligentsia of 14th and 15th century Europe to apply their "fallen reason" unaided by theology to overcome the doctrine of the infallibility of the Divine Truth of Clergy.

Nothing less than the cultural-intellectual revolution of humanism and the "entire upheaval of the Renaissance" could free them of those prescriptive rules.

Equally, it will take the emancipation of our present mainstream mode of social knowledge from the present native cultural model in order to rid ourselves of the stubborn persistence of the representations which Woodson found 60 years ago.

Historian/political scientist J.G.A. Pocock writes that the natural sciences have come to constitute a separate language, because their object of inquiry is physical and organic nature. The same is not true of what he calls our "public language" systems of knowledge -- systems in which the object of inquiry is the social order in which the knower and inquirer is always already a subject.

Such systems of knowledge, as "acts of communication" which influence the behaviors of those being studied, are always generated from the "paradigm of value and authority" on whose basis the order is instituted.

Woodson brilliantly saw that those "acts of communication" have a direct role in the hierarchical role allocations of the order. The constancy of high drop out rates and the consistently poor performance of specific groups relative to others should provide an empirical index of the cognitive distortions and misrepresentations through which the structuring

## Do Not Call Us Negros

hierarchies of our present social order are stably replicated.

Any attempt to dismantle those social hierarchies must dismantle the "acts of communication" that motivate and demotivate specific behaviors and replicate status hierarchies and role allocations.

It must dismantle the "native model" which prescribes all systems of "public language knowledge" since that knowledge is the means by which an integrative "common ground" is provided.

The European cultural revolution of humanism ushered in the modern world by calling in question a Scholastic order of knowledge whose "common values" integrated the order on the basis of a rigid hierarchy based on aristocratic lineage -- as ours has been based on the hierarchies of race, class, culture and, complementarily, gender.

The cultural revolution of the Sixties re-enacted that of humanism in new terms that call into question the "common values" which give rise to our present system of hierarchy. This revolution presents us with the challenge of replacing that "common ground" with a new unifying culture and its correlating system of knowledge now conscious of the pre-analytic premises that shape its textbooks.

Cheik Anta Diop of Senegal has proposed that the scientific ethic is the only ethic able to ensure the viable, because non-hierarchical, co-existence of human groups. Such an ethic can not be integrated into the native model which underlies our present order of knowledge. As the English biologist Sir Stafford Beer points out, it is knowledge itself that must now be rewritten.

"Contemporary scholarship is trapped in its present organization of knowledge in which, while a man 'who can lay claim to knowledge about some categorized bit of the world, however tiny, which is greater than anyone else's knowledge of that bit, is safe for life,' and in which, while papers increase exponentially, and knowledge grows by 'infinitesimals,' our understanding of the world 'actually recedes.' And because our world is 'an interacting system' in dynamic change, our system of scholarship 'rooted in' its own sanctified categories, is, in a large part, unavailing to the needs of mankind. If we are to 'understand a new and still evolving world; if we are to educate people to live in that world; if we are to abandon categories and institutions that

## Sylvia Wynter

belong to a vanished world as it is well nigh desperate that we should...then knowledge must be rewritten.

The "cultural model" approach and Black Studies perspective which underlie my critique of the text which follows, is based on this premise.

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### III

## A CULTURAL MODEL CRITIQUE OF THE TEXTBOOK AMERICA WILL BE

Let America  
Be Itself again  
The land that's not been yet  
But yet must be!

(Langston Hughes)

The cultural model approach of a Black Studies perspective comes not from the perspective of an "ethnic group," but from that of the group forcibly constrained to play the role of alter ego to the Ideal Self prescribed by the native cultural model (Legesse, 1973). This native model integrates our present order on the basis of those prescriptive rules.

The issue that the Black Studies Perspective must confront is not "ethnicity," but the alterity imposed upon the group by the politics of representation at work in this series.

A cultural model approach of the textbook America Will Be does not set out therefore to question the "accuracy or authenticity" of the text's representations, but to challenge its conceptual framework. For example, the "egregious racial stereotyping" of Black America's past and present, of which Professor Joycc King gives examples, are the lawlike effects of its framework.

According to the History and Social Science Framework on which the



series is based, the primary constraints upon human behaviors are seen as those of time (history) and place (geography). A cultural model approach asserts that these constraints are the conditions of the primary constraints on human behaviors. These primary constraints arise from the cultural model and its "prescriptive rules" by which we become specific subjects or types of the Ideal Self (Gecrtz).

In addition, we are constrained by "ruling symbols" that aggregate us on the basis of "fake" systems of altruism and of kinship that are the analogue, at the level of human "forms of life," of the bonding genetic kinship of organic life.

A cultural model approach therefore "culturalizes" history, and with it, all historical modes of social knowledge. It does so in very much the same ways as the "humanist" revolution of the European Renaissance "historicized" all human modes of knowing, by separating them from their earlier supernatural and atemporal, forms of legitimization.

As a result, a cultural model approach sees the central clash which has occurred over the textbooks in very different terms to the way this clash is represented by the compilers of the Adoption Recommendation Report, and especially as dealt with under the sub-heading "Historical Scholarship and the Nature of Knowing."

The Report poses the issue as a conflict of views between, on the one hand, "the personal knowing" of a "particular religious, ethnic or cultural group", which while a "valid and important source of personal knowledge" would however, because of its "bias and emotions" leave "each of us imprisoned within our personally experienced conscious world" thereby causing history to be "unknowable," and on the other, the view of scholars who seek, on the "basis of reasonable evidence" as well as on that of "well-established canons guiding the search for truth" to "fairly represent the perspectives and historical experiences" of these groups.

Instead, a cultural model approach challenges the validity of those "well-established canons" and the "prescriptive rules" from which they are derived.

This issue is about the "nature of human knowing" of the social reality in a "native model" of which the knower is always already a socialized subject. The issue of the "nature of knowing" specific to the systems of knowledge" that Pocock has distinguished as being, unlike the "separate language" of the natural sciences, defined by its systemic function.

In all such "public language" modes of knowledge, the discourses must still feed back as "acts of communication" into their culture-specific social reality in order to orient the collective behavior of subjects of each mode in a dependably lawlike manner.

The system-conserving mainstream perspectives of each order (or well-established scholarship) therefore clash with the challenges made from the perspectives of alterity -- or in Legesse's terms, liminality. For, it is the task of established scholarship to rigorously maintain those prescriptions which are critical to the order's existence.

So, only the liminal perspective of those group categories whose "outsidership" is the condition of each order's self-definition can empower us to free ourselves from the "categories and prescriptions" of our specific order and from its "generalized horizon of understanding."

The reason is phenomenological. Mainstream perspective bearers (the "normals") experience society through its orthodox self-representation. The group-categories consigned to the role of Others, as Liminals, experience the "injustice inherent" in the structuring of each human order; and the injustice mandated by the "prescriptive rules" of each order's "native cultural model." Their "outsidership" is the condition of each order's definition of itself. It is only from the liminal, outsider, perspective that we can be empowered to free ourselves from the "categories and prescriptions" of our specific order.

To evaluate the mainstream systems of social or "public language" scholarship based on those rules which also prescribe the "internal standard" is to perpetuate the "injustice." The present clash over the textbook series is a clear example of the conflictual dynamic that results.

Instead, we must redefine the issue in scientific, rather than in the public language terms of the Adoption Recommendation Report.

A cultural model approach to the nature of knowing therefore dispenses with the value-judgements implicit in the binary opposition between the mode of knowing of historical scholarship and that of "personal knowing" as these value judgements are presented in the Adoption Recommendation Report. It proposes that we see the opposition as a dynamic which exists between the perspectives of normalcy and of alterity, as proposed by Paul Ricoeur.

NORMALCY/ALTERITY, IDEOLOGY/UTOPIA,  
THE INTEGRATIVE FUNCTION AND THE  
REPRESENTATION OF A PARTIAL PERSPECTIVE  
AS UNIVERSALLY VALID

Paul Ricoeur redefines Karl Mannheim's terms ideology and utopia to describe the dynamic between the cognitive poles of "normalcy" and "alterity." He first detaches Ideology from the pejorative meanings it has drawn since Marx' The German Ideology and separates utopia from its pejorative meaning it has had (i.e., unreal, escapist).

Ricoeur's Ideology now becomes the term for mainstream or orthodox "public language" modes of knowing. It is through Ideology that each order is stably integrated and reproduced. Its antithesis is defined as Utopian knowing, because it is generated from a point of view which is nowhere (utopia). That Utopian point of view cannot be accorded legitimate existence within the normative mode of knowing by the order which accords it outside or liminal status.

Therefore, the clash between members of the Commission who recommended the adoption of the books, on one hand, and Professor Joyce King supported by Ms. Ellen Swartz on the other, is a clash between Ricoeur's newly defined Ideology and the alternative modes of Utopian knowing which provide the seedbed for change in every order.

Before providing my own critique of the system of representation at work in the text of America Will Be and the conceptual framework from which it is generated, I shall summarize Ricoeur's main points.

Ricoeur adapts terms from Clifford Geertz (in his Ideology as a Cultural System), as well as from Max Weber's discussion of the problem of political power and of group domination. He then applies this concept of Ideology to Marx' seminal point that the function of Ideology is to represent a partial group interest (i.e., a special interest) as if it were "the common interest of all the members of society"; and to thereby both give the ideas that are generated from this "special" or partial interest "the form of universality," and "represent them as the only rational, universally valid ones."

Geertz, Ricoeur points out, relates the cognitive distortions of all systems of Ideology to a more basic function, that of "of mediating and

integrating human action at its public level." These distortions or misrepresentations therefore serve to unify and integrate human orders "by transforming sentiment into significance," and thereby make it "socially available." Ideology should therefore, Geertz proposes, be analyzed by transferring some of the "methods and results of literary criticism" so that it can be looked at "as kind of figurative language" which serves to "cast personal attitudes into public form."

Weber, on the other hand, provides insights into the function of Ideology: to both provide the basis of legitimacy for any system of authority and induce the order's subjects to accept the claim to legitimacy that must be put forward by any such system of authority. As Ricoeur points out, without the belief in the order's claim to legitimacy, the order's subjects would not carry out the meaningful and coordinated behaviors needed to replicate the order as such an order, as, for example, our order which is both conceptualized as a "nation of Immigrants," and legitimized as such by the Ideology of America Will Be. Ricoeur then brings together his own conclusions:

1. "That the main function of a system of ideology is to reinforce the belief in the legitimacy of the given systems of authority in such a way that it meets the claim to legitimacy."

2. That "it therefore functions to provide the general horizon of understanding and mutual recognition before being unduly diverted for the sake of a ruling group, be it a class or any other dominant group."

3. That it is the attempt to link the interests of a dominant group with the "general horizon of understanding" which unifies the order, that necessarily leads to "cognitive distortions."

4. That nevertheless, even under the layer of distorting representations and its system of legitimation, we discover the symbolic systems which orient behaviors, and which, as Geertz says, "provide a template or blueprint for the organization of social and psychological processes, as genetic systems provide such a template or blueprint for the organization of organic processes."

5. Because each such mode of public knowledge or Ideology, given its order-instituting and conserving function,

must remain "impervious to philosophical attack," it is the systemic function of utopian modes of thought to challenge these modes of public and order-integrating thought from a place outside the order's mode of rationality -- from utopia, nowhere.

6. That at conjunctural times of change, utopian or alternative modes of thought arise to "shatter a given order" by the proposal of an alternative order; and that it is the role of their bearers to give "the force of discourse to this possibility."

ALTERITY NOT ETHNICITY  
AN ALTERNATIVE MODE OF KNOWING, NOT CULTURAL  
PLURALISM:  
THE WORLD THAT'S NOT BEEN YET BUT YET MUST BE

The major critique of the textbook, America Will Be, is that the Ideology of its conceptual framework represents the perspective of Euro-Immigrant America as the universally valid perspective of all America.

Thus, a particular historical experience is construed to fit both Euro-Immigrants and non-Euro-Immigrants, on one hand, and non-Immigrant America -- i.e., Red, (the indigenous peoples), Black (the African-descended peoples whose origin lay in the Massachusetts/English slave trade and the Middle Passage, and Chicano (i.e., the Mexican-Americans who were incorporated into the United States as "natives" by the conquest route which culminated in the 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo), on the other.

By so doing, the book's system of representation functions to link the interests of Immigrant, (and middle class) America to the "general horizon of understanding" instituted by our present order of "public language knowledge," a horizon in which terms the United States is both "imagined and conceptualized as a nation, and specifically as generically a nation of Immigrants."

Clearly, the lived history of the United States as a historico-existential community of communities is necessarily repressed as the cognitive price paid in order to represent the experiential "historical continuum" (Glissant, 1982) of Euro-Immigrant America as the generic historical continuum of America itself.

Jane Gallop has developed (from the alterity perspective of Feminist studies), the concept of genericity to apply to all cases where a partial perspective (and interest) is linked to the "general horizon of understanding," and represented as a universally verifiable perspective. Male scholars, she notes, consistently use the pronoun he as a generic term for both male and female scholars, while "veiling the male attributes" of the perspective that makes the representation of the he as an ostensibly neutral term that is equally inclusive of male and female scholars, appear as valid. In effect, the use of the he already institutes the male sex as the generic sex and the scholars as being therefore generically male. Women scholars who use the



pronoun he, accepting it in the terms which it is represented, are accepting their role as supplement to the "real" scholar; in effect as a passive and negatively marked member of the category scholar, given that the partial perspective of the male scholar is already represented as the "objective" and "universal" perspective.

Equally the textbook's conceptual frame is based on the premise that the Euro-American historical continuum is the generic historical continuum of America, and one which includes equally (under the labels of "minorities," ethnic groups, and "diverse cultures"), the historical continuum of non-Immigrant America.

The thrust of the book's Ideology is to conceptualize the past in terms that fit the Immigrant story of American history. Consequently, the historical continuum of non-Immigrant America as well as the alternative perspective from the experience of that continuum, must be repressed by the logic of this frame in order to represent that Other history as merely a secondary add-on and supplement to the real, i.e., the generic history of America.

This strategy is not new, even if the emphasis is. The pre-Sixties exemplarity of the WASP-Settler America (Roanoke, Jamestown, Plymouth Rock, Massachusetts Bay) has been replaced by the post-Sixties exemplarity of the Euro-Immigrant (Ellis Island).

The traditional historical scholarship of the Americas has practiced this strategy consistently. Caribbean historian Gordon K. Lewis points out that the contemporary Caribbean culture was based on the dynamic interaction of conflict and accommodation between the two incoming elements of European metropolitan systems of thought and African systems of thought. While the former would become the dominant element, it would reshape its values through the dynamic of the ongoing conflict and accommodation with the latter. These two elements together, and on the mainland, the three elements, including the indigenous peoples, would come to constitute the dynamic matrix of the "Americanizing process," as Lewis calls it and the "slow, gradual and sometimes, painful implantation of the American idea and the American spirit."

Yet only the European element, Lewis continues, has been accorded recognition in the tradition of mainstream historical scholarship, which represents it as pure "in itself," and therefore, generic. The two other major founding elements, while active in the living history of the mainland, have been represented in traditional scholarship (pre-Sixties) as non-existent, or

as in the post-Sixties case of the present textbook America Will Be, strategically represented as merely being two more "ethnic strands" (comparable to "ethnic subsets" of the European element such as German-America, etc.). As supplements or add-ons within the "pluralistic culture" of a generically Immigrant America, they fall into the same category of genericity as the pronoun he used to refer to both male and female scholars.

It is the conceptual framework of the textbook, as one that represents the partial perspective of Euro-Immigrant America as if it were the perspective of America as a historico-existential community that leads necessarily both to the "omissions, biases and distortions" of the text identified by Professor Joyce King (from her perspective of alterity) as well as those identified by Ms. Ellen Swartz, from her own "multicultural" (which is more crucially a multi-perspectival perspective.) Their "utopian" critiques are not so much directed at the "accuracy" of the text, but rather at its "truth" when looked at from the perspective of the historical continuum of non-Immigrant America -- a continuum which is necessarily obliterated (Glissant, 1981) by the framework itself.

The issue raised by their critiques is, therefore, the wider issue of the "nature of knowing" that is at work in our present mode of historical scholarship, (and therefore of Ideology). This issue can only be dealt with adequately in the terms of an alternative way of knowing our social realities past and present, as realities which are brought into being by the collective behaviors which are oriented, as in our case, through the mediation of established scholarship, by the prescriptive rules of the specific "native model" of the single integrating public culture in the terms of whose governing rules we all normally think, imagine, feel, act and know.

This alternative mode of knowing is necessarily carried from the perspective of alterity of the New Studies which entered academia in the late Sixties and early Seventies -- studies which are based on the perspectives of non-Immigrant America and of women. So that rather than in the terms of multiculturalism, or of "Ethnic Studies," the critiques of the Textbook will be carried out in terms of an alternative mode of knowing based on a cultural model approach, as well as on Ricoeur's correlated dynamic of Ideology and Utopia, "normalcy" and alterity.

The intellectual revolution of humanism which was brought about by "the entire upheaval of the Renaissance" (Hubner, 1983) at the end of the Feudal Ages in Europe was generated from the alterity or Liminal perspective of Lay scholars (the Laity). The feudal Christian "native model" had represented the Laity as the "fallen natural man" enslaved to Original Sin,

## Do Not Call Us Negros

and the negation of the Ideal Christian Self, reborn in the Spirit and exemplified in the Clergy. The latter was therefore represented as the guardians and certified bearers of the scholarly perspective of atemporal Divine Truth.

Consequently, the challenge of the Lay scholars from their perspective of alterity was not only to lay the basis for the development of non-supernaturally guaranteed modes of knowing, and therefore for the rise of the natural sciences and the modern world and the single history that we all now find ourselves living. Their challenge was to historicize truth and therefore to make historical scholarship, even in an a-cultural form, possible.

"The conceptual Black" is the primary alter ego (Bauman, 1989) of our present native cultural model and the contemporary analogue of the European Laity.

A critique from its perspective of alterity (not ethnicity!), follows as a progression that first epochal yet incomplete epistemological rupture. It, therefore, culturalizes history as the basis for a proposed alternative way of humans knowing the social reality (and therefore, its past, as its present) of which they are always already socialized subject.

The critique relies on a central hypothesis projected from the neo-Lay perspective of "Black" Studies, and that is, that humans, rather than the "purely natural organism" who then creates "culture," (as they are represented as being within the terms of our present "native model" and the order of knowledge to which its "prescriptive rules" give rise), do not, and cannot preexist "culture" i.e., the specific "native models" by means of whose "prescriptive rules" we narratively imagine, feel and act upon the world; and, above all, normatively know the world within the culture-specific "horizon of understanding" or Ideology, which both integrates us and legitimates the hierarchies that structure each such mode of integration. This applies equally to the caste hierarchy of European feudal society or that of the founding racial hierarchy (which generates the hierarchies of class and gender) of ours.

The Adoption Report dismisses the critiques of Professor Joyce King, Ms. Swartz and others as the modes of personal knowing of "special interest groups." Instead those critiques should be seen in their real light as the ongoing emergence of an alternative Utopian discourse, which, even if, sometimes suffering from its own forms of distortion which parallel Ideology, has nevertheless given the "force of possibility" to the call for an

## Sylvia Wynter

alternative order sketched out in the I Have a Dream speech of Martin Luther King Jr. His call redefined freedom to mean freedom, for all, from the negative effects of the racial hierarchy and its related cultural belief system on whose basis the post-Columbus Americas were first instituted.

These critiques should be seen as a call for the reconception of the United States (and therefore for the reinvention of its historical scholarship), as a historico-existential community of communities based on reciprocal recognition, rather than on hierarchy. This community would be based on an alternative (cultural model-literate) mode of knowing, able to bring into being Langston Hughes' the "land that's not been yet/ But yet must be," and to realize "America" as Melville in Redburn had already imagined it:

"We are not a narrow tribe of men... No: our blood is as the flood of the Amazon, made up of a thousand noble currents all pouring into one. We are not a nation, so much as a world..."

"We are the heirs of all time, and with all nations we divide our inheritance. On this Western Hemisphere all tribes and peoples are forming into one federated whole, and there is a future which shall see the estranged children of Adam restored as to the old hearthstone in Eden."

## IV

# THE POLITICS OF REPRESENTATION OF "AMERICA WILL BE":

### THE MAJOR STRATEGIES

- REPLACING THE TIME OF AMERICAN HISTORY WITH THE TIME OF THE IMMIGRANT STORY OF AMERICAN HISTORY.
- REPRESENTING THE YOU OF THE IMPLIED IMMIGRANT AMERICAN STUDENT AS THE "YOU" OF THE AMERICAN IMPLIED STUDENT.
- INDUCING OF EMPATHIC IDENTIFICATION WITH THE IMMIGRANT-AMERICAN POINT OF VIEW RATHER THAN WITH THE AMERICAN.
- EXCISING THE PERSPECTIVE OF NON-IMMIGRANT AMERICA: BACKGROUNDING THE ISSUE OF RACE AND MARGINALIZING THE CENTRALITY OF NON-IMMIGRANT AMERICA.

All four strategies correlate with, and are a function of Ideology in Paul Ricoeur's sense of the term -- a "public language" system of scholarship whose function is both

A. to reinforce the present "general horizon of understanding" through which the United States "imagines" itself as a nation" even if in more inclusive post-Sixties terms and

B. to do this by representing the Euro-Immigrant American historical continuum as if it were the universally valid continuum of America as a historico-existential community whose past empirically comprises both the Immigrant and non-Immigrant experiences.

Professor Joyce King's selected examples of "Omission, Bias and Distortion" in this textbook as well as Ms. Ellen Swartz' relevant sections in her Text-critique are empirical examples of the cognitive distortions necessary to a) the "limited imagining" of the United States as a "nation of immigrants," and to b) the repression of its historico-existential reality as an emerging "world" or civilization which needs now, as the critiques indicate, to re-imagine itself as such.

In addition, its "historical scholarship" must be reconceived in new terms outside the prescriptive rules of our present native cultural model and its now anachronistic mode of "public language" knowledge, inherited from the 19th century.



# STRATEGY I

## REPLACING THE TIME OF AMERICAN HISTORY WITH THAT OF THE IMMIGRANT STORY OF HISTORY

The thrust of this strategy is to replace the chronology of "real life" (i.e., what happened before when) by a "story" (i.e., narrative) or "plot-line" chronology.

That chronology follows the sequence necessary to represent the Euro-Immigrant experience as "coterminous" with the identity of the United States as a nation; as its generic experience and historical continuum.

Although this strategy is carried out by the overall organization of the narrative sequences throughout the book, the major re-organization is carried out between Page I preceded by a half-page Preface to Page 167. By then, with the time matrix of the Immigrant story of America's history now firmly in place, the sequences that follow (from Page 167 to the end) follow logically.

The major points of the time-matrix reorganization are the following:

A. The pre-1492 and pre-European history of the indigenous peoples who domesticated the lands of what today is North America, is relegated to a half-page Preface.

B. The first unit of the text, Unit I, titled The United States Past and Present, 2000 B.C. to Today, is then enabled to represent the indigenous domesticators of the continent as merely the first "immigrant group" to, in the major leitmotiv (recurring theme) of the book, "come to America": only the first therefore of all the peoples who "created our nation."

[Never mind that the nineteenth century European and European American cultural construct of the "nation" could not have existed in the conceptual-symbolic terms of the lineage-tribal-clannic mode of the group aggregation specific to the traditional cultures of the indigenous peoples!]

"From 2000 B.C. - when American Indians had settled throughout North America - to today, people from all over the world have come to America. They crossed rivers, climbed mountains, and built homes from one coast to another. The people who settled this land created our nation."

(p. T66)

This misrepresentation of the indigenous peoples is essential to the textbook's representation of the beginning and origin, not as it was in the "real life" of American history, with the encounter between two major culture-spheres, i.e., the indigenous and that of the incoming Anglo settlers at Roanoke and Jamestown in the south, and at Plymouth Rock and Massachusetts in the North, on the basis of Gordon K. Lewis' cultural syncretism model, but rather as it has to be in the chronology of the Immigrant story of American history.

The earlier representation of the indigenous peoples in Immigrant terminology, retrospectively and culture-centrally, as the "first (immigrant) peoples" who came to America, enables the text to represent the origin of the "Americanizing process" as one of "cultural pluralism" and therefore as a process which does not begin in the original situation of Encounter leading to conquest, and the subordination of the indigenous peoples on the basis of a racial hierarchy structured in the reality of a British colony and later the United States. Rather, the original historic process is represented as merely that of a freely chosen coming together of "many peoples" within the context of the "nation."

The first chapter of Unit I is headed "A Nation of Many Peoples." This chapter sets the "general horizon of understanding" in which the history of the American past is to be understood by the students; and ensures that the cognitive distortion is both conceptual and organizational.

The collage of illustrations of the Chapter's Title page and the captions which accompany them demonstrate the heading is clearly intended to be read as "A Nation of Many (Immigrant) Peoples." In this collage, a photograph of a Native American is captioned as that of one of "the first people to arrive in America, 30,000 years ago." This representation reduces one of the three founding cultures that generated the matrix of the U.S.A.'s existential culture -- as opposed to the formal cultural model -- to be reduced to and mis-equated as, being merely "an important part of the mix of cultures in America today."

The strategy of mis-equating two of the founding cultures (i.e., indigenous Red and , the Middle Passage, non-Immigrant Black African), with the ethnic subset of the third, if dominant and hegemonic founding culture, that of European America, is a strategy central to the representation of the history of America as generically that of Immigrant America. It is then effectively deployed by the collage of illustrations. Along with the photo-

## Do Not Call Us Negros

graph of a Native American is included a portrait of the free Black American, Benjamin Banneker, captioned as an 18th century "astronomer, inventor and writer" whose ancestors had [merely] come from Africa.

- Immigrants in the full sense of the term (i.e., Euro Swedish American women photographed in the 1900s).

- the calligraphy brush as the sign of the 200,000 Chinese who came to the United States in the 1800s (the fact that they came as a special form of non-White and therefore secondary "native labor" is not made, in order to define them as simply "one other group" who came to America!).

- a toy called a dreidel which is used during the Jewish festival of Chanukah. (the fact that they would experience a form of ethno-religious racism which set them apart from the Swedish-Americans with whom they are, however, in the United States, racially co-identified as White is erased by the strategy of mis-equation at work in this collage.

- the photography of a group of Mexican-Americans dancing is captioned as an example of "many peoples in the United States who practice "the custom of their homeland."

The question, posed by the fourth example, "which homeland," the U.S.A. or Mexico, is left ambiguous. As with the two other non-Immigrant groups, i.e., Red and Black America, that of the native Chicano America, must also be assimilated to the "Immigrant" category. If the Mexican Americans dancing are those of the Southwest, then the customs which they are practicing are those of the United States of which they have been a part since the Anglo conquest of the Southwest in the nineteenth century. Only if the "Mexican Americans" dancing are members of the properly immigrant group from Mexico, can they be represented as part of the many peoples "who came" rather than as one of the three population groups who were conquered and dominated by the "people who came."

This ambiguity is not addressed by the text. Rather the imposition of the time of the Ellis Island Immigrant story of history, on the time of the lived existential history of America, enables the differences between Mexican-Americans who are "indigenous" or "native North Americans," and those who are properly Immigrants to be erased. With this erasure the reality of the non-Immigrant experience of Chicano Americans is represented, like that of Red and Black America, as simply an ethnic part of the Immigrant American story of history. Ethnicity replaces alterity.

## Sylvia Wynter

The text's obliteration of the non-Immigrant historical continuum of American history is effected by the central assumption which underlies the conceptual framework of the textbook, i.e., that the story of Immigrant America is the story of America.

In the Rationale of Chapter 1, on page 1B, we read:

In Lesson 2 we describe the process that brought so many people from such a wide variety of countries to the United States immigration. Everyone in the United States including Native Americans, is descended from someone who came here from another part of the world.

[Only that which is seen to have occurred from within the "internal perspective" of the experiences of Immigrant Americans is real: is history rather than "personal knowing"!]

## A TALE OF ONE CITY:

### THE ROLE OF "NEW ORLEANS" IN REPLACING THE PROBLEM OF RACIAL HIERARCHY WITH THAT OF CULTURAL PREJUDICE:

#### THE MODEL OF SYNCRETISM WITH THAT OF PLURALISM

On page 4, Lesson 1, headed A Tale of One City, begins the representation of New Orleans as the exemplar model of the United States as a "pluralistic culture," and therefore provides the basis for the book's substitution of the "generalized understanding" of the society of the United States as culturally pluralistic, for the reality of its racially and culturally hierarchical one.

Rather than beginning at the beginning, with the real-life origin of today's North America which took place first in the Spanish-African explorations of New Mexico, the Carolinas and Florida in the sixteenth century and then in the Roanoke/Jamestown settlements and the Plymouth Rock/Massachusetts Bay in the seventeenth century, all of which would have had to deal with the paradox of a process of cultural syncretism, on one hand, and that of racial and cultural domination on the other, between the three founding population groups and culture-spheres of the United States, the placing of New Orleans at the beginning of the text, imposes a narrative beginning able to "center" the immigrant story of history.

The book substitutes the representation of cultural pluralism in place of the reality of a hierarchy of racism, and of cultural prejudice in place of the reality of racism. (Ed. note: *One suspects that a reader of this text might wonder how culturally plural New Orleans and Louisiana might have come so very close to electing a former Ku Klux Klan wizard to be its governor in 1991, based on its pluralistic culture, and how its city council voted to ban discrimination in the Mardi Gras for the first time, in February 1992.*)

The model of New Orleans as the exemplar of the United States is first given:

New Orleans is made up of people from many backgrounds. This kind of culture is called pluralism, or a pluralistic culture. In a pluralistic culture, life is exciting. People work, join together, struggle, learn and grow.

The concept of a "pluralistic" culture then enables an ethnic subset of Immigrant Euro-Americans (the French Cajuns) to be mis-equated with one of the three founding races/cultures of the United States, that of Black Africa. This then enables the text to represent Dixieland Jazz -- the major cultural-syncretic expression of the United States' popular (non-middle class) culture created out of the conflictual coming together of the "inherited cultural baggages" of both the European immigrants and the peoples of Africa brought here as slaves-- as being simply another element like that of the string bands of the French-Canadian settlers (the Cajuns) who came to North America in the 1700s. The alter ego experiences of Black America, the scribed for the only fully achieved and non-derivative art form of the United States, can be reduced in the "pluralistic" framework of the text, to being just another "ethnic" element like that of the French Cajuns in New Orleans!

This pluralistic Ideology represents the Immigrant issues (such as the experience of ethnic prejudice or anti-immigrant nativism) as the central issues of American history, and reduces non-Immigrant issues to being merely "ethnic" subsets of its generic class, once exemplified in the text's model of New Orleans. The stage is then set for a narrative time in subsequent units which present the history of America as the exemplification of its Immigrant premises.

Now step up to one of the food stands. Try New Orleans dishes such as gumbo, jambalaya, alligator po-boy sandwiches, and stewed rabbit. All in all, this festival shows you the many people, sights, sounds and tastes that make up this wonderful city. It also gives you an idea of the rich mixture of people - the ethnic diversity - that can be found all around these United States.

[p. 4-5]

Consequently the New Orleans' section of Chapter One is complemented with a section titled "The Immigrant Experience." Not only are all of the peoples of New Orleans (including those of Black New Orleans whose origin was in the Anglo-American slave trade, and therefore, in the Middle Passage) represented as Immigrants, but the students are asked in this section to "interview immigrants" to the United States so that this can "help you understand the dreams and hopes that built America," and can understand their many stories as the stories of America itself. There is no room

## Do Not Call Us Negros

here for the fears, the despair that also built it. For DuBois' "sorrow songs," the Blues. The "trails of tears" of the Indigenous peoples, their non-immigrant dreams.

The text then makes Lesson 2 into an exemplification of its thesis. It does this by its selection of a story of a recent single-generation immigrant from Mexico, Ernesto Galarza (now a University Professor), as the exemplary story of the exemplary immigrant experience. (Because Chicano Americans cannot fit the exemplary thesis, they are left out.)

The exemplariness of the Immigrant experience is then hammered in with a series of subsections:

- Why People Came - illustrated with the photo of a Jewish woman immigrant to New York around 1900,
- The Trip to America - illustrated with an Irish man reading "a poster advertising opportunities in America" and an immigrant ship in which "nine million immigrants arrived in the United States between 1900-1910, mostly from Europe,
- Life in a New Country - 1920s Sacramento captioned as "just one of the many cities where immigrants settled."

Galarza's exemplary story used as the unifying thread, enables Black Americans (some of whom would be immigrants from the West Indies) to be once again strategically marginalized as just one other ethnic immigrant group.

Galarza found not only Japanese in his neighborhood, but also Filipinos, Portuguese, Italians, Poles, Yugoslavs, Koreans and blacks.

(p. 16)

But the majority of the ancestors of Black Americans came by the slave ship/Middle Passage route, just as the Indigenous peoples and Chicanos were drawn by the conquest route, that is, conquered by the immigrants who came from Europe). Galarza's story also functions to effect a strategy more central to the Immigrant story of American history. It represses the perspective of non-Immigrant America (alterity rather than ethnicity) by containing the central issue from those perspectives -- the issue of racism and racial hierarchy that provides automatic affirmative action to ensure

## Sylvia Wynter

the "special interests" of Immigrant versus non-Immigrant America. (i.e., the Irish man reading the poster was enabled by racial privilege to dislodge post-Abolition free Black Americans from the range of semi-skilled and lower level jobs that they had held, as recent researchers have documented, or to "settle" land that was "free" only because of the displacement of the indigenous peoples (Red and Chicano).

The containment of the issue of race by the pluralistic culture model is itself based on the excision of the perspectives of non-Immigrant America, as is seen most glaringly in the Focus for Review section at the end of Lesson 1:

1. Focus How has immigration made the United States a pluralistic culture?
2. Connect Why would both New Orleans and Sacramento be considered examples of pluralism?
3. History What kinds of condition might cause a person to leave his or her country and come to America?

(p. 16)

So that both Red and Chicano Americans who have never left "their country" but have been subordinated within it, and Black Americans who had little choice about leaving their continent (not country) of origin, are clearly and *a priori* excluded from the definition of the United States, as generically, a culture made "pluralistic" only by the process of Immigration. There is no room here for conquest, displacement, enslavement! If it didn't happen through Immigration, it didn't happen!

In Lesson 2, "A Country of Many Cultures," the New Orleans exemplar model is deployed to introduce the issue of Racism for the first time, in a guise which will enable it to be represented later in the text (on page 491 where it is discussed, overtly for the first time, as Professor King points out, in her critique) as a subset of the sanitized phenomenon defined as "cultural prejudice," one of which Immigrants are represented as being as much the victims as are non-Immigrants.

In the section which follows, the case of a middle-class immigrant child of Chinese origin is used to introduce the theme of racial and ethno-racial hierarchies and to strategically represent it as a mere conflict arising from the "challenge of many cultures." Lesson 2 begins with an excerpt from Bette Bao Lord's "In the Year of the Boar and Jackie Robinson."



## Do Not Call Us Negros

It tells of the character in the story, "an immigrant child from China, who speaks little English and has a hard time making friends at school." The child having learned to play baseball, then hearing tell of Jackie Robinson, the "first black player to break into the major leagues" feels, as Lord tells it, "as if she had grown as tall as the Statue of Liberty."

At this juncture, the episode is taken out of its overt race-conflict thematic, and therefore, as Legesse's description of the United States native culture model makes clear, out of the ongoing struggles of all non-White Americans against the alterity imposed upon them as non-Whites or non-Europeans. Instead it is made into an exemplar of the textbook's representation of "cultural prejudice" as the cause of racism; rather than the secondary and race-derived phenomenon which it itself is. The episode is then used to illustrate the issue of the Benefits of many cultures on the one hand and the Challenges of Many Cultures on the other hand. First are the benefits:

In a society made up of many cultures, people borrow music, foods, clothes and other things from each other. But one of the most important things they borrow is language.

(p. 17)

(One is supposed to infer here that all that the non-White character has learned from Jackie Robinson is to say, "Statue of Liberty" and that all she has learned is the "ethnic custom of baseball!")

The text then continues amidst illustrations of ethnic foods (American Indian food is given honorary immigrant status, but not "soul food.")

You may not know that words you use every day have come from other cultures.

Like language, culture itself changes slowly over time. People who immigrated to America did not simply drop their ways of life. They kept many of their customs. A custom that is special to a group of immigrants is called an ethnic custom. Ethnic customs have enriched our country and given us diversity in our daily lives.

(pp. 18-19)

On the other hand, however, the inference runs, it is this very diversity that has also led to the problem of "prejudice," i.e., of racism. So the case of Elizabeth Wong, a non-White, even if that of a middle class adolescent

## Sylvia Wynter

who is rejected when she tries to be accepted as All-American (and generically White) is interpreted in the Immigrant paradigm as prejudice. The episode is then made logically into an example of the textbook's ideological thesis of pluralism.

Maybe the hardest problem in a pluralistic culture is prejudice, disliking a person without knowing anything about them. You will learn how immigrants, Native Americans and blacks have met with prejudice.

(p. 21)

This representation then enables the themes of race and racial hierarchy to be introduced but contained. Consequently, it will not be until p. 491 of the text that the theme of racism will be overtly introduced, where, as Professor King points out, it will be presented primarily through its effect on Immigrant America.

"Some Americans disliked immigrants. They believed that people born in the United States were better and more important than people born in foreign countries. This belief is called racism. Racism led some people to treat native-born Americans better than they treated immigrants. This policy is called nativism."

Racism and nativism caused problems for many immigrants.

Racist and nativist beliefs led Americans to pass laws keeping many immigrants from coming to the United States. In 1882, Congress passed a law that stopped Chinese immigration. In 1917, Congress voted to require immigrants to pass a reading test in English. Other laws passed in the 1920s limited the number of immigrants from southern and eastern Europe...

Millions of immigrants came to the United States between 1860 and 1914. Their experiences, joys and problems have been shared by the millions of immigrants who have come to America since that time."

(p. 491)

The entire historical continuum of the non-Immigrant American experience is thereby, in Edouard Glissant's phrase, "obliterated." Their collective

experience in a post-Columbus America based on a cultural model whose belief-system mandated their subordination as well as their land and labor expropriation, genocidal extinction and lynching as an ostensibly racially inferior mode of being to that of all European Immigrants, is erased by the above passage.

Consequently, the dynamic of their history as a continuing struggle against this model and its belief system-- from which the "prejudice" against non-Anglo Saxon White Immigrants is also generated -- is repressed by the passage's strategies of representation. The misrepresentation itself is only made plausible by a reconceptualization of the past which enables the time of the Immigrant story of American history to be mapped on to the time of American History itself.

GOOSEBERRIES AND ORANGES,  
ANGELS, WHITE SKINS AND BLUE EYES:  
THE REST IS THE STORY OF THIS HISTORY!

Chapter I of Unit 1 ends with a story about a young girl who comes to the United States through Ellis Island. This story functions to seal the students' empathic identification with the Immigrant experience as the exemplar American experience.

It also acts to establish a generalized phenomenological understanding of American history in which the real events that happened before the narratives in the book were merely the pre-history to this history.

Ellen Swartz has pointed out the racial stereotyping at work in the story: "She had blue eyes and white skin, like an angel." (p. 22) This sentence implies that "the physical characteristics of white people are so perfect and God-like to be those of an angel." The message that "angels look like white people" is part of the embedded system of representation that denigrates people of color.

The larger issue is the stereotyping of history itself in the text as a whole, by its total repression of the centrality of "people of color" to the matrix origin and history of America. It is perfectly legitimate for Europeans within their own culture's color symbolism, to glorify "whiteness" (as the 16th century Congolese aesthetically canonized "Blackness" and felt a strong sense of revulsion when they first saw the White skin of Europeans that was the antithesis of their own somatic norm. The damage to which Ellen Swartz calls our attention has that effect because of the overall function of the textbook's Ideology.

Rather than the story being represented as the experience of a culture-specific and particular Immigrant group, it is inserted as a part of a chapter which has represented this experience and its color symbolism, as the generic and exemplar American experience, and represented the experience and symbolisms of non-Immigrant Americans of color, as only the marginal add-ons, so to speak, to the real history of real Americans.

Overall, so successful has the organization of the Preface and first chapter of Unit 1 been in representing the history of America from within the "internal perspective" of Immigrant America, as a universally applicable

## Do Not Call Us Negros

perspective, and in establishing this as a generalized horizon of understanding, that young students will have no difficulty in "reading" the two remaining chapters of Unit 1, This Land of Ours and Clues to Our Past as essentially being This Immigrant Land of Ours and Clues to Our Immigrant Past.

Consequently, when the student approaches the chronological accounts in the next unit based on the real life encounter between the Indigenous peoples of the continent and the incoming Hispanic and Anglo-Saxon settlers, as an encounter which sets and defines the terms of the relations that follow, s/he will "read" this history within the "generalized horizon of understanding" which has been solidly laid down by the representational strategies of the Preface as well as that of Unit 1.

Finally, when Unit 2 (Exploring and Settling America) again represents the indigenous people, who were the human domesticators in the continent (as the Europeans were of theirs) as merely the "first people" to arrive in North America, the student will be already prepared to "know" the indigenous peoples in specific terms. These terms, while not belonging to the mode of "personal knowing" attacked by the Adoption Report, will be those of a group-specific perspective, that of Euro-Immigrant America; never in the antithetical terms that are specific to the "internal perspective" of the descendant of the indigenous peoples; specific to their own non-Immigrant reality and experience.

Nor will the students have any difficulty in reading the second chapter Europe in the Age of Exploration in terms which prefigure the nineteenth century experience of the Immigrants and their Westward Frontier march (as iconized in the illustration of the covered wagon on the cover of the book), rather than in terms of the real life historical dynamic in which the expansion of Europe into the Caribbean and the Americas first took place.

This earlier dynamic was brought about by the emergence of the European Absolute States, Columbus' monarchically backed voyage in search of a trade route to the East sailing West, and the sixteenth century imperative of statal expansion in its dynastic rather than nineteenth century "nation" form. Keep in mind that Columbus' arrival was in a part of the earth hitherto conceptualized not to exist in the then-geography of the mainstream system of "public language knowledge" of the time; that is, of feudal Europe.

It was also in the wake of his voyage and of the expropriation by the Spanish state of large areas of the New World as well as the reduction to

## Sylvia Wynter

forced labor of large numbers of the continent's indigenous peoples that the quest to legitimate (in Weber's terms) the European state's sovereignty in new post-religious and civic humanist terms, led to the invention of "Race."

This became the central construct of a new cultural belief system on which to base the new "system of authority" in whose terms alone, non-Immigrant America, Red and Black could be respectively expropriated of its land, and sovereignty in the case of the former, and in the case of the latter, of its labor as well as of all autonomy as a human person.

The terms Settling and Exploring and Age of Exploration used in the titles of the chapters of this Unit, therefore propose a sanitized euphemism, for the dynamics of conquest and resistance that took place. This dynamic is then shown in terms of a active/passive relation presented under the sub-heading Impact on the American Indians, (even where the factual data given by the text, with respect to the exchange of food items from one agricultural tradition to the other, itself verifies the centrality of the emerging syncretism of what Gordon K. Lewis calls, "the Americanizing Process," in which the Impact goes both ways.

This representation enables young students to miss completely how such a clash and conflict would be seen from the perspective of the descendants of the indigenous peoples, that is from that of non-Immigrant and Red America. It also enables the twin process of conquest and Indigenous resistance to be overseen as a central clash that has yet to be resolved, not a mere variant of the "clash" of pluralistic cultures or later ethnic immigrants.

Up until now the centrality of Black America has been as erased as that of Red America. This is logical given that both of these centralities are linked to the real life chronology and concrete historical origin of the United States. It is not until Chapter 6, Settling a New World which deals in Lesson 2, with English Settlement in the South that we begin to be introduced to the presence of Black America, if never to its centrality.

In addition, Lesson 3 introduces us to a central theme of both pre-Abolition Black and White history -- that of Judeo-Christian Redemption from slavery, and from sin, both of which were to be embodied in the Abolitionists' empirical struggle against slavery. This connection takes some effort, as the primary focus of Lesson 3 is the encounter between the Indigenous peoples and the Puritans in the North and with the religious Reformation, the quest for religious freedom and the rise of lay responsibility for the believer's own spiritual redemption (as distinct from the latter dream of

material freedom,) to be characteristic of Immigrant America. The presence of non-Immigrant America mainly appears on the generalized horizon of understanding because this Unit must deal with the concrete historical origin of the United States.

However, the text's placement of the chapters, not at the beginning where they belong, but embedded in the established exemplarity of the Immigrant experience, represents the history of what actually happened at the origin, even when documented by the text such as the case of the Wampanoag who taught the Pilgrims the best places to hunt and fish and "how to plant corn by putting a fish in each hill of seeds as fertilizer" as being of secondary importance. It has already been conceptualized as the pre-history of Immigrant America. The cultural syncretism model that is clearly at work is backgrounded in order to "foreground" the cultural pluralism representation specific to the Immigrant "story of America's history."

The same is also true of the account of the English settlement in the Middle colonies where the relation between the indigenous peoples and William Penn is first laid down. There, Penn's claim that "the king of his country had given him a province" in the country of the Delaware peoples, could have made clear to students the tragic impasse that was to lie at the origin of American history. That impasse came from two widely different systems of authority, of legitimacy, and therefore, two very different systems of belief generated from disparate native cultural models, which confronted each other, with each non-comprehending of the other, and each convinced of the absolute nature of its own [culture-relative] Truth.

V

## THE CENTRAL INSTITUTION OF SLAVERY

It is only with Unit 3, i.e., Life in the English Colonies and specifically in Lesson 3 of Chapter 7, that we are introduced to the "presence of slavery" and therefore to one of the three founding population groups out of whose conflictually transculturating processes the matrix of the existential culture (as distinct from the formal native cultural model which is disseminated by our present order of "public language knowledge" and its "acts of communication") of North America would be laid down.

Although the institution of slavery is at least as central to the United States as the 19th century Ellis Island process of immigration which it antedated by three centuries, it is necessarily marginalized and represented as a subset of the Immigrant experience, particularly in Lesson 3 of Chapter 7.

Any recognition of the centrality of the history of Black America to the history of America necessarily challenges the conception of the United States as a "nation of immigrants" and therefore the conception whose framework underlies the organization and narrative chronology of America Will Be. The strategies of "racial stereotyping" of Black America, pointed out by Professor King as consistent features of the text, are strategies designed to contain the challenges posed both by the Civil Rights movements to our present native cultural model, and, by the rise of the practice of Black Studies (as the perspective of liminality and alterity, rather than of mere ethnicity) to our present order of racial hierarchy which its system-conserving Ideology legitimates.

The textbook's organization of material and its strategies of representation have already laid the basis from the Preface to Page 166 for the strategic containment of any challenge from the Utopian ground of the lived experience of non-Immigrant America, to the conception of the United States as a "nation of immigrants"; and have done so primarily by their substitution of the time of lived history with the time of its Immigrant story of that history, and therefore, by its representing of a partial group perspective as a universally applicable one. The rest of the sequences that follow, from Unit 3 on page 167 to the end are the history of that story.



STRATEGY II  
REPRESENTING THE "YOU"  
OF THE IMPLIED IMMIGRANT AMERICAN STUDENT  
AS THAT OF THE AMERICAN STUDENT

Literary scholars use the concept of the "implied reader" to show how writers in telling a story, always do so with a projected ideal type reader in mind to whom they address the text. This "implied reader" then determines many of the strategies used in the text. In the Social Sciences and the Humanities, textbooks are also written with an ideal implied student in mind. For one thing, a fifth grade textbook such as America Will Be, for example, clearly uses a level of exposition and narration whose intended audience is that of a fifth grade student body, and does so consciously.

However, as can be seen from any page in the text, in which the pronoun "you" is used, the ideal implied student of the text is also defined by other characteristics of "attributes" to use Jane Gallop's term, of which the authors of the textbook clearly remain unaware.

One of these "attributes" is that of being of Immigrant and, generically, of Euro-Immigrant origin. So that the "you" of the text, while ostensibly addressed to an "American" implied student reader "you," is defined by the attribute of its Immigrant-American generic origin.

The example given below reveals the strategies by which the textbook's politics of representation therefore serves to do the following:

(a) Representing the "special interest" You of Immigrant America as the You of America.

(b) To effect the above, excise all students of non-Immigrant origin, (i.e., Black, Red and Chicano) from the "implied student" you. The Preface, headed "From Your Authors" begins with this extract from a later chapter:

The Extract

"The hunters shiver as an icy wind blows across the empty land. It is flat and treeless here, covered only with moss and small shrubs. Far away, the hunters can see a tall range of mountains covered with ice and snow."

Comment: (by the Authors)

So begins an imaginary account of the first humans who ever crossed over the ice from Asia to North America. For periods of time during the Ice Age long ago, a land bridge connected the two continents. Historians think musk ox crossed over first, and hunters looking for game followed them. In Chapter 4 of this book, you will have the chance to read more about the ancestors of present-day Native Americans.

WHO IS THE "YOU?" IMMIGRANT AMERICAN?  
OR AMERICAN?

Clearly had the "you" of the text included today's Native American student body, the text would have read - "You will have the chance to read more about the ancestor of some of us, those of us who today call ourselves, Native Americans."

However, the correction of the text, from the perspective of an American "you" could not simply stop there. For the representation of the "You" of the implied student as not inclusive of today's Native American student, and therefore of their perspective on, nor of the questions this perspective will ask of the past, is already implicit both in the strategies of representation of the extract, and in that of the comment by "your authors."

For the passivized representation of "the ancestors of present day Native Americans" function in the lawlike terms of the generic paradigm first identified by Jane Gallop. The active figures of the later incoming settlers and immigrants, whose sign is the wagon train on the cover, can therefore be seen, in retrospect, to exist from the first page of the Preface onwards, in an implicit value-opposition with the "passive" figures of the indigenous peoples of the continent. The latter's epochal crossing of the Bering Straits and domestication of the continent is represented as simply a matter of geographical determinism. Where the musk ox could have gone, even Native Americans could have followed. No big deal! For these "hunters" who "shiver" in the icy wind are not "your" ancestors; "you" do not owe your presence here today to their domestication of a continent hitherto uninhabited by humans.

Unlike the later European "explorers" these hunters do not explore, are not driven by curiosity, have no specific purpose or intentionality. Nor are we allowed, even if they had them, to go inside these purposes, to empathically identify with them as we are induced to do, powerfully and consistently, with the actors of Immigrant America, by the representations of the same text which portrays the indigenous peoples, antithetically as everywhere being, "affected by their environments." (p. 92) All is determinism on the one hand. All will power on the other.

HOW WOULD AN AMERICAN "YOU" CALL FOR THE  
IMAGINARY ACCOUNT TO BEGIN?

Were an American "You," the implied student, the same Extract would, for example, read:

"We shiver in the icy wind that blows across this new and empty land. It is flat and treeless here. Only moss and small shrubs. Far away we see a tall range of mountains. They are covered with ice and snow. We are tired. We would like to return to the camp. But there is no food there. We are hunters, and cannot go back with our empty hands. We must go on. To where the game has gone."

The "passive" shivering hunter would have become the kind of active agents they must have been. They would have become, phenomenologically, "our" ancestors - that is, of all of us who today inherit the continent they domesticated.

But, here again, the mere rewriting of the passage would not be enough. For, as the examples of Strategy I showed, the very conceptualization of the past in terms of the Immigrant story of American history, has already predetermined that the generic implied student or "you" cannot include normally, the Native American student-descendants of the indigenous peoples of the continent.

Once Unit I, The United States: Past and Present has projected the "world" of their indigenous ancestors only as the preface, so to speak, of United States' history, and therefore within an historical continuum for whom 1492, the date of Columbus' arrival is made the date of origin, a contradiction is set up for American students of indigenous descent. For these students, the United States and its origins, is only a more recent part of a longer continuous historical memory which goes back towards the original crossing of the Bering Straits, as the historical memory of Europeans goes back, beyond the Romans, to the Teutons, the Celts, the Visigoths, Stonehenge.

Clearly, therefore, if their "you" is to be included, the crossing of the Bering Straits/and bridge could not be relegated to being a mere prefiguring event. Rather, it would have constituted Unit I, perhaps entitled:

## Do Not Call Us Negros

### DOMESTICATING A CONTINENT: THE WORLD OF THE INDIGENOUS PEOPLES

Or it would include their perspective on their origins.

However, were this to be done as the condition of instituting an implied student "you" which is inclusively America, the textbook could not interpret as it now does, the history of the American peoples, non-Immigrant and Immigrant, within the framework of the Immigrant story of American history. Given that such a student body would call for a dialectically indigenous/immigrant frame.

(We shall see later under IV, how the exclusion of the Black American student as part of the "you" of the implied student and which leads to the "passivized" and biologized representation of the runaway slave, for example, as called in question by Professor King, is also a function of the textbook's Ideology in the Ricoeur-Marx sense, i.e., that of representing a partial perspective as if it were a universally valid one.)

Sylvia Wynter

### STRATEGY III: INDUCING OF EMPATHIC IDENTIFICATION WITH THE IMMIGRANT AMERICAN POINT OF VIEW RATHER THAN WITH THE AMERICAN

As the difference between the Extract from the Imaginary Account of the arrival of the first humans in the Americas and the rewritten version shows, the point of view adopted, functions either to induce empathic identification, as the point of view of an America "you" does in the second version or not to so induce, as the account from the point of view of an Immigrant-American "you" of the text does not.

#### The Wesley Powell/Indian Representation

In Chapter Two of Unit I, we see how the textbook's consistent Euro-Immigrant point of view enables a discussion of John Wesley Powell's exploration of the Colorado River to secure the same degree of empathic identification by the students with Powell and his exploration, that the rewritten version of the hunters crossing the Bering Straits did.

In Chapter 2 This Land of Ours -- the text calls Powell's "exploration of the Colorado River" a "real life geographic adventure," in order to teach students about the geography of North America. Here, the "you" of the implied student completely excises the Native American and the point of view is completely that of Euro-Americans. Powell is described as "the first to travel down the Colorado River, the entire length of the canyon." Yet this representation, as Ellen Swartz points out, is false. While he was the first European, he was "certainly not the first person to do so."

Swartz further notes that this representation functions "to render the original inhabitants of the Americas invisible." A "cultural model" approach enables us to see that the "prescriptive rules" of the "native model" which underlie the conceptual framework of the textbook and the entire K-8 series, must necessarily represent the relation between Euro-Settler Immigrant America and indigenous or Red America as an active/passive relation. Indigenous America must in a lawlike fashion be represented as a non-active social agent, in the same terms in which, as Jane Gallop points out, the she is necessarily silenced (and passivized) in order to represent the male sex and the generic and (exemplar) sex.

By those "prescriptive rules" of this active/passive relation, explorer deeds must be reserved for the incoming European settlers and immigrants (hence the logic of the representation of the "shivering hunter" as being necessarily a non-explorer). Clearly, therefore, the indigenous peoples cannot be conceived of as having "explored the Colorado River." As the illustration of Powell talking to an "Indian" shows, the "Indian" can be there only as "an ethnographic object" that is to be itself explored.

Swartz points to the lack of a specific identification given to the Indian (i.e., Shoshoni or Arapaho) to show the subjectivation of Powell and the objectification of the "Indian," both of which then serves to secure the empathic identification of all students, including Native American students, with Powell, and their dis-identification with the non-exemplar "Indian." Who wants to be an "Indian" when the "hero" is the "cowboy?"

Here we see the relation of strategies of empathic identification to the problems of motivation and demotivation, which Carter G. Woodson identified in the early 1930s as being actively at work in the ostensibly "objective" school textbooks. We also see how these processes are linked to the conception of the "you" or implied student to be addressed, as one with whom the authors of any textbook share certain assumptions embodied in the prescriptive rules of each order's native model. Consequently, by not projecting indigenous American students as part of their implied student you, nowhere do the authors of the text feel impelled to break out from the "internal perspective" that they share with an "implied student body" which consists of generically Euro-immigrant, middle-class Americans, and with whom they share a common contemporary socio-historical (race and class dominant) experience.

It was only with the rise of non-White and Feminist studies in the Sixties, and with the development of what might be called the non-generic perspectives of the subordinated categories of the United States, that the possibility of the projections of an American You rather than that of the Euro American "You" that is still hegemonic in this textbook, became possible. That "American You" can enable students to consider themselves in Melville's terms the heir of both traditions, that of John Wesley Powell and that of the member of one of the "ethnic groups" of the indigenous peoples to whom he spoke.

Instead the Immigrant American "you" of the text determines that while J.W. Powell is personalized, individualized as an active social agent, indeed even heroized -- i.e., although Powell "had lost his right arm during the

Civil War, he never let his infirmity keep him from exploring America" -- the nameless "Indian" remains, mute, silent, part of the faceless horde of innumerable "cowboy and Indian" films. He therefore remains a "conceptual Indian", an object of Powell's and of Immigrant America's world. He was never the subject of his once autocentric, even if now subordinated, world; never, unlike Powell, an active social agent.

Even where the ruins of indigenous societies observed by Powell are mentioned, and photographs of these ruins shown (as in the case of the 800-year-old Anazazi, whose ruins pre-date 1492, and the advent of European America), these ruins are not put in any context of meaning, where they can be seen from a contemporary Native American point of view, as Powell is reverently seen from a EuroAmerican view (albeit under "objective" guise). Consequently, the students are never led to imagine that there had been quite another world, related to a quite different relation to nature, because symbolized and conceptualized quite differently, by those who had first made this continent humanly habitable and done so as necessarily active and creative social agents.

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GEOGRAPHIC DETERMINISM?  
OR OBSERVATION, DECISIONS AND  
CULTURAL INDEBTEDNESS

The text refuses to provide any empathic identification except with issues having to do with Immigrant America. Lesson 4 of Chapter 2 This Land of Ours provides examples under the caption Stories about Places. Here, the text mentions that European settlers built their towns and cities at the same sites where the indigenous peoples had built theirs. This fact, rather than being used to illustrate the debt of a new tradition to the old one, is instead given as an example of geographical determinism:

"Indians paddling their canoes up the rivers could not pass the rapids and falls (p. S1) and so they had to build their settlements there.

The concept of observation and deliberate decisions on the part of the indigenous peoples is erased. All in their case is the "constraint of place," all determinism.

A MERE HISTORICAL MAP? OR  
A CENTURY LONG WAR OF RESISTANCE  
AGAINST DISPLACEMENT BY SETTLER-IMMIGRANTS?

The question of empathic identification and its lack can also be perceived in the following example. Under the caption, Stories About the Past, [Lesson 4, Chapter 2, p. 52] the narration of a struggle, which indigenous peoples and their descendants would see as a century long war of resistance by their ancestors against the incoming settlers of Europe, is merely the example of the fact that "maps can tell us something about the past." But who is the "us" in this case?

None of the identification that we saw at work in the case of the narration of John Wesley Powell's exploration of the Colorado River is evidenced here, as would have been the case had this text been written collaboratively by scholars coming from both a mainstream historical paradigm as well as from the perspective of Native American Studies. This "story" is ostensibly told from the perspective of scholars of impeccable liberal and "objective" credentials.

[Note: it is not a question of merely being of Native American descent, or not being. It is a question of the perspective developed and adopted, that of Ricoeur's Ideology or that of Utopia, or, as in this proposed case, both!]

These four maps tell a story about Indian lands lost between 1775 and today. As more Europeans began settling the continent, they took over lands that had belonged to the Indian tribes for centuries.

Sometimes the settlers bought the land. At other times, the Indians gave their land to settlers by signing treaties that promised the Indians other lands in return. Often, however, the Indians lost their land in bloody battles with settlers who thought the land was theirs for the taking.

The first map on page S3 show the United States in 1775. Indians held nearly all of the land in North America...

By 1819, however, much of the Midwest and South was held by the government or the settlers and their descendants.

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(p. 52)

While the wars are represented as bloody, they are never represented as heroic, which they were, given the fact that the indigenous peoples were totally outmatched by the settlers with respect to the vast technology differential of the weaponry with which both sides fought. Nor can the statement that the land fought over, "has belonged to the Indian tribes for centuries" convey the fact that these lands were the Indians' only homeland! Liberal pity replaces empathic identification. At the same time no attention is paid to the cultural beliefs of the settlers -- the "inherited cultural baggage" of beliefs which induced them to believe that they had right on their side; that the land was indeed "theirs for the taking."

The absence of the "you" of the Native American students from the projected implied student body, means that the text is not impelled to provide a new and shared "general horizon of understanding" based on an awareness of the "constraints on our human behaviors" provided by the cultural models of whose pre-analytic prescriptive rules we are normally unaware. Rather the mode of empathy created by the text is restricted to that set up between the authors and the implied student body who are the descendants of Immigrant America, rather than inclusively of both - non-Immigrant and Immigrant.

# PERSONALIZING THE GOLD SEEKERS, THE SETTLERS: HOW EMPATHIC IDENTIFICATION IS SO USED

Although we are told at the end of the last sequence that in just over 200 years North America's Native Peoples (note, not "those of our peoples who are Native Americans!") have become almost completely landless, no identification is secured that would enable students to respond to this tragedy, and recognize it as the dark underside of the Immigrant's American Dream! To feel with the landless indigene!

Yet empathic identification with the settler/immigrants is never lacking. Indeed, it is consistently secured by the text's representational strategies.

On page 49, a map which shows the route taken by the wagon trains, on the California trail to the gold country, is used to effectively personalize the person related to the map, unlike the account given of the experience of dispossession at the hands of settlers like the "young man" that was endured by Native American peoples. In the extract which follows, we are clearly being induced to be with, to feel with, the settler gold-seekers for whom the Indians were only an obstacle to their quest; their dream of wealth and the freedom that wealth brings:

"Seated in the back of the lead wagon, a young man studies a well-worn map. With a finger he traces the journey of the wagon train...

"As he looks at his map, the young man thinks about the challenges, the dangers, and the hardships ahead.

"The train is in Indian country now. Scouting parties have been formed to ride ahead of the wagons and make sure the trail is clear and the people safe from attack...

"Despite the dangers and hardships, the young man...studies his map, and dreams of gold nuggets and incredible riches."

(pp. 49-50)

The strategies here - like those used in the parallel case of the account of the Puritans' confrontation with the Indians, pointed out by Ellen Swartz in her first example of textual bias, as one which saw to it that the students see the encounter only from the point of view of the Puritans - are designed to induce all students, including Native American students, to identify with the gold seeker, the settler, the Immigrant: and to fear for his safety against the threat of the "Indian."

Such a representation must clearly function to induce the Native American student to dis-identify with the resistance struggles of her or his ancestors, as struggles that are already objectified, in this exemplary episode, as an amorphous threat or danger which, lurking, vague and menacing, somewhere out there "in Indian country," threatens the "real" America.

In addition, such a strategy leaves American students of non-Indigenous descent unable to identify with the indigenous point of view and perspective, and unable therefore to experience themselves as heirs to both experiences, on the basis of strategies of representation such as the above.

As humans, unlike organic species genetically programmed to identify with their conspecifics to the degree of their kin-relatedness, we can identify with the other members of our group only on the basis of our systems of representation; and the degrees of empathic identification with the "us" and of antipathic dis-identification with the markers of the "not-us," that they induce.

Carter G. Woodson saw, even more centrally, that strategies of representation such as the one at work in the above example also differentially motivate the intellectual performance of student categories, according to the degrees by which they positively and negatively mark the group past and present of the student categories.

That is particularly so in our now purely secular society, in which students are initiated into their formal public identities by means of the educational system and its school curricula.

In the example, student identification was induced by the positively marked figure of the map-reading gold-seeking settler and disidentification with the negatively marked indigenous denizens of "Indian country."

These degrees of positive/negative representations can be directly corre-

lated with the degrees of motivating or demotivating self-conception (and self-valuation), which the representation systems of textbooks (even in the case of a relatively vastly improved textbook such as America Will Be), induce students [differentially and hierarchically so along lines of race and class, and secondarily of gender] to feel.

The fact that the Native American student (who has no other homeland but this) is induced to identify in the passage cited with the settler, against his/her own indigenous group, leads to what Frantz Fanon defined as a systematically induced "aberration of affect." The hypothesis here is that it is this aberration of affect induced by the systemic cognitive distortions of the curricula and their textbooks, as Woodson saw, that leads to a result like these produced by the recent ACT scores --scores which directly correlate both with the racial-hierarchical continuum of the United States, as well as with the relative degrees of negatively marked representations attached to the past and present of those groups who function as the primary alter ego of our present native cultural model.

While the textbooks and their school curricula have improved greatly since Woodson 1930's book The Miseducation of the Negro, i.e. relative degrees of their differential positive/negative marking in relation to the White/Black value scale has not changed (as indeed they have not changed in the even more greatly improved case of America Will Be), the correlation between differentials in test-performance scores, between group categories and the degrees of differentiability, positively/negatively marked representations, of the present school curriculum and its textbook system, should be empirically testable.

ACT SCORES, 1990 (National Average Composite Score was 20.6)

"Minority" Group Students		
Black	Black Americans	17.0
	American Indian	18.0
Chicano	Alaskan Native Students	
	Mexican Americans	18.3
	Puerto Rican/Asian	19.3
	Other Hispanic Students	
	Asian-American and	21.7

Pacific Islanders

As the examples from strategy IV shows, it is the three with the lowest scores, and all of whom constitute the matrix of non-Immigrant America, whose centrality to American history is the most consistently repressed and marginalized by the Immigrant conceptual framework of America Will Be.

It is Black America as the primary alter ego (Bauman, 1989) of our present native cultural model, whose centrality to American history is the most severely marginalized of all. As a textbook therefore, America Will Be, in spite of its inclusion of material about the African past of Black Americans, as well as about the indigenous cultures of the continent, because of its exclusion of the perspectives of these two founder cultures and population groups as well as the obliteration of the Chicano native presence perspective, does not differ from those earlier textbooks whose representational strategies have enabled the stable replication, both of the relative score ratios of these three physically subjugated "minorities" as well as the high dropout rates and joblessness/crime coefficients of their test-score ratios.

The lowest place of all goes to the Black American population group -- whose place on the bottom rungs of the educational and societal ladder is made to correlate with its primary alter ego role in the ontological value scale of our native cultural model.

The issue of the representational strategies of America Will Be is therefore not a merely "academic" issue. It is a political one!

## VI BACKGROUNDING THE ISSUE OF RACE

### EXCISING THE PERSPECTIVE OF NON-IMMIGRANT AMERICA OBLITERATING THE HISTORICAL CONTINUUM OF NON- IMMIGRANT AMERICA/AMERICA

Euro-Immigrant Americans must normally, from within the "critical perspective" of their contemporary experience, ask different questions of the past. As a result, they select for emphasis aspects of the past that are different to those that non-Euro and non-Immigrant Americans would select from within the perspective of theirs.

Although the declared intention of the series of textbooks, including America Will Be is to include "minorities" together with "women" and "working persons" in "the historical pageant" within the terms of a "new vision" in which "ordinary people" will be shown to interact with "great people," because this inclusion is effected only from the perspective of Euro-Immigrant America, and within the terms of its questions to the past, America Will Be's decisions as to what is to be foregrounded and what backgrounded, is pre-determined by this partial perspective.

That produces the paradox that minorities are indeed included in America Will Be, but their perspectives on the past, their questions, their emphases are consistently backgrounded, where not altogether excised.

This excision begins with the use of the very term and concept, "minority." Since by the text's definition of non-Immigrant America as "minorities" rather than the racially subordinated categories that they were and are culturally instituted to be (Legesse, 1974) it reveals that the only licensed perspective will be that of Immigrant (and, indeed, of middle class) America.

## Do Not Call Us Negros

This paradox appears most forcefully in the text's use of the title, America Will Be. The words are taken from the final line of the poem by the Black American poet Langston Hughes, in which Hughes after pointing out that "America has never been America for me," vows that "America will be." That is, the declarative intention of the poem, is clearly that of seeing to it that an America that until now has not been an America for Black Americans, will have to be transformed into being so.

If we widen his meanings to apply to the fact that America, as it is projected as being in the Textbook series, i.e., as being a "nation of Immigrants," cannot be an America for Black nor indeed for non-Immigrant America as a whole, then clearly in order for Hughes' "land that's not been yet" to be, America must reconceptualize its past, so as to include the perspective of non-Immigrant America; and therefore to enable the co-equal centering of the issues that arise from them, issues that are still, in the textbook, strategically made marginal.

The Caribbean writer, Edouard Glissant, makes the point that for all its gross simplifications, the T.V. series Roots accomplished a remarkable feat. It put an end to the "obliteration of the historical continuum" of Black America - an obliteration that had been effected, inter alia by mainstream historical scholarship. The startling effect of the Roots series lay in its intellectual motivation of Black Americans, leading them to even steal copies of Roots out of parked cars.

The differential in the score performances of Black Americans which keeps its student population group at the bottom of the heap must be linked both to Woodson's observations about the role of school stereotyping in differentially motivating Black and White Americans (i.e. as alter ego and Ideal self) as well as to recent cross comparative studies which have revealed that all groups who are stigmatized as the Pariah or alter ego category of their respective orders (whether Black Americans, low caste Hindu children, or the Burukumi of Japan), perform at the same negative differential ratio level compared to the norm.

Thus, the issues we raise are immediate and urgent ones in the context of the imperative transformation of our present Industrial system of education (with its hierarchy of skilled and unskilled labor) to a Technological one, with its emphasis on a general high level of brain power; and therefore, of generalized intellectual motivation.

What Glissant calls the "obliteration of this historical experience" of the three lowest scoring non-Immigrant groups, which is continued in both the

Sylvia Wynter

present school curricula and their textbook series, remains a central function of the processes by which all three categories and most completely that of the Black (and lower-class) America are stably maintained in their alter-ego and/or Pariah role, assigned to them in the dialectical White/non-White, White/Black dynamic of our present native model.

(In support of this inference, recent studies have revealed that when other alter ego or Pariah groups, such as the Burukumi of Japan, escape from the dynamic in whose forms they are negatively stigmatized, by leaving Japan and moving to the United States, they at once begin to perform to the same level as other Japanese children.

Consequently, the question of the perspectives of Black, Red and Chicano America and the reenacted, under the guise of "multicultural" inclusiveness, obliteration of the historical continuum of these categories, as well as of its centrality to American history, is a question that has to do with the effectiveness of the educational system with respect to the overall competitiveness of America itself.

The general thesis, with respect to America Will Be is that the strategies of representation that are at work in the text, are strategies designed to give some facts about the past of Black, Red and Chicano America (and, in the context of the post-Civil rights struggle and the challenges to mainstream scholarship made by the New Studies, by relating their past far more sympathetically), but to make sure on the other hand, that their centrality to the historical continuum of American history remains severely marginalized while the perspective of alterity that their non-Immigrant points of view could bring is also strategically contained.

This goal is effected by a range of strategies -

- such as in the case of Chicano Americans who were forcibly incorporated into the U.S.A. by the 1848 Guadalupe Hidalgo treaty with Mexico in the wake of conquest -- the textbook excises their presence by the selection of Ernesto Galarza, a one-generation emigrant from Mexico, to exemplarily represent all Mexican Americans

- the reorganization of the sequences, which by displacing the experiences of Anglo-Protestant from its central place at the origin, enables the true cultural sharing (syneretism) of the three founding populations to be replaced with a "cultural pluralism" model in which Black and Red America are "ethnized" and therefore mis-equated with the ethnic subsets of White America



## Do Not Call Us Negroes

- representing the qualitatively different nature of the counter-culture produced by the non-Immigrant, lower-class Black America and which now exists as the alternative popular culture of the U.S. not as a culture shared by all Americas, and increasingly global in its range, but as just one more "ethnic" strand in a blending of cultures, as defined in the following statement.

In order to deepen each student's awareness of the blending of cultures that shaped the United States, we emphasize how much people borrow from each other. The culture of the United States then, is the result of generations of borrowing among the cultures brought here by immigrants.

(p. 1B)

However, it is the textbook's misrepresentation of the origin of the mass enslavement of the peoples of African and Afro-mixed descent, and its correlated backgrounding of the issue of "Race" within the overall logic of its conceptual framework that obliterates, in new terms, the historical continuum of their reality.

That obliteration has been the single causal source both of the Burukumi-like Pariah performance on test scores by Black American students (and the categories nearest to them; and of their continuing high drop-out rate.

Sylvia Wynter

## BACKGROUNDING THE ISSUE OF RACE AND THE QUESTION OF JUSTNESS (LEGITIMACY) OBLITERATING THE CONTINUUM

It is only on page 153B that we get the first mention of the "emergence of Black slavery." There the theme of slavery is represented in the Liberal terms of its inhumanity, while the question of the specific cultural rationale [the question that is central from the perspective of Black non-Immigrant America] that made this slavery possible through making it seem "just" and "legitimate" to its European enforcers, is itself excluded.

In order to bring the inhumanity of the slave trade to life for students, we have described the trade using the words of a black slave who was part of it - Olaudah Equiano. In addition, the Understanding Slavery feature acquaints students with the history of slavery as far back as 3500 B.C.

(p. 153B)

The text features a drawing of chains, captioned "Planters often put slaves in shackles like these." However, the concept that those shackles -- like the reservation of the Indian, and the ghetto-barrios of Chicanos, are as centrally icons of U.S. history as is the wagon train on the book's cover, is rigorously excluded by the conceptual framework in which the origins of slavery in the United States and the origin of the central issue of Race is represented. These extracts are on pp. 167-68 of the text.

Olaudah Equiano was one of about 10 million Africans who were sold into slavery between 1570 and 1870....

Slavery did not begin in North America or even in the New World. Slavery existed in the ancient world, too. In the ancient world, prisoners taken in war were sometimes enslaved. These slaves came from many different places. Some of them earned their freedom after working for a number of years....

## Do Not Call Us Negros

In the New World, however, slavery was different -- and in some ways more cruel. Only one group of people, black people were slaves. Once a person became a slave, that person was a slave for life. And any child of a slave mother was also a slave for life.

The Spanish were the first people to use African slaves in the New World. In the late 1400s. Spain founded colonies in the West Indies....

The Spanish needed strong workers to do the hard work of stooping to plant and cut sugar cane. They tried to make slaves of the Indian people of the West Indies. Most of these people died of disease. The Spanish then turned to using African slaves in their fields.

The major point here is that this representation of the origin of the New World enslavement of the peoples of African and Afro-mixed descent is a mis-representation. It is logical within a historical paradigm able to analytically disassociate social systems from their cultural symbolic values, but it contradicts the reality of the historical origin of the mass enslavement of one of the three major founding population groups of the United States, on the grounds of the symbolic construct of race. The same construct legitimated the dispossession of the Red and the subordination of "native," Chicano America.

This contradiction of the representation with the reality is not accidental. It is essential to the textbook's central strategy of backgrounding the issue of race and of misequating it with the secondary immigrant issues of "prejudice." This enables the structural racism as experienced by Red, Black and Chicano America (and later by Asians) to be backgrounded into the derivative phenomenon of "prejudice" (as an interracial ethnic mode of discrimination) -- experienced by Euro-ethnic immigrants. As for example:

Prejudice also became a serious problem at this time, especially after 1852 when the gold started to give out. Mexicans, Blacks, and Indians working in the gold fields all suffered from prejudice. So did forty-niners who came to California from Europe and China.

(p. 386)

Once backgrounded and misequated with "prejudice," the phenomenon of race and racism, on the basis of whose correlated cultural belief system

## Sylvia Wynter

the very structure of the politics of the post-Columbus Caribbean and Americas was to be based, can therefore be represented as the empirical effect of pluralistic "cultural differences" and the cost of "cultural pluralism." The tragic dynamics of the relation between non-immigrant and Immigrant America, and its historical continuum, is hereby obliterated, along with the central questions necessarily asked from the perspectives of those who paid the costs for this relationship.

Professor King points out in her critique of the textbook Across the Centuries (Grade 7) that the "discussion of the development of the slave trade between the Portuguese and the Kongo people (p. 152-3) is Eurocentric." The text instructions direct "teachers to have students imagine they live in a Kongo village in the year 1577; ...debate whether to sell slaves to the Portuguese (and) discuss political, economic and moral aspects of the issue (p. 152). Professor King asks why the correlated "question of whether the Portuguese were right or wrong to buy Africans and promote warfare to get slaves," was not asked anywhere in the text? But the correlated question of the "moral" aspects of the Portuguese initiation of the slave trade should also have been discussed.

Avoiding this question in both textbooks (Across the Centuries and America Will Be) -- a question that goes directly to the heart of Weber's legitimacy of systems of authority and of the related criteria of justice -- enables both textbooks to function as ideology, in Ricoeur's sense of the term.

In the specific case of America Will Be, the avoidance of this question is essential to the multiple strategies by which the issue of race is backgrounded; and the founding belief system to which its symbolic construct of race gives rise, as the system which both legitimates the contemporary domination of the Euro-immigrant population group over the non-immigrant groups, and keeps Black America firmly locked in its place as the alter ego or Human Other to the present native cultural model instituting of the U.S. as a "nation of immigrants," stably replicated.

GETTING AROUND THE CHRISTIAN "JUST TITLES" AND THE  
"IMAGE OF THE 'BODY OF CHRIST'"  
THE ROLE OF RACE AND THE HISTORICAL  
CONTINUUM OF THE AMERICAS

The Chapter Settling a New World on p. 126 devotes a few lines to the founding of the encomienda system. That system, along with the slave plantation, was the primary forced labor institution on which post-Columbus Caribbean and the Americas were to be founded. These institutions lie at the origin of the contemporary phenomena of "race" and "racism."

The reference comes in the context of the narration of the founding of New Mexico by the Spaniards in April 1598. (Incidentally, the text's narration on pp. 128-129, secures the student's empathic identification with the founders, the Onate father and ten-year-old son, and their groups of Spanish settlers and is an excellent example of Strategy 3).

On page 128, the text defines encomienda as a key term of the lesson:

Encomienda - large tracts of land owned by wealthy Spanish settlers in North America. Some included Indian villages and their inhabitants.

(p. 128)

The institution is explained more fully on the following page:

To govern its new territory, Spain placed wealthy Spanish settlers in charge of encomiendas, huge estates that often included several Indian villages. The landowners forced Indians to work on their estates while they searched for mines.

(p. 129)

The introduction of the encomienda is also given in the context of the wider frame of Spain's Empire in America. Chronologically, we are introduced to Spain's Empire in America and to events which because they took

place in the "real life" Origin, would lay down the patterns in whose context the three major populations and cultures, even in their later non-Hispanic and Anglo form, would interact.

In the storyline time of the text, however, the institution of the encomiendas takes place only on p. 126 and is backgrounded. Yet, it was here that the issue of Race, and the polemics and juridical-theological discussions that lead to its institution, was to emerge.

The discussion of Spain's Empire represents the encomienda system "based on exploiting Indian land and labor," as being turned to by the Spaniards when "their dreams of quick wealth faded and when the search for mines in New Mexico proved fruitless."

This is not quite correct. The encomienda system began to be instituted on the Caribbean Islands, at the very origin of Spanish settlement. It is out of the founding polemics as to their justness or legitimacy that the struggle against the encomienda system would be instituted as a struggle whose effects were to be far-reaching, in the context of the lived - as distinct from the hitherto narrated-history of the Americas.

On page 129 of the text itself, there is a photograph or document illustrated by indigenous drawings, whose caption reads:

The Zuni and Hopi people of New Mexico sent this document to King Phillip II of Spain. It asked the king to stop the harsh treatment of Indians.

There is, however, no discussion as to the central polemic and struggle of which this document is a part. Although the specific terms of the dispute are not given, nor the dispute mentioned itself, on the same page under the heading, "social system" and in the Instruction to Teachers column, students are asked to judge an ethical system whose cultural terms of justness were quite different from those of their own system of ethics.

The Spanish forced the Indians to work on their estates while the Spaniards searched for gold and silver. Ask student if they feel this was a fair system. (Students should recognize that the system was designed solely to benefit the Spanish and that it exploited the American Indians.)

(p. 129)

Yet the issue of the encomienda system, seen from the perspective of today's descendants of the Zunis and the Hopis, goes far beyond the fact

## Do Not Call Us Negros

that, seen from the perspective of Euro-Immigrant America, the "Spaniards" exploited the Indians.

It goes to the very basis of the cultural belief system that enabled Spaniards and all other Europeans to see their actions as just and legitimate. The question posed by Professor King on how the Portuguese could see their slave-trade out of Africa as "just" and "legitimate" can be seen to have been rendered legitimate by the same ethical and cultural belief system on whose basis both the encomienda and the plantation systems were also legitimated.

What then was the centrally new concept of the cultural belief system that enabled the Spaniards to accept as "just" and "legitimate" the following actions?

- The expropriation of the lands of the Zunis, the Hopis and all other indigenous people.
- Their institution of a racial hierarchy between the incoming European settlers and the indigenous people as the structural basis of the new post-indigenous politico-economic orders.
- Their reduction of the indigenous peoples either to the forced labor systems of the encomienda or, as in North America, their relegation on their own homeland continent to "reservations."

With respect to the first, the text in its narration of the Spaniards' 1598 founding of New Mexico, had pointed out that the founder Onate, after halting "near the site of the future El Paso," and with a priest raising his cross "high above the river" had "finally claimed the land for Spain" in the name of the King and the Spanish state. From then on, the land north of the Rio Grande would be legitimately called New Mexico, and Spain would

rule this land and all its native Indians with the "power of life and death, over high and low, from the leaves of the trees to the stones and sands of the river..."

The French ethnologist, Marcel Griaule, has pointed out that the social system of the West even until today, bases itself on the cultural model of Christianity which has "from its formation and throughout the centuries, established the ultimate reference point" of all the West's "social systems," beyond the various modes of production which have marked its development" (Griaule, 1948).

From that "reference point," the construct of race emerged as the con-

## Sylvia Wynter

struct that would enable the land north of the Rio Grande to be seen as legitimately Spanish; and all the social actions of a.b.c.d., together with that of the mass human slave trade out of Africa, to be also seen as "just" by European Christians.

For instance, within the terms of the pre-European traditional Congolese cultural model and its quite different "reference point," the enslavement of a specific category of Congolese defined as "lineageless men" was also seen as just.

In order to understand Professor King's critique with respect to the textbook series' treatment of the U.S. "racialized slavery," one must project the student of African and Afro-mixed origin as part of an implied student body and see the issue of his/her Burukumi type demotivation as a central issue.

Then one can recognize the non-Immigrant perspectives and the questions which such perspectives will put to the past, both of which the Series' representational strategies attempt to repress and exclude.

It is this critique which opens us to the "obliterated historical continuum" of non-Immigrant America, and therefore on to the issue of race, which, although central to the historical dynamics of the post-1492 Americas and the Caribbean, must be consistently backgrounded in the terms of a history written from the single perspective of the Euro-Immigrant story of history from which the textbook America Will Be is projected; and from, therefore, the very logic of its organizing conceptual framework.

These passages omit the early role of the Catholic Church and the Pope in the enslavement of Africans; reasons why prejudice and racism developed and justified slavery; reasons why Africans participated in the slave trade, (including warfare, greed and pressure from Europeans); how prejudice against Africans evolved after contacts during the early years of European exploration (1400s) when "the early African victims were honored in Portugal, taught Portuguese and used as informants and guides" (before Africans became the objects of trade;...)

[The King Critique]

An alternative history of the U.S.A., written from the perspectives of both non-Immigrant and Immigrant America, would, by its selection of the encomienda institution as its foregrounded starting point, necessarily have to deal with all the issues noted by Joyce King above; issues which the

series, and specifically America Will Be backgrounds and/or omits, issues which reveal the centrality of the issue of race and racism - not merely prejudice - to the instituting of the post-Columbus Americas.

A series of juntas held in Spain, beginning in the early 1500s, to discuss the "justness" of imposing the institution of the encomienda on the peoples of the continent on whose lands the Spaniards were settling, a series that climaxed with the famous polemic between the Spanish settler-turned-priest, Bartolome' de Las Casas, and his opponent, the humanist historian, Gines' de Sepulveda, was to lay the foundation of the Americas as a social system based on the hierarchical dominance of one race over the indigenous other, and therefore to set in motion an issue that is conceptually central to the historical continuum and perspective of non-Immigrant America.

From this perspective, therefore, it would be these disputes and polemics (of which the Zuni-Hopi document sent to the King of Spain was an integral part), that would be at the origin of the story of American history, when narrated so as not to obliterate the historical continuum of Red, Black and Chicano America.

## VII

### REPRESSING THE ISSUE OF JUSTNESS

#### "YE LAW OF GOD ESTABLISHED IN ISRAEL"

#### BACKGROUNDING LAS CASAS

Within the Immigrant-American chronology of the text, the name of Bartolome de Las Casas is only mentioned on p. 400 (Unit 6, in Chapter 16, which deals with Southern Society 1719-1860). Yet he was central to the polemic that led to the Americas being instituted on the basis of a racial hierarchy between the settlers and later Immigrants, on one hand, and Red and Black America, on the other.

Under the Background Section, the text introduces the founding dispute or polemic. Students are told "officially the history of Black slavery began in 1619" but also "that Black Africans had been imported as slaves to the New World for nearly a hundred years."

The introduction of this debate is done in culturally non-literate terms -- it misinterprets the issues over which the question of justness or legitimacy was fought out in the then different 16th century cultural variant of the Judeo-Christian model, that of the religio-monarchical dynastic state rather than in terms of the present purely secular nation-state.

Under the heading Slavery Comes to America, the text introduces the dispute.

In 1517, the Spanish missionary Bartolome de Las Casas (sic) suggested bringing back Africans to the New World as laborers. He was disturbed at the Spaniards' practice of making slaves of the Indians and suggested African laborers as a remedy. His suggestion found quick acceptance and the importation of slaves into the West Indies began.

Historians report that Father de Las Casas almost immediately wished he had never made the proposal; the slave trade was clearly just as inhumane as the enslavement of the Indians.



## Do Not Call Us Negros

(p. 400)

The misspelling of the name of Las Casas is irrelevant. What it indicates is the lack of emphasis given to an event that was to determine the social structure of all the post-Columbus Americas. It illustrates Glissant's point -- the "obliteration of the historical continuum" of Red and Black America and their subsequent Burukumi type demotivation (would Black students steal these books as they did Roots?)

As the use of the Liberal-humanist term inhumane reveals, the text's interpretation of the past must oversee what was at issue in the struggle waged by Las Casas. It must also confine the questions posed by Professor King with respect to the origin of the enslavement of peoples of African and Afro-mixed (i.e., Black) descent as this is discussed in other textbooks of the series.

How did Europeans, in this case the Portuguese, come to see the slave trade and the inter-African warfare to which it led as morally just? Why do the textbooks avoid posing that question with respect to the Portuguese at the same time as they do pose it (and correctly so), with respect to the Congolese, who also took part in the trade, once the Portuguese had initiated it?

This question of justness was fought out at the very origin of the encomienda system, and of the lived history of the post 1492 Americas. It was fought out in the context of a cultural model whose prescriptive rules defined the issue not in our present secular liberal terms of humane/inhumane, but rather in the still hegemonically religious terms of the just title to slavery or the unjust title. However, these terms were themselves being challenged by the rise of a new social system (the dynastic Absolute monarchy) which had begun to partly secularize itself on the basis of a new emerging political ethic, that of reasons-of-state, as developed by the legitimating discourse of civic humanism -- in terms that were still both religious and secular, rather than in the purely secular terms of humane/inhumane, specific to our own native model.

In his book on the Slave trade, W.E.B. DuBois gives a summary of the legislation and enactments concerning the slave trade made by the American colonies. Among those, he lists one enacted by Massachusetts in 1641, the famous "liberties of Foreigners and Strangers" enactment of 1641. The terms of this enactment give an Anglo version of the terms in which the founding dispute in which Las Casas engaged was fought out:

Sylvia Wynter

There shall never be any bound slaverie, villinage or captivitie amongst us, unless it be lawful Captives taken in just warres and such strangers as willingly selle themselves or are sold to us. And those shall have all the liberties and Christian usages whch ye law of god established in Isrell concerning such p/sons doeth morally require. This exempts none from servitude who shall be judged there to by Authorities.

I have underlined the founding terms here. These are the concept of the just wars and that of the law of god. For once Christianity had arisen in Imperial Rome as a religion of slave as well as free, and St. Paul's declaration that all "masters and slaves are one in the Body of Christ," established, while Christian Europe would not totally outlaw slavery, it restricted it by making use of Roman legal titles to slavery to lay down the basis of a just title to slavery.

By the 15th century and the epoch of the expansion of Portugal and Spain's monarchical states, slaves could be justly made only of those who were infidels -- that is, those who had been preached the Christian gospel by the Apostles and had refused the Word. Against these, the Pope could give his Apostolic Authority to any Christian prince, to launch a crusade in the name of the faith. Captives of these "just wars" could then be justly taken and sold as slaves, and their lands expropriated. Consequently, slavery in Spain and Portugal was religiously and not racially based.

The shift to racially based slavery was to be centrally linked (not to the "hardy" strength of Africans!) but rather to the question of legitimacy on whose basis Spain, and after her the European states as a whole, were empowered to claim sovereignty over the lands of the indigenous peoples. For when Columbus had first claimed the lands he had found, for Spain (since they did not belong to a "Christian prince") the Pope had granted the King and Queen of Spain sovereignty over these lands in exchange for their carrying out an evangelizing mission of conversion to the Indigenous peoples, and of preaching to them the Word which they had never heard before.

Las Casas joined issue with the terms of this concession and its breach, setting in motion the struggle against the encomienda system by legal means, which the Zuni/Hopi would also carry on, since the struggle carried on by warlike means began on the part of the indigenous people, at the very origin of the encounter.

## Do Not Call Us Negros

From the very entrance of Europeans into the Caribbean, they began to carry out raids on the islands and mainlands, and to sell the indigenous peoples as slaves in exactly the same way as they and their rivals, the Moslems had done on the Islamic Christian frontier of the Mediterranean. Since each was an infidel to the True Word of the Other, each group, Christian or Moslem, had been legitimately empowered to capture each other's members as slaves and to expropriate their lands with a "just title" within the terms of their respective theologies, and their single Truths.

But, as anthropologist Anthony Pagden points out, the indigenous peoples of the continent could neither justly warred upon, nor justly enslaved nor their lands and sovereignty justly expropriated (on the basis of their refusal of a Word they had never heard). That meant a new basis was necessary to legitimate the institution of the encomienda system. This system assigned entire villages of indigenous peoples, first in the Caribbean and later on the mainland, to a Spanish settler as a fixed labor supply in exchange for the latter's helping to "Christianize" them. (Note that the "land" had no "value" without a regular labor supply).

The legitimating grounds that were first developed by jurists and theologians on the basis of Aristotle's Politics, posited a by nature difference as existing between the Spaniards and indigenous peoples. This difference was expressed as a differential in rationality ordained by natural law, which provide that the indigenous peoples or Indios, because of a lesser rationality, were natural (rather than Civil slaves), as such they could be justly put under the guidance of Spaniards, who, as the more rational and therefore more human peoples (gentes humaniores) had been ordained to be naturally masters. (This relation was later put in gentler terms by the Spanish theologian Vitoria, who represented the relation more in the paternal terms of adults [the settlers] to the children [the indios].

Also, at issue in this dispute was the central question of the legitimacy of the Spanish monarchy over the lands of the indigenous peoples, of what Europeans had come to call the Indies and the Americas. For Las Casas, the only legitimacy of the Spanish monarchy was that of the evangelizing mission entrusted to them by the Church -- the mission to preach the Word to those who had never heard it before. This mission could only be carried out by gentle methods of persuasion. To enslave them or subject them to the encomienda system, rather than to make them equal vassals of the Crown with the Spaniards (as Las Casas proposed) was therefore in his view to contradict the evangelizing mission (to "make" in Frederick Dou-

## Sylvia Wynter

glass' later phrase, "Christianity a lie"), and therefore to put in jeopardy the sovereignty of Spain.

The Spanish settlers had come to the New World, not only for gold and silver, but also to acquire the large landed estates that would give them the basis to obtain the coveted title of hidalguia or nobility, and they could not realize their Hispanic-American Dream without a labor force tied to the land.

Las Casas' proposal was for a certain number of slaves who had been purchased with a just title, to be used as a substitute for the encomienda indios, so as to encourage the abolition of the encomienda system. His first proposal was that both White and Black slaves from Spain be sent; then given the rapid development of the Portuguese slave trade out of Africa, he suggested that slaves who had been bought, as he believed then, with a just title -- whether as criminals punished by their Kings in Africa, or as people who had sold themselves into slavery or as legitimate war captives, etc -- should be sent to substitute for the encomienda neo-slaves who had been unjustly reduced to servitude.

When Las Casas found out about the totally unjust grounds on which the Portuguese were carrying out the slave trade, by slave capturing raids, etc., he repented his proposal. He learned that the enslavement of the Africans was no more being carried out with a just title, within the terms of the religio-cultural belief system by which he lived, than that of the neo-servitude of the indigenous peoples, and that his proposal had opened the way to an injustice as great as the one he had fought against.

His repentance as a religious believer was profound. He feared that even though he had committed his great sin in ignorance of the true facts, he would nevertheless find himself condemned on the great day of Judgement to eternal damnation by the "God of Ysrael."

### How the Congolese saw the Portuguese in the 1500s

Teruel, Antonio de, *Narrative Description of ...the Kingdom of the Congo* (1663-1664) Ms. 3533:3574) National Library, Madrid, Spain

Extract from Chapter VIII "On the Inhabitants of the Congo"

"The indigenous peoples of the Congo are all black in color, some more so, some less so. Many are to be seen who are the color of chestnut and some tend to be more olive-colored. But the one who is of the deepest black in color is held by them to be the most beautiful. Some are born somewhat light-skinned, but as they grow older they become darker and darker. This occurs because their mothers make use of the artifice of an ointment, with which they anoint their infants, exposing them once they have been anointed, to the rays of the sun, then leaving them there for long periods, and repeating this action over and over....

There are some children who although their parents are black, are born white skinned and although they anoint them and use all manners of artifice they can never be transformed into blackskinned people. And these are regarded by the Congolese as monsters. They have the same features and the same tightly curled hair as the black Congolese; but their skin is white and they are short-sighted ...

Given the fact that a black skin is so highly regarded among them, we Europeans appear ugly in their eyes. A Congolese interpreter once told one of my fellow priests that he was uglier than he was. When my fellow priest asked him the reason why he thought so, he replied that this was so because my fellow priest was so much whiter than he was.

As a result, children in those areas, where a white has never been seen before, would become terrified, fleeing in horror from us, no less than our children here are terrified by the sight of a black also fleeing in horror from them.

They do not wish us to call them Negroes.

But they do not want us to call them negroes [negros] but Blacks (Pri-  
cets); amongst them only slaves are called negroes and thus amongst them it is the same thing to say negro as to say slave.

(Trans... Sylvia Wynter)

### RACE AND SLAVERY PER ESSE: "DO NOT CALL US NEGROS, NEGROS ARE SLAVES"

As Las Casas argued, the enslavement of a person was a circumstance that happened by accident, and in spite of Aristotle, one could not be a slave by nature [per esse]-- a slave on the ground of racial difference.

This was the point of the debate at Valladolid. Against his antagonist Sepulveda, who argued that the physical sacrifice carried out by the Aztec peoples in their religious ceremonies, as well as their practices of cannibalism, proved that the indigenous peoples lacked natural reason, and, were, by nature, irrational humans and lesser men (homunculi) intended by nature to be the *encomienda* serfs of the Rational Spaniards, Las Casas counterargued that the religious customs and practices of the Aztecs, rather than being the signs of a Lack of Natural Reason, were instead signs of an error of natural reason. Given that both customs were, for the Aztecs, practices carried out as what they believed to be "just and virtuous actions" which were taken for the "good of the commonwealth."

Las Casas had seen that the behaviors of the Aztecs were part of a specific cultural rationality related to a behavior-regulating ethical system, and therefore of the Aztec's own native model. Knowing the world in the way that they did, Aztecs acted in specific ways, according to specific criteria of "justness." Human modes of cultural rationality are everywhere culture-specific, as Las Casas glimpsed, and are inseparable from the ethical systems by means of which our collective behaviors are oriented.

Consequently, in the traditional cultural model of the Congolese, it was just and legitimate to buy and sell as slaves those members who, had fallen out of the protection of and out of the body of their lineage. The Portuguese when they traded for slaves with the Congolese, got around the "just title" problem by telling the Pope that the Black Africans to be enslaved were Moslem infidels all, rather than in their majority, pagans who had never heard the Word that they were supposed to have refused!

The Congolese used the term negro to mean lineageless men or women. Negro for them was a per-accidens or social condition term, not to be confused with the per esse condition of their race, of their being Black.

As they warned the Europeans:

"Do not call us Negros. Call us Black (Prieto)."

While it was "just" in the terms of their cultural model to sell Negros or lineageless men, it was a breach of their socio-symbolic system to sell "free-born men of lineage" as slaves, simply because they were Black (Prietos). Free-born men of the lineage, as well as men and women of noble or royal stock, should not be sold as slaves.

It was this breach of the just/unjust category of the Congolese order, this biologization of slavery which made no difference between men of the lineage (Prietos) and lineageless men (negros), that led, among other causes, to the Congolese King's letter (cited in the Series) calling on the King of Portugal to put an end to the trade. Whilst it was also the confusion of negro/Prieto, against which the Congolese warned, that was to lead to the emergence of "race" as the central cultural construct on which the post-1492 Americas were to be based.

Las Casas won the formal debate at Valladolid, but his perspective lost out in the actuality of events. True, the outright enslavement of the indigenous peoples was phased out, as the enslavement of the Black African population took its place. However, modified forms of encomienda serfdom, and later, of hacienda peonage, both of which were legitimated by the new statal-cultural belief in the inferior rationality of the indigenous peoples would remain as the founding belief which also legitimated the Spanish settlers' expropriation of their lives, to secure the improved well being of the lives of the settlers.

A new ethical system was being put into place at that very moment that Las Casas struggled to insist that both Spain's sovereignty and the settler's presence in the Indies/Americas could be justified only on the grounds of the evangelizing mission that had been entrusted to them by the Church. In its new terms, the European dynastic states would cease being the Temporal arm of the Church and instead make the Church (and its "just title" system) into the Spiritual Arm of the State.

J.G.A. Pocock shows that the new system placed the stability of the State (and as a function of this stability, the imperative of the State's expansion in the context of its competitive rivalry with other states), as the prime imperative that religious redemption had been in the earlier feudal order.

The logic of this new system created its discourse/belief system of civic

humanism and the related order of knowledge. In those terms, the expropriation of the lands of the "New World", the dispossession of the indigenous peoples, the reduction of the Indios to encomienda status and of all prietos to the status of negros, the reduction of Black America to the status of hereditary slavery, now functioned as equally to the "good of the post-1492 commonwealths" as the physical sacrifice of humans had functioned for that of the Aztec State. Made to be seen as "just and virtuous actions" [on the basis of the represented by-nature difference and inferior rationality of both indios and negros], the subordination of both groups and the expropriation of their land and labor by the incoming settlers, was later legitimated by the "generalized horizon of understanding" provided by a system of knowledge that would not be replaced until the 19th century by the new post-Darwinian order of knowledge we have inherited.

As the anthropologist Jacob Pandian points out, linked to this new statal ethical system and its partial secularization of human existence, there had also emerged a reconception of the Judeo-Christian True Self. This reconception, was effected and carried out, inter alia by the new discipline of anthropology. In its new discourse, the True Self, was now represented as the Rational Human Self, and therefore as the Self of the Rational human (the European).

The indigenous peoples on the other hand were now instituted as being the empirical reference of its alter ego, untrue self, and, therefore, as the irrational Savage who embodied the first universally Human Other in history. At the same time, the peoples of Black Africa (the Prietos), continued to be enslaved as negros on the basis of a representation which assimilated them to the alter ego category of the indios. That is, as an irrational race, unable to govern itself, and therefore having to be governed by Europeans.

All the factual cultural differences that were observed by anthropologists to exist between the culture of European settlers on the one hand -- as the heir to the the multiple interactions and cross-fertilization of the numerous civilizations of the Mediterranean from Egypt onwards - and those, on the other hand, of the relatively isolated Black Africa, and the Americas, were now represented, with a fateful gesture, as per esse value-differences ordained by Natural Law.

This fateful gesture was one demanded by the paradox of the Judeo-Christian native cultural model itself. This paradox arose from the dual origin of Christianity both in a colony of the Roman Empire, that of Palestine, as well as among the slaves of Rome itself. This origin had then led it

to base itself on the "universal humanism" of the declaration that "In the Body of Christ all are one," as a declaration central to its ultimate "reference point."

Consequently, without the cognitive distortions imposed on it by a line of jurists and theologians, Christianity's own theological schema could not have been made to legitimate, either the European settlers' large scale expropriation of the lands of the original peoples, and their reduction to encomienda servitude, or their mass enslavement of the peoples of African descent on the basis of their alleged by-nature-difference as rationally inferior human groups or "races."

"Race," as the expression of a cultural belief in a per esse value difference between human population groups, emerged as the mechanism to get around the uncompromising universality of "in the Body of Christ all are one" and its correlated concept of a per accidens rather than a per esse definition of slavery.

The return to Christianity which impelled the uprising of Nat Turner (represented in the conceptual framework of the text as a mere uprising against the "lifestyle" of the planters, as Professor King highlighted) as well as that of the Abolition struggle, was a challenge to this "getting around" of the original thesis of universalism of Christianity. (Note the logic of the Abolitionist slogan "Am I not a man and Brother?")

Consequently, the America Will Be's illustration of the "Runaway slave" and the captions that define him by the biology of his "hungry stomach," is historically inaccurate and untrue. Such a runaway would have to be defined precisely by the challenge that he was making to the belief system that justified the racial system of slavery.

As slave narratives such as that of Frederick Douglass reveal, running away was itself part of the process by which the slave, who had been "broken" and conditioned to be a slave by expert nigger-breakers (such as Douglass' Mr. Covey) was also initiating an act of uprising against his own internalized and conditioned consciousness!

To understand the passivization and "biologization" of the runaway slave effected by the text's captions is to see them as governed by the "prescriptive rules" of the new "native model" and its new reconception of the True Self, that came after slavery pari passu with the rise of the Industrial Revolution. The construct "race" would come to take on new variants of

## Do Not Call Us Negros

meanings still displayed in the captions to the illustration.

In the nineteenth century, as Pandian notes, the discourse of anthropology instituted a new concept of the True Self whose alter ego was now that of a racially (genetically) inferior Human Other. The primary physical referent of this Other was all peoples of Black African and mixed descent.

In this context, the human was represented as a natural organism which existed in a line of pure continuity with organic life and whose optimal expression, had as its physical referent, the peoples of Indo-European descent. The reality of culturally instituted mode of being was discarded.

Before Red and Black America were represented as the bottom rung of a spatial Chain of Being. Americans of African descent had to be now represented as the mode of being that was at the most backward atavistic stage of an evolutionary human sequence, as indeed, were their cultures, and therefore the inherited baggages which they took with them across the Middle Passage.

That system of knowledge produced the logic of the series of negatively marked and therefore demotivating representations which Carter G. Woodson identified in the 1933 curriculum.

The logic of the text's representation of the ostensibly primal African human bearing his bloody bone as being at the origin of a sequence that then led stage by evolutionary stage to the alert active Cro-Magnon represented anachronistically as a "EuroAmerican" who "looks just like us" stems, therefore, from this reconception of the True Self.

So does the logic of representing the runaway slave as a man whose stomach "grows with hunger" in place of a representation drawn from Frederick Douglass' real life narrative such as that of the episode which begins "You have seen how a man was made a slave. You shall see how a slave became a man!" Note that in giving this portrait, the text would have accurately represented the motivating self-conception that drove the slave to run away, and that was therefore "him," at least as much, as his "growing stomach" and "aching feet!"

Both Martin Luther King Jr. and the Civil Rights struggle are briefly mentioned in the text. However, this central struggle, which King's I Have A Dream called in question, from the extreme alterity perspective of overtly segregated Black America, the per esse belief system founding to the



social hierarchies of the United, is backgrounded.

The strategy here is to represent them as mere examples of the textbook's Ideology of nation-state "civic values." While King is mentioned in a few lines (p. 192) as an example of Understanding Dissent, the Civil Rights Struggle is dismissed in a few lines (p. 437) under Understanding Activism.

The final Unit of the book, Unit 7, Finding America is thereby enabled to end, not with the Civil Rights struggles and the related movements whose challenges to the "native model" of our present nation-state culture had dominated the period, but with the emphasis placed right where it began -- on the Immigrant experience and the issues central to that experience.

In this context, W.E.B. DuBois' and the NAACP's challenge to Racism (sanitized of any reference to the reality of the wave of lynching of Black Americans in the South and the anti-Black riots by Immigrant Americans in the North), can be stably contained, reduced to being merely one of a series of struggles which demonstrate how "citizens can bring change."

How would Black students ever find themselves caught up and intellectually motivated by a historical continuum which reaches back to the Congolese and Las Casas, to Nat Turner, John Brown, Frederick Douglass, Garrison, and Harriet Beecher Stowe, to the Montgomery Bus Boycott, the Civil Rights Struggle and James Baldwin's The Fire Next Time in order to understand that all of those battles had to be fought against the Ideology of "Race" which had, for centuries, denied to him/her the very right to be a citizen. This Ideology still, in its post-Sixties and ostensibly inclusive "pluralistic form", represents her/him in the conceptual framework of America Will Be as a secondary add on to the real story of the generic American citizen -- the Euro-Immigrant whose historical continuum, one the other hand, the textbook magnificently canonizes.

This "particularistic" getting around the universalism of one man/woman, one vote is effected in all good faith by the author-scholars; even more, on the basis of concerned and rigorous scholarship.

Because it is done from the perspective of those who are entrusted with replicating the Ideology or "generalized horizon of understanding" whose representations have Geertz' "blueprint for the organization" of our present social and psychological processes, there can be no awareness on their part of the functioning of the pre-analytic prescriptive rules of our present

native cultural model.

Therefore, they can not be aware of the rules which predetermine the "cognitive distortions, omissions and biases" which have been identified by Black scholars (from their perspective of alterity) from Carter G. Woodson (1935) to Joyce King (1990).

This liminal or "utopian" perspective of alterity alone poses a question that calls for a new type of literacy -- cultural model literacy. This question was first posed by Las Casas, when he saw that Aztec physical sacrifice seemed "just and virtuous" to its Aztec practitioners, because they thought it "for the good of the commonwealth" within their specific mode of cultural rationality.

The alterity perspective therefore impels us toward asking and answering three central questions, one of the past and two of the present. The incorporation of this perspective into a new conceptual framework would introduce a new imperative into historical scholarship which goes beyond the limits of the conceptual framework on which America Will Be is based.

The questions are:

- How did the dispossession of the indigenous peoples, their subordination and the mass enslavement of the peoples of Black African descent (the Prietos) come to seem "just and virtuous" actions to those who effected them?
- How does the continuance today of this initial dispossession in the jobless, alcohol-ridden reservations, the jobless drug and crime ridden inner city ghettos and barrios, still come to seem to all of us, as just, or at the very least to be in the nature of things?
- Why is this contemporary fate so lawfully and extremely visited upon the three non-Immigrant alter ego groups, the Reds, the Blacks and the native Chicanos, and correlated with their also relatively low test-performance scores and high school drop-out rate?

If we follow the logic of Las Casas' question, then we are left with the causality of our post-Columbus modes of cultural rationality. The imperative for any future historical scholarship would be entirely new in kind.

## Sylvia Wynter

It would have to confront the reality of the functioning of cultural models as the primary constraint (in place of the time or history, place or geography constraints of the present California Framework) on our human behaviors.

It would have to come to grips with a new model of literacy -- the cultural models in whose "world of rules" we rule-governedly act, feel, behave, think and represent. It would define "we" as a hybridly organic and symbolic level of existence whose human beginning lies at the cultural threshold of an Event of singularity, the Word.

Clearly therefore, if these textbooks are also to include the perspectives and insights of Red, Black, Chicano (and of other non-White as well as of women and working persons) rather than merely facts about them, they cannot be merely corrected or amended.

Rather they must be rewritten on the basis of a new framework which is literate in the pre-analytic premises of its governing cultural model. This framework must go beyond the model of a nation-state coterminous only with Euro-Immigrant America, to one coterminous as a "world" and civilization, with all its peoples; and therefore, for the first time in recorded history, coterminous (as a land that's not been yet but yet must be), with humankind.

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September 11, 1990

## Do Not Call Us Negros

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## APPENDIX I

Dr. Joyce King, in 1990 a member of the California Curriculum Development and Supplemental Materials Commission, wrote this letter and textbook critique in opposition to the adoption recommendations for social science textbooks. Professor Wynter's essay was presented in support of Dr. King's opposition. See King, '92 for a fuller account of the controversy that ensued.

TO: Charlotte Crabtree, Chair, History-Social Science Subject Matter Committee and Elizabeth Stage, Chair, Curriculum Development and Supplemental Materials Commission

FROM: Joyce E. King, Commissioner, Associate Professor/Director of Teacher Education, Santa Clara University

The purpose of this memo is to inform you that I cannot support a recommendation to the State Board of Education to adopt the History Social Science textbooks submitted to the Curriculum Commission for review. *Although aspects of these books are a great improvement over existing materials, I feel on ethical and moral responsibility to oppose the adoption of instructional materials which violate the dignity and worth of people in any way.* I have attached selected but representative examples from several books which illustrate the most egregious racial stereotyping, inaccuracies, distortions, omission, justifications, and trivialization of unethical and inhuman social practices, including racial slavery that I as a citizen, educator and African American parent, feel compelled to condemn. While these examples are from grades 4-8 (for two publishers) and concern African Americans, I can provide many others.

lishers) and concern African Americans, I can provide many others. As a result of such shortcomings, these books fail to meet the standards set by the Californian framework for cultural diversity, ethical literacy, historical accuracy, opportunities to examine controversial issues and to develop critical thinking and democratic social participation skills. These standards should not be compromised by content that distort the diverse histories, cultural background and experiences of men, women and children.

### Selected Examples of Omission, Bias and Distortion

The following examples of bias and distortion concern the origins of humankind of Africa, slavery, African-American cultural heritage and history. [Textbook citations from Student and Teacher Edition (TE) are italicized.]

#### I Racial Stereotyping

*A Message of Ancient Days* (Houghton Mifflin Social Studies, Grade 6)

*(a) Imagine you could be moved back in time about two million years to the plains of eastern Africa...Two naked, dark-skinned people walk down to the lake not far from you...You point to your open mouth to show them you are hungry..One person walks off (and) ...returns with a bloody bone...they invite you to eat the red marrow oozing from the bone (p. 98)*

p. 100 *A Moment in Time: a Cro-magnon Toolmaker* 11:17 April 23, 12,011 B.C. in a clearing near a cave in France

This full page color drawing shows a European man dressed in a buck skin suit. Picture captions point to his healthy teeth, clean-shaven face, warm, practical clothes, bone necklace and tools.

TE: Scientists say that in modern-day clothing Cro-Magnon people would look very much like Europeans(p. 100)

*Map and caption ....land bridges allowed early humans to migrate from southern Africa to Europe, Asia, Australia and the Americas (p. 95)*

*Later Homo Sapiens, such as the Cro-Magnons made more sophisticated tools (p. 99) (and) not only looked like modern people, they also had a similar lifestyle; Cro-Magnons looked like us (TE p. 116)*

Comment: The text states: *They thrived in all different parts of the world (p. 101)* Yet, neither Cro-Magnon culture nor fossil specimens in Africa are discussed. The focus on Cro-Magnon cave paintings in Europe, the narrative and this picture are ethnocentric and Eurocentric. References to "naked, dark-skinned people" followed by a picture of a white "European" do not explain the evolution or the origin of racial differences, thus the emphasis on racial type is confusing and stereotypic and perpetuates the vicious image of "wild" savage Africans with "no culture" [e.g. sophisticated tools and fire] compared to "civilized" Europeans.

Anthropologist M. Harris notes: "During the initial period of anthropological inquiry into the origins of Homo sapiens, research was conducted mostly by European scientists who found it more convenient to work in Europe than elsewhere. As a result the number of European archaic Homo sapiens fossil specimens is much larger than the number of such specimens from any other region....This has produced a biased picture of the sapienization process: Europe is not the world and Europe was not the center of major events, particularly the major transitional events, of primate and human evolution'" [M. Harris, Culture, People Nature: A General Introduction to Anthropology NY: Thom. Crowell, 1971, p. 93.

*America Will Be* (Houghton Mifflin, Gr. 5)

(b) P. 454 A Moment in Time: Escaping Slave (3:09 a.m. October 12, 1848, at a safe house near Baltimore): A full-page color picture (drawing) of a black man. Captions pointing to his eyes, stomach, back, feet, clothes and to "forged documents" inside his shirt state:

*He is a skilled carpenter, but his clothes make him look like a field hand (a disguise) to fool slave hunters; the carpenter's eyes are accustomed to night travel... the scent of coffee and fresh bread makes his hungry stomach growl...; he can still feel the scars from his master's whip (on his back) after his first escape attempt; the journey has made his feet tired...*

Comment: These are stereotypic and more akin to the description of an animal than of a human being with a mind and human emotions.

(c) (European) Immigrant...neighborhoods were often run down and over-crowded. But they were also filled with familiar languages, customs and food of the old country. These ethnic neighborhoods helped make the immigrants' new land seem a little less strange. (p. 489)

*Blacks moved to the cities to find better jobs...But blacks had one big problem that other groups did not have. Most European immigrants could move into better neighborhoods when they could afford to....Many people refused to sell or rent houses to blacks. Blacks who did move met with bitter prejudice from white neighbors...The parts of a city where minority groups live because of prejudice are called ghettos. Black ghettos were over-crowded and run-down. Streets were often dirty and dangerous. Still black culture blossomed in the ghetto... and helped people cope with the difficulties of ghetto living (p. 496)*

Comment: The discussion of the experiences of African-Americans in the urban north perpetuates a negative stereotype of black life. In this lesson racism is explicitly identified with the experience

but not to housing discrimination against African-Americans. This is explained as the result of "prejudice" Moreover, "Black ghettos" appear to be just naturally crime-ridden and dirty.

(d) A reference book included in the Bookshelf, for teacher use (B. Weisberger One Nation, Many People) perpetuates such stereotypes:

*Each night the squeals and swoops of jazz mingled with the exhortations of preachers in store-front churches, while the pushers and the whores and the gamblers-black themselves-separated other blacks from what cash the grocer and landlord had left them...Those black youngsters who made it to school were bowed by psychological burdens that few white teachers understood...Despite the glamour of the "Harlem Renaissance" the nation's best-known black community had become by 1930...a pit of dilapidation and fury often turned inward by blacks to become self-destruction, a center for narcotics traffic and crime.*

## II. Inaccuracies, distortions & omissions

*The Story of America* (Holt Rinehart & Winston)

(a) America's West African Heritage: Most unfortunate is how little of our West African heritage could be preserved by slaves, forbidden to speak their own tongues and produce their own art (p. \*1)

For these slaves (after 1850) their African heritage all but disappeared (p. 44)

Comment: These statements ignore scholarly evidence of Africanisms in African American religion, arts (e.g., quilt making, music, dance, language, folklore, etc. but reduces culture to artifacts and architecture (in a photo portfolio. ). On the other hand, historian John Hope Franklin maintains: the.. the survival of Africanisms in the New World was (perhaps ) as great as it was because of the refusal of members of the dominant group to extend...their own cul-



ture to the Negroes whom they brought over' (Bennett 1962, p. 28)  
(See references below)

(b) *The cotton gin increased the need for workers to cultivate the fields...Cotton growing seemed especially suited for the institution of slavery because it kept the slaves busy the year round. Slave owners always feared that if their workers had little to do, they would get into trouble. (p. 453)*

(TE Checking Understanding) Ask students to describe the impact of the cotton gin on southern life. (Answer) Since it required year round work, cotton culture kept the slaves busy all year, which slave owners thought would keep slaves out of mischief (p. 454)

Harvesting was usually over by Christmas time. Then for about a week, all work stopped...the harsh and cruel side of slavery was put aside, if not forgotten. There were feasts, singing and dancing, a Christmas tree (and) small presents for everyone. Some masters even dressed up as Santa Claus and distributed gifts to the slave children (p. 455)

Slave life: The idea that slaves were constantly beaten or worked to death like prisoners in a concentration camp is incorrect. Slaves were too valuable to be treated like that — unless they refused to work or rose up against the owners. They were usually given adequate food, clothing and shelter, again because they were expensive property. But slaves had absolutely no rights...owners had complete control over their lives...(and) could separate husband and wife or sell a child and keep the child's parents... (p. 87)

Comment: The suggestion that slaves who were not forced to work "would get into trouble" or "mischief" distorts and trivializes the inhumane nature of American slavery and African-American resistance; it makes the human costs of such coerced labor seem necessary and reasonable. Even the slave narratives included in this program stress the brutality of forced labor while the text subtly justifies violence against African slave resistance.

[c] *The Origins of Slavery: Indentured servants got land...Other laborers were cruelly used. These were the slaves brought from Africa...Most (Europeans) had certain deep-seated prejudices about people and their rights...Being Christians, they felt certain that Christianity was the only true religion. Non-Christians were "heathens," sinful and evil by nature...A few Indians were enslaved...Most simply melted into the forests rather than submit to white control. There was nothing the colonists could do to stop them from leaving.*

Another source of labor then became available — that of African slaves. The story of how these innocent people were brought to America and compelled to work as slaves is the most tragic and shameful chapter in our history. It is even more shameful than the ill use of the Indians, who at least had the means of fighting back. (p. 85-86)

Most who became slaves were prisoners taken in wars in Africa or ...captured by African slave hunters (p. 87)

(TE: Thinking Critically: Why do you think Africans brought to America as slaves were less likely to revolt than those born in America. Ans. When Africans first arrived they were often confused, depressed and drained of strength and hope. Their children did not experience this upheaval, and with a skill, could hope to survive if they escaped (p. 85)

One can imagine how confused and depressed most new slaves were after these experiences (of the Middle Passage) Separated from friends and family, unable to communicate, drained of strength and hope, there was little likelihood that they would try to resist or run away. You might think that children born into slavery probably bore its weight with less pain, having never known freedom. (p. 89)

Comment: These passage omit the early role of the Catholic Church and the Pope in the enslavement of Africans; reasons why prejudice and racism developed and justified slavery; reasons why Africans participated in the slave trade, (including warfare, greed and

pressure from Europeans); how prejudice against Africans evolved after contacts during the early years of European exploration (1400s) when "the early African victims were honored in Portugal, taught Portuguese and used as informants and guides" (before Africans became the objects of trade); and these passages minimize the significance of African slave resistance and revolts at sea. (Harris, 1972)

Slave narratives: presents selections (including the autobiography of Frederick Douglass) to illustrate their most dejected state of mind. Not included are moments of transcendence such as when Douglass fought back against the slave-breaker.

The experiences of African-American women slaves: are incomplete and distorted. Sojourner Truth and Harriett Tubman appear, but there is no discussion or explanation of the terror and brutality African women experienced as "breeders" for example. This term appears in the HBJ Grade 8 TE as an "historical sidelight" without further explanation. There is no mention of white slave holders who sold or freed their own children born of enslaved women or the effects of this on both groups of people.

*Oh California (Houghton Mifflin, Grade 4)*

Comment: (a) A lesson on researching family history directs students to find out "what countries their parents and grandparents" came from: it does not recognize the particular situations of African-Americans (pp. 138-139) Students are introduced to "slavery" in Grade 4 with this superficial explanation:

*Slavery was a major issue in the United States in 1850. Slavery is a system that allows one person to own another. In the southern states, slaves were black people owned by white people. Farmers used slaves to pick cotton and tobacco. But many people in the north were bitterly against slavery. (p. 144)*

Comment: Biddy Mason, "a slave from Mississippi," is the only African-American presented in the text (with the possible exception

of the folk song about "John Henry") in ten chapters (33 lessons through WWII) The map (p. 207) which shows where European and Asian immigrants settled in California omits African-Americans, who suddenly appeared in California during WWII when companies *needed workers so badly..they began hiring black Americans.*" (p. 253) The emphasis is on their victimization not their participation or achievements. For example:

*Black Americans often lived in the worst areas. Discrimination against blacks was strong in California at this time. . In the black communities a quiet anger began to grow.*

Comment: (c) African Americans appear in Chapter 12 (of 13) on civil rights. This text omits significant historical experiences and contributions of African-Americans in California including the struggle for education. For example, the first public school for "colored children" was established in San Francisco in 1855 (H. Aptheker, A Documentary History of the Negro People in the United States.)

*America Will Be* (Houghton Mifflin, Grade 5)

*(a) Only one group of people, black people, were slaves in the New World (p. 168)*

*Not all the blacks who came to North America in the 1600s were slaves...many of the first Africans came as indentured servants (p. 172)*

Comment: These statements are false. Europeans (e.g. Irish) and Native American peoples were also enslaved. The text also fails to note that Africans born in Spain and Portugal were with early European explorers (e.g. Columbus ( See Clarke, Bennett)

*(b) Maps: this tells you that the total number of slaves was a little more than 9 million (p. 174-75)*

Comment: This matter-of-fact statement is misleading. "The Atlantic slave trade could have caused the uprooting of up to fifty million people... More recent research, however, places the estimate closer to thirteen million. In addition several million were taken across the Sahara desert. Firmer figures are not available. Both estimates should be regarded as 'educated guesses' for there is no way to calculate losses due to raids, marches...high mortality during the sea voyage." (Harris, pp. 88-89)

Across the Centuries (Houghton Mifflin Gr 7)

Comment: African knowledge of and contributions to science are omitted. In 1721 Onesimus, an African slave from Boston, "described to his owner...the process of inoculation for the treatment of smallpox he received in Africa." A Boston physician, Dr. Boylston, successfully treated his own son, two of his slaves, and 241 people. This is omitted from the discussion about Edward Jenner's discovery in England in 1776 (p. 358) (See African American Baseline Essays p. S68 -S69) There is similarly no mention of the astronomical knowledge of the Dogon people of Mali or African steel-making.

*Clues to Africa's Past: Much of the information that historians have gathered on the empires of Ghana, Mali, and Songhai is based on the accounts of visiting or resident Muslims. These early historians were often prone to exaggeration and, at best, presented the African world through Muslim eyes. Historians still question some Muslim accounts of Mansa Musa's pilgrimage that refer to the tons of gold the king distributed on his trip through Cairo.*

Comment: Which historians question Muslim scholars? This is a biased interpretation of the historical record.

III. Justifications and trivialization of unethical and inhumane

social practices, namely racial slavery.

*The Story of America* (Holt Rinehart and Winston, Gr 8)

*Nearly every European person in America of the 1770s was in some ways prejudiced against Africans by today's standards...To condemn George Washington for owning slaves and taking control of his rich wife's property would only show that we did not understand Washington and the Revolution. ( p. 163)*

Comment: This moral relativism directs rather than develops students' critical thinking skills and ethical values.

*America Will Be* (Houghton Mifflin, Gr 5)

P. 403. *TE Because cotton cultivation is labor intensive, many slaves were required.*

Comment: The statement suggests that slavery was inevitable and subtly justified by economic necessity. In truth, many laborers were required. Use of slave labor was a choice

P. 414. Slavery is described as a "lifestyle and compared with the "lifestyle of "rich planters."

*Understanding Lifestyle: The way people feel about their lifestyles has sometimes affected the course of history. Turner, for example, rebelled against his lifestyle. Thirty years later, white southerners fought against the North to protect their way of life.*

Comment: This explanation trivializes Nat Turner's ethical beliefs, the significance of his rebellion and his commitment to freedom. Moreover, it glosses over the human costs associated with the "southern way of life" that provide a few white planters with wealth at the expense of everyone else and gave white people in general a

## Do Not Call Us Negros

distorted sense of superiority.

Across the Centuries (Houghton Mifflin, Gr 7)

Comment: The discussion of the development of the slave trade between the Portuguese and the Kongo people is Eurocentric. For example the text fails to raise the question of whether the Portuguese were right or wrong to buy Africans and promote warfare to get slave. Instead the TE directs teachers to have student *imagine they live in a Kongo village in the year 1577.. and debate whether to sell slaves to the Portuguese ( and discuss political, economic and moral aspects of the issue ( TE p. 152. ).*

*This book also justifies US trade with South Africa without presenting the position of those who opposed this trade including many African Americans (TE p. 1555: Consequences of US trade include some financial leverage to affect decisions made about human right issues in other countries.*

Concluding Comment: Excluding historical scholarship such as the following is another form of bias and omission

Asante M and K. Asante African Culture. Westport CT Greenwood 1985

Bennett, L. Before the Mayflower. Baltimore, Penguin, 1962

Bernal, M. Black Athena; the Afro-Asiatic Roots of Classical Civilization. London, Free Association Books

Berry M and J. Blassingame, Long Memory New York, Oxford Univ. Press, 1982

Clarke, J. Social Studies; African-American History in Portland Public Schools. (Ed. African American Baseline Essays Portland, 1987

## Dr. Sylvia Wynter

Drake, S.C. Black Folk Here and There. Los Angeles, UCLA Center for Afro-American Studies

Harding, V. Hope and History. Maryknoll NY Orbis Books 1990

Harris, J. Africans and their History. New York New American Library, 1972

Herskovits, M. The Myth of the Negro Past. Boston Beacon 1941

Holloway J. Africanisms in American Culture. Bloomington, Univ of Indiana Press 1990

King, Joyce Diaspora Literacy and Consciousness in the Struggle against Miseducation in the Black Community Journal of Negro Education. Vol 61, No. 3, Summer 1992, pp.317-340

Ki-Zerbo, J. UNESCO General History of Africa. Berkeley, University of California Press 1981

Van Sertima, I. They Came Before Columbus. New York Random House 1976

## APPENDIX II

### "The Forest Othello"

*Ed. Note.* The title "Do Not Call Us Negros" comes from an unpublished manuscript referred to by Sylvia Wynter in a 1977 article: "The Eye of the Other: Images of the Black in Spanish Literature" from *Blacks in Hispanic Literature, Critical Essays*, Miriam DeCosta, editor. The quote is taken from Capuchin Missionary Si Padre Antonio de Teruel, *Description narrative de la mission sarafrica de los capachinos y sus progressus en le reyno de Congo, 1663-1664, m.s. 35333* Biblioteca Nationale Madrid, which described a series of letters between Affonso, ManiKongo of the BaKongo nation, and several Portuguese kings protesting the ravages of the slave trade from 1511 through 1520.

The BaKongo empire was launched along the banks of the Zaire (Congo) River in the 1300s by Nimi a Lukena, whose descendants ruled an area of 200,000 square miles and five million population stretching from today's Gabon to Angola, organized into six provinces with a sophisticated political structure.

Its people mined, smelted and created elaborate iron tools, ornaments and weapons, forged copper, created exquisite woven cloth and worshiped a supreme being described as *Nzambi*

*Ampungu* (creator of all things).

Diogo Cao was the first Portuguese explorer to reach the mouth of the Zaire River, the second most powerful and sixth longest river on Earth, in 1482. Cao returned to Portugal with four subjects of the ManiKongo, who were greeted as honored guests upon their arrival in 1484 and trained in Portuguese and Christianity.

Four years later, diplomatic relations were established through a visit from BaKongo Prince Nsaku.

In 1491, the ManiKongo, Nzinga a Nkuwu, entered an alliance with the Portuguese, joining the Catholic Church and erecting a church in his capitol city. He was baptized as John, after the Portuguese king at the time, and his son, Nbcmma a Nzinga, as Affonso, after the Portuguese crown prince. Portuguese troops then helped the ManiKongo quell a revolt.

By 1495, the ManiKongo expelled the Portuguese and missionaries due to Portuguese high-handedness and attempts to change local customs through floggings and torture.

However, Prince Affonso remained enamored of Portuguese culture and remained a closet Catholic until his father's death, when he defeated opposing forces with the help of Portuguese troops in 1506.

As ManiKongo, Affonso began an aggressive program of BaKongo-Portuguese ties, sending thousands of youth to Lisbon to be educated, and opening mission schools and churches in the capital of Mbanza. Extensive trade, bringing fruits and other plants from Portuguese outposts in India and Brazil, began between the two nations.

However, competing interests, based on the island of Sao Tome, off what is now Gabon, had begun purchasing slaves along the coast of Africa under a grant from the new Portuguese king, Manuel. His governor-general there was Fernao de Mello. According to author Peter Forbath, de Mello took the business of slavery to a new, destabilizing level:

"de Mello's traders opened their own slaving depots and



bypassing the coastal middlemen, struck inland to do their business at the traditional slave market of the interior. And they introduced new ways of doing business. Since prisoners of war could be enslaved, they fomented wars. Since criminals could be enslaved, they promoted crime. They corrupted chiefs and beadmen with gifts of firearms, cloth and alcohol, developing in them a lust, almost an addiction for these goods, and then used them as they chose. They led Africans on slave raids, induced rebellions against the vested authorities and in short enough order, began wreaking havoc in the Congo forests."

The following extended passage from *The River Congo* by Peter Forbath describes how the slave trade eventually destroyed the BaKongo society.

"As early as 1511, we find Affonso appalled at what the Sao Tome slavers were doing in his realm. In the first of what was to be a virtually endless stream of letters to reigning Portuguese monarch, of which 22 have survived, the ManiKongo requested King Manuel to send a Portuguese ambassador to the Kongo with the power to control the atrocious behavior of the white men in his kingdom. Manuel responded to the request but he responded for reasons of his own, reasons which Affonso, in his noble innocence, never entirely grasped. For, with the boom in the demand for slaves, Manuel had taken a new interest in the Kongo. Slaving the kingdom, he realized, could prove an immensely profitable commercial proposition, which he did not enjoy seeing fall into the hands of the greedy, defiant *donatario* of Sao Tome.

Reprinted by permission, Harper Collins Publishers Inc. . New York. Originally printed in "The River Congo" by Peter Forbath 1977 Harper & Row © 1977 Peter Forbath. pp. 112-117 in "The Forest Othello"

He wanted it for himself. de Mello's activities were to be limited to the Guinea coast; the Kongo was to become a trade monopoly of the Portuguese crown. And the best way to accomplish that, Manuel decided was by shoring up his alliance with the ManiKongo, an alliance which he still considered one between equals.

"Most powerful and excellent king of Manycongo," Manuel wrote in reply to Affonso's request, "we send to you Simao da Silva, nobleman of our house, a person whom we most trust...We beg you to listen to him and trust him with faith and belief in everything he says from our part." da Silva was sent out in command of an expedition of five ships, the largest ever dispatched to the Kongo, which carried to Affonso more missionaries, technicians, soldiers, books, tools, church furniture and above all, a *regimento*, a fascinating document that Manuel had designed to formalize relations between the European and African kingdoms. It was cast in the form of instruction to da Silva, who was to serve as the Portuguese ambassador to the Kongo court. The first group of instructions outlined the kind of assistance Portugal was prepared to extend to the Kongo in such matters as education, missionary work, political, technical and military affairs. The next group addressed itself directly to the abuses of which Affonso had complained. Saying "our plans can be carried out only with the best people," Manuel empowered da Silva to arrest and expel those Portuguese in the Kongo who did not lead exemplary lives.

But a group of instructions also dealt with the Kongo's obligations to Portugal in return for this assistance. "This expedition," Manuel wrote, "has

cost us much; it would be unreasonable to send it home with empty hands. Although our principal wish is to serve God and the pleasure of the Manikongo, nonetheless you (da Silva) will make him (Affonso) understand — as though speaking in our own name — what he should do to fill the ships, whether with slaves or copper or ivory."

In addition, da Silva was instructed to get Affonso to make regular annual payments of such commodities to Portugal in return for the aid. And finally da Silva was ordered to determine the present and potential value of the Kongo trade and set about organizing it as a royal monopoly between the Portuguese and Kongo kings, cutting de Mello and his Sao Tomistas out of it entirely.

The da Silva expedition reached the Kongo's mouth in 1512. On the outbound journey, however, it called at Sao Tome, as did all ships sailing the seas at that time, so de Mello, through his spies and informers, had learned the contents of Manuel's *regimento*, and by the time da Silva's first ship reached Mpinda the Sao Tomista slavers there were ready to stir up trouble. Exactly what kind of trouble it is hard to make out from the chronicles, but it was evidently so threatening that da Silva refused to leave his ship and instead sent the ship's physician to Mbanza to secure some protection from Affonso. But, by the time that protection could reach him, da Silva was dead of fever, and so it fell to the captain of the expedition's second ship, Alvaro Lopes, to deliver the *regimento* to Affonso, take up the office of ambassador at the ManiKongo's court and set about trying to enforce its provisions.

It proved an impossible task. de Mello and the Sao

Tomistas had defied the Portuguese king before and they were prepared to defy him now. Certain that Manuel was too far away to protect the crown's trading monopoly, their slaving gangs arrogantly ravaged the Kongo forests, sowing violence, creating terror, inducing tribal chiefs and province lords, in their turn, to defy their king. What's more, taking advantage of Sao Tome's geography astride the seaway to and from Portugal, they set about interposing themselves between Affonso and Manuel. de Mello had every ship bound from the Kongo to Lisbon searched, and he was not above delaying, turning back or even imprisoning, enslaving or killing messengers and ambassadors from the ManiKongo to the Portuguese king, ultimately cutting off the royal brothers of the alliance from each other.

The Portuguese in Mbanza were swiftly infected by Sao Tome's defiance and slaving fever, and they split into bitterly contending factions on the issue of the crown's trading monopoly. There were some who remained loyal to Manuel and Affonso but the far larger number joined the Sao Tomistas, unable to resist the huge profits to be made in the freebooting slave trade. The masons, carpenters, teachers and other artisans in the royal capital bought or took payment in slaves and assembled the coffles in caravans to be driven down to Mpinda for sale to the slaving caravels from the island that called there. Even the priests, men initially so revered by the BaKongo to be treated as saints, soon followed the lead of their secular colleagues. They abandoned their cloister, set up housekeeping with black concubines and joined in the bloody business with zeal, not only neglecting but in fact

enslaving their catechists.

The story is told that de Mello bribed one of the corrupt priests, who then, using the threat of excommunication, set about the evil work of sowing discord among the nobles of Affonso's court and luring them into the Sao Tomista camp. His activities so infuriated Alvaro Lopes, the Portuguese ambassador there, that, in a fit of rage, he killed the priest. The murder played right into the hands of the Sao Tomistas. Expressing self-righteous indignation, they demanded the crime be punished and Lopes was exiled to the penal colony on Sao Tome, never to be heard from again. Then the Sao Tomistas contrived to have one of their own number installed as the Portuguese ambassador, and the ugly situation in the capital deteriorated even further.

One can visualize Mbanza turning into a sort of wide-open frontier boom town—priests living with mistresses, their missionary work an utter sham, and every white man in the place neglecting his duties to make his fortune out of human flesh. Corrals were built in the main square, hard by the churches, in which slaves were assembled before being driven down to the coast. As the methods as well as the intensity of the trade got further beyond the pale, slave revolts became commonplace. We read of one slave caravan, organized by a priest and some masons, that rebelled and ran amok through the royal capital, setting fire to and pillaging the Portuguese quarter.

Although at any one time, there were probably never more than 200 Portuguese in Mbanza, their impact was all out of proportion to their numbers and the corruption they brought spread quickly to

the BaKongo. The nobles of the court and the educated elite, aping the Portuguese in dress and manners, conspired with the contending white factions for or against Affonso, sold their servants and members of their households and organized slave raids with Portuguese gunmen. The hundreds, then thousands of mulatto offspring of the loose-living whites who swarmed the capital became agents of the slave traders, bully-boy enforcers, petty officials and lesser members of the corrupted clergy. From their female ranks, prostitutes were recruited for the Mbanza brothels, and with the introduction of that profession, until then unknown in the Kongo, was introduced what the BaKongo called *chitangas*, venereal diseases, which ravaged the black population as the tropical diseases ravaged the white, heightening the terrible mood of moral decay.

It was at this point that the Portuguese can be said to have betrayed Affonso. For having issued this *regimento*, blueprinting the alliance of equals between the two kingdoms and the obligations each owed the other, Manuel failed to live up to his part of it. Neither he nor his successor—King John III ascended the Portuguese throne in 1521—made any move to control the rapacious Sao Tome slavers or discipline the defiant Portuguese in Mbanza. Rather they stood aside and watched with cold, calculating eyes the havoc wreaked.

Once again, one must note the increasing demands made on the Portuguese crown by its other overseas enterprises, its heavy expenditures in ships, men and material for the development of the Indies, Brazil and East Africa. But that serves as only a partial explanation for Portugal's betrayal of

the bargain it struck with Affonso. Bluntly put, no sooner than the *regimento* been formulated than the Portuguese crown decided that to honor it would not be in its best interest. The hard commercial truth of the matter, which quickly enough dawned on the Portuguese king, was that the chief value of the Kongo was as a source of slaves...what the Kongo had of special and increasing worth was its population, and to exploit it, the *regimento* was hardly necessary. Quite the contrary, the modernization of the Kongo, the evangelization and education of its peoples, could only make the slaving more difficult, both in practice and in conscience.

## Index

aberration of affect, 67  
 Absolute States, 75  
 ACT, 68  
 active/passive 51  
 acts of communication 25,27  
 African 21  
 Age of Information 20  
 alter ego, 25, 27, 33, 34, 41, 43, 52, 68, 70  
 alternative mode of knowing 33  
 Anazazi 61  
 Anglo-Protestant 70  
 America 8  
*America Will Be* 25, 29, 36, 54, 68, 69, 78, 89, 92  
 American Fiction 7, 8, 19  
 Anderson, Benedict 9  
 Asia 8  
 Asmaron Legesse 7,12,16  
 Aztecs 86

## B

Baldwin, James 3,91  
 Banneker, Benjamin 40  
 Bauman, 17  
 Beer, Sir Stafford 22  
 Bering Straits 54

bias, textual 66  
 Biological Body 9  
 Black 9  
 Black males 3, 91  
 Black Studies Perspective 6, 16, 19, 20, 52  
 Bradley, David 6  
 Brown, John 3  
 Burukumi 70,82  
 bus boycott, Montgomery 11  
 by-nature difference 84,88

C

California 65  
 California History/Social Science Framework 12, 14, 20, 23, 25  
 California State Board of Education 3  
 calligraphy brush 40  
 Catholic Church 79  
 chanukah 40  
 Chicano 31  
 Civil Rights Struggle 11, 12, 52, 90, 91  
 Civil War 8  
 Clergy 14,34  
 cognitive distortions 8, 37,67  
 Columbus 50  
 Colorado River 60  
 conceptual Black 17, 34  
 conceptual Jcw 17  
 Congolese 3, 86  
 cotermious 38  
 cultural model 7, 8,11,12, 14, 18, 26, 48, 58, 92  
 curriculum 19

D

de las Casas, Bartolome 80, 81, 82, 84,85, 92  
 demotivation 60  
 Diop, Cheik Anta 22

Divine Truth 21  
 driedel 40

E

El Paso 78  
 empathic identification 49, 58, 62, 64, 66  
 enslavement 71,88  
 encomienda 76, 77, 78, 89  
 equal time 21  
 equal glory 21  
 Equiano, Olaudah 73  
 ethnicity 40  
 Euro-Immigrant 3,37,58, 69  
 Europe's legacy 14 evangelizing mission 84

F

fallen reason 21  
 Fanon, Frantz 67  
 Fiction, American 7,8, 19  
*Fire Next Time* 3, 91

G

Gallop, Jane 54,56  
 Garrison 3,91  
 Gertz, Clifford 28, 91  
 genericity 33  
 geographical determinism 54,62  
 Glissant 70  
 gold 65  
 Goveia, Elsa 13, 14, 16  
 Greek 21  
 Griaule, Marcel 78,82  
 Guadalupe Hidalgo, Treaty of 71

H

Hebrew 21  
 hegemonic middle class 18  
*hidalguia* 85

high drop out rate 19,22  
 Holy Body 9  
 Holocaust 17  
 Hopi 76  
 Hughes, Langston 25,35,70  
 Human Others 88

I

Ideal 54  
 Ideal Self 26  
 Ideology 31,34,37  
 ideology of Race 9,35,50,72,74 75,76  
 identity, national 9  
 Immigrant Perspective 8,11,12 29  
 implied reader 54  
 indigenous 39,50,52,56,60,63, 64  
 industrial order 20  
 Industrial Revolution 9  
 infidel 84

J

Judeo-Christian True Self 88,90  
 just and virtuous actions 80  
*juntas* 80

K

King, Joyce 33,35,37,52,75  
 King, Martin Luther 35,90  
 knowing, personal 27  
 knowledge, mainstream order of 19  
 knowledge, scholastic order of 14,22  
 knowledge, system of 11  
 Kongo 75,86

L

Laity 34  
 language, public 22,27,28,31, 50  
 Las Casas 3,91  
 Latin 20

Legesse, Asmaron 7,12,16  
 Lewis, Gordon K. 32,39,50  
 liminal 19,27  
 legitimacy 29

M

Mannheim, Karl 28  
 marginalization, prescribed 18  
 Melville, Herman 35  
 Mexican Americans 40  
 minority 11  
 minority, model 11  
 model, cultural 7,8,11,12,14,18 26,48,58,92  
 model, native 17,19,22,26,58  
 Montgomery bus boycott 3,11  
 Morrison, Toni 11  
 Moslems 84  
 multiculturalism 16,18

N

New Orleans 42  
 New Mexico 76,78  
 nigger 12  
 non-Euro-Immigrant 31  
 non-Immigrant 31

O

objectification 60  
 Onate 78  
 Other 19, 70

P

Pandian, Jacob 88,90  
 Pariah 70  
 paradigm of value and authority 21  
 Penn, William 52  
 perspective, Black Studies 4,6 16,19,20,52  
 Phillip, King 76  
 Pilgrims 8



pluralism 11,16,18,33,42,43  
 Political Body 9  
 Powell, John Wesley 58,60  
 prictos 4,7,8,92  
 prescriptive rules 7,16,26,58  
 Pryor, Richard 11  
 Pocock, J.G.A. 21,87  
 Popc 79  
 Portuguese 78,82

R

racial stereotyping 49,52  
 racial-hierarchical continuum 68  
 Rational Human Self 88  
 rationality 84  
 Ravitch, Diane 14  
 Reconstruction 8  
 reconception of the United States 35  
 reimagining of America 19  
 reorganization, time-matrix 38  
 Ricoeur, Paul 27,28  
 Roots 70  
 ruling symbols 27

S

scientific 22,77,92  
 scale of being 13  
 slavery 53,73,82,83,84,85,86  
 Stowe, Harriet Beecher 3,91  
 social subjugation 15  
 social sciences 54  
 sovereign 9  
 Smith, M.G. 13  
 syncretization 13  
 Swartz, Ellen 33,35,37,48,66  
 subjectification 60

T

textbooks 20  
 Teuton 21  
*Toward a More Perfect Union* 8  
 Turner, Nat 3,89,91  
 U  
 utopia 30,33,34,35,53,  
 V  
 Vallalodid 87  
 Vietnamese 14  
 W  
 well-established canons 27  
 Westward Frontier 75  
 "Whiteness" 9  
 Woodson, Carter G. 19,20,60, 66,70  
 Wynter 3  
 Z  
 Zuni 76

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