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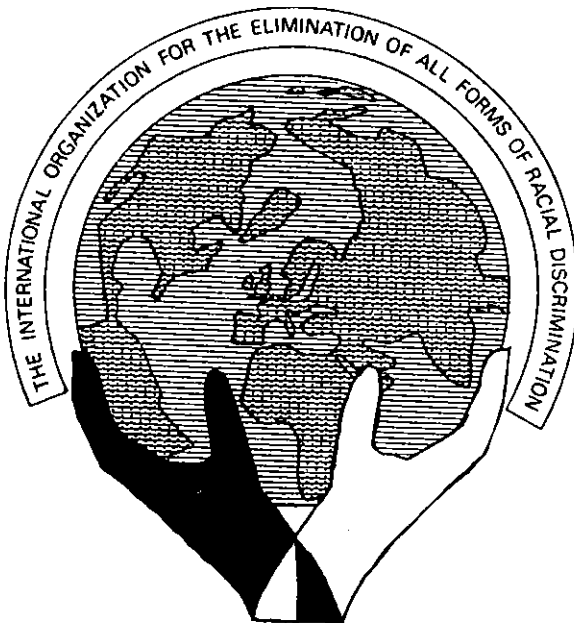## (EAFORD)

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SYMPOSIUM ON ETHNIC GROUPS & RACISM

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All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.
Universal Declaration of Human Rights

Contents

FOREWORD

In the past centuries the peoples of Latin America have witnessed a vigorous and continuous process of ethnical transformation and conflict.

The colonial past submitted its native population to a sub-human category, reintroduced slavery in large scale and brought into Latin America black Africans in large numbers.

By the beginning of the last century our continent was basically inhabited by the European colonial masters, Indians, blacks and a growing number of people of mixed blood.

The peaceful integration of those different ethnical groups constitutes the most dramatic challenge of Latin America society in this century. The responsibility of our academic community in providing scientific guidance, advice and inspiration to society at large becomes every day greater. No matter the dimension of that responsiblity; very little has been achieved by our university. This publication is the first concrete result of the efforts of the Brazilian Chapter of EAFORD in introducing to the interethnical question in Latin America by some of its most important authors.

Since 1976 EAFORD has been providing support to Latin Americans who believe in the cause of racial equality and the progress of human understanding. Indeed, in a continent so vast and with so large a population, with different ethnical backgrounds, race has been one of the most relevant dimensions of social and economic inequality. I am sure that this publication will serve to improve the discussion and provide a more scientific basis for policies concerning interethnical integration and equality..

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RACISM AND TRIBAL POPULATIONS*

by

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In this paper we intend to discuss, once more, the problem of the occurrence of racism in a Society that has two liberal images of itself: the first being the belief in a white western country that results from the multiple fusions involving Portuguese, Indigenous and African components, besides the more recent contribution of European and Asian immigration. This image presupposes, moreover, the predominance of Portuguese influence, justified by the adopted language, and has consequently the idea of cultural and economic domination by the white group, more precisely of Portuguese origin. The second image is that of this country as a true racial democracy, worthy of serving as a model in a world troubled by ethnic conflicts.

On another occasion ("Relacoes entre Negros e Brancos no Brasil – Resenha Bibliografica" in Boletim Informativo e Bibliografico de Ciencias Sociais, no.7, Suplemento de *Dados*. no.21, 1979) we discussed this same theme and tried to show that the first image has no empirical foundation. Indeed, using only statistical arguments, we know that at the beginning of the XIX century, 80% of the population of Brazil was made up of blacks, and 20% of whites. This situation was inverted one hundred years later as a result of the intense flow of immigration that began in the last quarter of the XIX century. It should be remembered that the indigenous population is not taken into account in the above data.

Thus, the first image clashes directly with the reality of a multiethnic country in whose formation the contribution of numerous Ameridian, African, European and Asiatic cultures should not be underestimated. In contradiction to the reality of such a diversified society, there remains only the official desire to present Brazil as a white country, as the ambassador Meira Pena disclosed in two articles of the special supplement of the newspaper Jornal do Brasil, in 1972, where he denounces the prejudice and discrimination, saying that "there remains, however, the problem of our personal image, that we continue to desire to be white and European" (according to a quotation of Thales de Azevedo, in *Demoncracia Racial*, Bozes, 1975, p.25).

As for the second image, the myth of racial democracy, a lot has already been written by those who study the problem of the black, the Indian, or the immigrant. Various authors have refuted the different arguments of those who aspire to keep the myth alive. For example, Thales de Azevedo (whose

*translated from Portuguese

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work has been quoted), refutes those who try to defend the myth through statements that insist that the racial question in our country is not a serious problem, with the allegation that the segregationist behaviour verified represents only sporadic facts. Azevedo confronts the "prejudice of having prejudice" and negates the arguments of those who proclaim the "absence of violent events and the lack of support of a systematized racist doctrine". For Florestant Fernandes (1965), the myth of racial democracy is nothing more than a "false consciousness" which allows the existence of "a false state of spirit, that permits to attribute the human drama of the "coloured population" of the city to the incapacity or irresponsibility of the "black", against what they were witnessing as unquestionable indices of economic, social and political inequality in the ordering or racial relations". Such conduct absolved the "white from any moral obligation, responsibility or solidarity" seeking the conclusion of the "inexistence of racial problems in Brazil".

The fact that until now, we have referred more to the black than to the Indian, which is the theme of our panel in this Symposium, is due to our intention to demonstrate the existence of a racist thought that favours one sector of our society, in detriment to those others that are classified under the label of social minority, regardless of whether they are blacks, descendants of Africans; Indians, coming originally in the remote epochs from distant parts of Asia; or even whites, coming from the Near East or from some regions of Europe (see: Otavio Ianni, "Do Polones ao Polaco," in Revista do Museu Paulista, Vol.XII, Sao Paulo, 1960). Finally, our complementary objective is to demonstrate how racism acts against the Amerindian populations and, more than this, how racist thought goes beyond the different stratum of our society and penetrates even into the domain of the academic world.

In the XVI century, the vision that "white society" had of the Indian varied from the discrimination, expressed by the negation of his humanity, to curiosity or a naive admiration. Indeed, it was necessary for Pope Paul III to promulgate a bill that assured the Indian of freedom and respect as a human being. This bill was, thus, one of the first documents, among many, that have in mind the protection of Indians. Nevertheless, none of them achieved practically any valid results.

Thus, in 1557, Henry II, King of France, distributed as presents to his friends ten young Indians from the French Antarctic. Villegaignon, in his turn, took with him about 50 Indians (men, women and children) that were distributed among his acquaintances. Three of these Indians had the famous meeting with Montaigne that resulted in the essay "Of the Cannibals", in which, preceding Rosseau, the philosopher praises what he called natural simplicity. "They make war – he wrote – in a noble and magnanimous way and it is excusable in their case and fine in as far as this

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sickness in humanity can be excusable and fine . . ."

Because of reports such as this, the Indian came to be seen in Europe, at least in learned circles, as a naturalistic model. The romantic desire to return to the natural state, expressed in "Utopia" by Thomas Moore, contributed a lot to this. Afonso Arinos de Melo Franco (*The Brazilian Indian and the French Revolution*, Rio de Janeiro, Livraria Jose Olimpio, 1976) shows that Moore was concerned, in his book, with themes such as, for example, natural breast-feeding, being revolted by the habit of aristocratic women who gave their children to be looked after by hired wet-nurses. This is the same position of Erasmo and also Jean de Lery, who visited the Bay of Guanabara in the XVI century. Lery wrote: "The ladies of these parts without any reason that prevents them from sucking their children, as American women do, are so inhuman that as soon as they can, they send them away". Thevet, contemporary of Lery, confirmed in his *Cosmography*: "The food of the child (among the Brazilian Indians) is the mother's milk because another source of feeding is not even spoken of". Among other indigenous customs, the daily bath was also a theme for discussion and chosen as a naturalistic example in old Europe.

However, if the image of the Indian was naively admired in Europe, the treatment that the natives received from the European immigrants was different. Death and slavery were the alternatives brought about by the contact. Documents of the epoch are full of descriptions of atrocities practised by the Portuguese, despite the fact that some authors still believed in the myth of the friendly colonizer. The alternative that the Jesuits offered was no more than forced settlement – the so-called "reducciones", responsible for the disappearance of many tribes – or imposed indoctrination.

Julio Cezar Melatti (*Quatro seculos de politica indigenista* – Atualidade Indigena, Ano I, No.3, 1977) wrote that "The Portuguese legislation always oscillated between the freedom and slavery of the Indians, often remaining in a compromise, reflecting the interest of groups that had influence in the government". For example, the law of 10th September 1611, altered the prohibition of slavery, permitting it inasmuch as the Indians were seized in just wars (sic).

It is not my intention, now to continue relating the atrocities that were responsible for the disappearance of the greater part of the Indian population, but to analyse the prejudice that has been created historically by relations that were always conflictive. These prejudices are found in an explicit form in the works of important Brazilian thinkers. One of our first historians, Friar Vicente do Salvador (1624) in his first book – From the discovery of Brazil – described the native peoples as being "all brown in colour and without beard, only distinguishable by the fact that some are more barbaric than others (although all of them are near barbaric)". The opinion of Friar Vicente Salvador remains alive, more than two centuries

later, in the work of Francisco Adolfo de Varnhagen, who, in his *General History of Brazil* (1854), considers the primitive inhabitants of the earth to be lacking traditions and therefore susceptible of accepting "with the greatest gullibility everything that was imposed on them". This author recognizes that the image that he makes of the Indians is not very flattering and piously concludes: "Unfortunately the deep study of human barbarism, in all countries, proves that without the bonds of laws and religion, the sad mortal has such a tendency to favority, that he almost turns into a wild beast" (quoted work, volume 1, p.52).

This idea of "fallen angel" is also shared by Rocha Pombo, a historian of the beginning of the century, who considered the Brazilian indigenous cultures as regressive transformations of superior cultures, in terms of long periods of migration. However, in contradiction Rocha Pombo has a more flattering vision of the Indian and defends him from the constellation of negative stereotypes constructed by the conqueror.

Even the great historian Capistrano de Abreu has his restrictions with reference to the Indians when he asserts: "it seems that the Indians have bequeathed to their successors the same absence of cooperation, the same incapacity for incorporated and intelligent action, limited only by the division of labour and its consequences". (*Caminhos Antigos e Povoamentos do Brasil*, 1930.)

The contemporary historian Arthur Cezar Ferreira Reis, in his chapter dedicated to the Portuguese occupation of the Amazon Valley (volume 1 of *Historia Geral da Civilizacao Brasileira*, 1963) wrote: "A typical region, differentiated in its geographical, social and economic faces from the rest of the Portuguese colony in South America, the Amazon constituted an exotic enterprise, which was undertaken without hesitation and brought impressive results".

The presence of the European in the form of the Portuguese and his mestizo descendant will certainly not have any bearing on the violent and decisive modification in the natural state of the Amazon. But this presence constituted a striking page in the history of Portugal's effort to dominate and possess this region just like its physical effort which began to humanize it". With this Freudian slip, Ferreira Reis ignores the thousands of years of effort of other sectors of mankind in the domain of big forests and their conservation, aspects in which the white man has continued to fail.

Leaving aside the historians and analysing pioneering works in the study of anthropology, little difference emerges.

To begin with, Nina Rodrigues focused all his attention on the study of black populations, which he considered culpable for our whole under-development. Adherent of a primary evolutionism, it is probable that he also considered the Indian as a problem of the same kind as the Negro.

It is, however, in Oliveira Vianna that racist thought shows itself with

greater intensity, as for example, at the beginning of his book *'Raca e Assimilacao* (1932), when he criticises those who proclaim equality between races, affirming emphatically that "As all races are equal, why waste time with research on the differential biology of races, the psychological differences of races, the question of the mixture of races, and the problem of races capable of adjusting to civilisation and those who happen not to be?" (1932: 14).

In *Evolucao do Povo Brasileiro* (1922), Oliveira Vianna had already expressed strong adherence to the myth of white superiority and he considers that the Black is superior only to the Indian, who is completely immuned to "any educational influence towards Aryanisation". In the aforementioned work, he first classifies the Indian from the point of view of an effective constitution, as an autist and in most cases behaving like a typical schizoid (1932: 42-43).

At another point, Oliveira Vianna puts both the Blacks and the Indian in the same basket when affirming: "Both form a passive and unprogressive mass over which the formative action of the white man works with not always happy results". Moreover, "These two barbarian races only constitute agents of civilisation, that is, they only cooperate with eugenic elements for the formation of superior classes, when they loose their purity and cross with the whites". (1922: 152).

Finally, the mentioned author proposes a solution to this "double problem". This solution is European migration capable, according to him, of "rapidly increasing the coefficient of pure Aryan mass in our country, but also crossing repeatedly with the mestizo population, of contributing to the increase of the Aryan percentage in our blood with equal rapidity". For him the great task of scientists is that of joining their efforts towards the solution of "some more urgent and imperative problems, like the ones related to the formation of our nationality in its quantiative and qualitative aspects. For example, the problem of crossing of races or the eugenic selection of immigration" (1932: 86).

Arthur Ramos (1947), when referring to the Indian, is not so explicit, only making a negative reference when he states that "in Brazil, he [the colonizer] suddenly came across an Indian population of primitive culture". Despite having criticized Nina Rodrigues for what there is in his work of Gobineau, he commits an equivalent error when, leaving aside the thesis of biological inferiority, he replaces it with one of cultural inferiority. Like Levi-Bruhl, he believes in the division of mankind into two layers: one superior in which logical thought prevails, the other one in which pre-logical thought reigns. This solution is based on the belief in a "true culture". He states "only the slow work of true culture – the culture which is destroying the magical illusion of our emotional life-will attain the ascent to more advanced levels, with the substitution of pre-logical elements by

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more rational ones" (1951: 296).

Finally, among those academics who gave more importance to desk work, is Gilberto Freire. It is true that in his major work, *Casa Grande e Senzala*, little attention was given to tribal populations, to which he dedicated a single chapter and where together with the demonstration of a good ethnological knowledge at that time (1933), he revealed a measure of ethoncentricity. It was the ethnocentricity which appears when he classifies tribal populations as one "of the lowest of the continent" (1980: 89), constituting real "bands of evergrown children" (*idem*, 90), who are "carriers of backward cultures" (*idem* 108) apart from incorporating negative stereotypes which have not been confirmed empirically as when he affirms that "the natives of Brazil were at the time of discovery still in the situation of relative parasitism on the part of men and an overburden of women" (*idem*, 116). Beside this tacit admission of the existence of a cultural hierarchy, the main characteristic of Victorian evolutionism, Freire even accepts the idea that the crossing of races acts as a form of enrichment. Although his intentions are different from those of Arthur Ramos and Oliveira Vianna, all three positions go against the present consensus of science, expressed in the 1950 declaration set down in the Unesco Headquarters in Paris by a group of specialists who agreed the "proof the mixing of races in itself produces bad results at a biological level does not exist. On a social level, the good and bad results that are attained are due to factors of a social order".

It is clear, from the interpretation of the above statements, that racial prejudice existing in Brazil is based on two premises:
a) the superiority of the white race and, consequently, the admission of a greater participation on its part in the development of the national society;
b) that the solution to diminish the negative effects of co-existence with inferior groups lies in the mixing of races. It is obvious that this premise arises from the belief in the predominance of the virtues of whites in the process of miscegenation. From this comes the euphemism of terming this process "embranquecimento".

We can understand the stereotype image of the Indian found in national society. This is the image that varies from the accusation of Indians being carriers of negative qualities such as indolence and imprudence, etc, which turn them into an obstacle to the development of civilisation to the native image of a pure being, free of the evil attributed to mankind, of poor children in need of support and protection.

In 1965, Roberto Cardoso de Oliveira† in his article *O Indio na Consciencia Nacional* enumerated the different types of "mentality" developed in various sectors of national society which, viewed through

†Recipient of EAFORD's International Award for Furtherance of Human Understanding. See his paper, *Self Fulfilment*, published by EAFORD, Paper No.8 (EAFORD).

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various perspectives, distort the image of the Indian. He mentioned: "Statistical mentality, romantic mentality, bureaucratic mentality and entrepreneurial mentality". It should be mentioned that in all these types of mentality, responsible for the existence of prejudice, a high degree of paternalism is prevalent. The paternalism of a society that considers itself superior and is thus capable of deciding the destiny of populations that are considered inferior. In this way Indians are frequently regarded as overgrown children. This is the point of view that was confirmed by the inadequate and unfortunate application of the Torschach and Passalonf tests by Dr Ezio Ponzo from the University of Tome to the Uapes Indians. The results attained correspond to those arrived at with eight year old French children. The validity of these tests was promptly accepted by a Salesian who was worried about the bad performance of his mission in understanding "a religious truth or a simple arithmetical problem". This prejudiced view prevented a recognition of the difficulty of any student who attends classes given in a language different from his own, and the student's small interest in abandoning his traditonal beliefs in favour of a so-called "religious truth".

The Victorian presupposition that these societies are culturally placed in the childhood of mankind permits the paternalistic behaviour which results in the constant lack of respect towards the cultural and economic patrimony of these groups.

The very institution of official tutelage has frequently been exercised with a large limitation of group autonomy, denying the tribal communities the capacity of leading their own lives and establishing their own economic projects. From this arises the repeated failure of development projects elaborated in theory by technicians who do not know the specific nature of each culture and even of each eco-system. The capacity of representing the needs of its community in society at large has been frequently denied to Indian leadership. What is more serious is that the integration of these populations into the national society is thought of in a mechanical way, the Indian version of "embranquecimento", contrary to an organic integration in which each part of the components preserves its ethnicism intact.

The paternalism mentioned here is no more than a rationalisation of racism. It is, moreover, this racism that insists on denying the multiethnicity of society, as to accept it would mean putting the white man in his proper place.

THE LEADERSHIP OF INDIAN MOVEMENTS AGAINST RACISM*

by

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Indigenousness, "the ideology of the crossing of races, method and technique of national unification",[1] is the specific expression of governmental politics before the so called "Indian problem" and was formally enounced at continental level in 1940.[2] Its conception, which is said to be based on social sciences, especially on anthropology, starts from the principle tht Indian groups must be integrated to the nationalities which maintain they embody the States of which they are part. This integration process, the indigenous thesis claims, should be accomplished by taking into account the "positive values" that may exist either in the culture or in the way of life of ethnical minorities; but the right to judge which are those values is withheld by the indigenous offices, i.e., by the non-Indian Estate. Integration is actually a project of unilateral absorbtion, in no way a fusion that brings to life a new group, different from the big sectors (Indian and non-Indian) whose conflicting existence is said to be settled by means of integration.

The indigenous politics is not built on hollow bases; it is conditioned, without further appeal, by economic, political, social and ideological factors that prevail over each stage of the historical development of the real society. The 70's made clear a renewed movement of national economies fighting for resources that had been kept aside, practically ignored, in the territories of many of the Indian groups. The technological development, the demographic and economic growth, the transnational interests and all the components grouped under the headings "national interest" and "national security" have, in these last years, furthered a new onrush on Indian strongholds. There is a diffused growth of the expansion fronts which dispossess, through different means, Indian land, to be given to pasture, to agricultural enterprises devoted to exportation, mining, energy, town planning and communication. Some expansion fronts demand Indian manual work; others, on the contrary, tend to drive it away from its original places through means that, in some cases, amount to direct genocide.[3] The new economic strategy as regards Indian resources goes into total contradiction with the way in which the Indian population traditionally understands and handles these resources. The State then brings into action its arbitrating role, adjusting and modifying its indigenous politics as much in theory as in practice; and not only when the expansion is caused and

*Translated from Spanish

arranged by the State itself (acting as judge and party but also when it is driven exclusively by private interests of the civil society).

A bird's eye view of the changes in Latin-American indigenous politics in the last ten years shows that, in most countries, these changes have been directed towards favouring the penetration of dominant interests of the national society. In Chile, Colombia, Brazil, Panama and Peru, to mention only widely known cases – the indigenous practice has taken clearly out-lined courses according to expansionist projects, getting, in certain occasions, as far as the absolute change of indigenous legislation, as has lately happened in Chile as regard the "mapuche" lands. In Guatemala no attention is given to juridicial formalities: the Government permits, patronizes, and directly practises the most violent repression against Indian peoples so as to assure its "national security" aims. The case of Mexico presents peculiar characteristics because, at the same time the expansion swells in various fronts (especially in pasturage and in petroliferous fronts), there is a new elaboration of the indigenous discourse which, for the first time, admits ethnical pluralism inside the national project; suggests a participant indigenousness in which the Indian population participates, and the public investment in services for Indian communities is increased.[4] But, in all these cases, expansion – in economic terms – means the dispossession and privatization of Indian resources and, in political terms, the estatization of decisions that used to suit the populations.

The decade that witnesses the clear beginning of the new invasion witnesses also the uprising of Indian resistance under forms of political organisation unknown until then. In all countries with Indian populations political organisations have appeared either building themselves on ethnical bases or, in some cases, basing themselves on a wider supra-ethnical identity, the Indian identity. The programs and forms of action of these organisations clearly indicate their intention to become actors, acting for the Indian populations in the political scene of the nations they belong to. This implies, on the part of the Indian leaderships which encourage and guide new political organisations, the knowledge of the "rules of the game" and the capacity to present their own alternative projects.

This is not the ideal occasion to analyse the contents of Indian political programs,[5] but it is at least essential to mention some of their main lines. The central outline of these struggles states that ethnical groups are political entities, i.e., societies that are capable of and have the right to take their own decisions on matters with respect to their own life. All programs include a request for self-control, going from absolute autonomy to the recovery of powers of decision that have been recently forbidden. The right to self-control is based on the fact that Indian populations are historically distinguished societies, not only marginal or anachronic sectors of the society as a whole. The difference which distinguishes and individualizes

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Indian populations from the rest of the national society, obeys their own history, uses their own language, their culture, their social organizations and their will to build their own future. The projects the new Indian organizations are fighting for concern all the levels of social life. In the economic field, they infer forms of relation with nature, the identification and handling of resources, the organization of work and the distribution and consumption of goods, which are different and opposed to those that define the expansionist project of the dominant society. In the ideological field they also claim a different basis, going from the very conception of man and society, to a different system of values, as opposed to that belonging to the consumers' society. These projects are not limited to the solution of immediate problems; it is really, a civilizing alternative.

The level of development of Indian organizations, and the capacity of mobilization and political influence of their leaders vary considerably not only from country to country but also among ethnic groups. The agricultural populations, heirs to the high civilizations of Central America and the Andean region, reckon, in general terms, with more established Indian movements, expressing their demands through an elaborate form and using to the advantage of their own project the technical, scientifical and political knowledge used in the management of public affairs by the dominating society. The situation of wild minorities, with noteworthy exceptions (as the "shuar" case in Ecuador) is different: even if the essential demands are the same (territory, control of resources, right to the practice of their own language and culture, respect for the internal organization of authority, removal of racism and coercion), their conduct as regard the State requires the intervention of non-Indian agents who substitute, for the time being, the new Indian leaderships that are being prepared.

The leaders needed by the present Indian struggle – or, if we choose to use a different language, the organic intelligentsia of the Indian peoples, must rally certain characteristics to succeed against the colonial situation in which their peoples live. Besides the personal conditions of the case, they must be able to handle not only the potential capacities of their peoples from a political point of view (and in all levels: ideological, economical, social) but also their resources, their motives and the possible support to be found in the dominant society, so that they can work out practical strategies and fighting policies. The situation in which Indian groups now live, – and which is likely to become worse in the next years, requires a high degree of political efficiency in directing its efforts towards both survival and consolidation as ethnically distinguished social sectors; this demands Indian intellectual faculties and leadership of a new type, whose presence, though already noticed in many countries, must rapidly increase and improve. All this must be done in the belief that no significant and irreversible progress is possible in the fight against racism and the

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oppression of Indian peoples unless one may depend on the organized, free and conscious participation of them.

We have arrived at the central problem aimed at in this report: under what conditions is it possible to encourage the formation of this Indian intelligentsia without falling into new forms of racism even if disguised under paternalistic formulae? In a first approach to the answer we must review the processes which, as far as we know, have allowed the rising of new leaderships that already operate in many Indian political organizations. Briefly, we can establish the following typology based on the origin and the previous career of the present Indian leaders:

A) Traditional authorities which take over a new role as political leaders. The case does not seem very frequent, according to empirical evidence, maybe because the social part assigned tot raditional authorities aims at the continuity of the internal life of the community and at the upkeep of its symbolic relations. It frequently happens that the traditional authorities support the new political leaders' action.

B) Local leaders who arise through the increasing external pressure made upon Indian communities. Many of them have emerged from the struggle for the defense and/or the recovery of ethnical territory. They are often young people who do not muster the conditions justifying authority in terms of culture and social organization of the group (lineage or affiliation through kinship, fulfillment of the scales of political-religious offices): but they reckon with the caution of traditional authorities. They are "natural" leaders whose life has been spent inside their own community; in many cases they have school instruction which gives them means to act as connections between the local group and various stages of the dominant society. Their initial political vision tends towards being limited to local, immediate problems, with a pragmatic and shattered perception of the forces which work in the national society. They frame themselves in day to day battles.

C) Redeemed leaders or leaders who have reversed to their Indian origins. This group has an increasing importance in some countries. It consists of people who have been through a process of seclusion from their Indian origins, forcing them to renounce their original ethnical identity and aim at the complete adoption of a new one (a "mestizo", a "ladino", "national" or "civilized"*). This process almost always meant the early emigration from their communities and their immersion in the non-Indian world; either through individual decision (the search for employment, for example) or as a result of programs organized by external offices (missionary, indigenous, or official instruction etc . . .) It is impossible to explan, in this report, the different causes of this return to Indian origins. May it suffice to say that, with a different degree of decision, depending on the cases, the following factors are intervenient: the understanding of ethnical evolution as a more

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favourable field for the accomplishment of personal aspirations, as opposed to the national society in which the Indians who have lost their identity are disadvantaged; the difficulty of being totally accepted in the practice of the non-Indian identity which was chosen; the political struggle or, at least, the direct knowledge of political struggles of non-Indian sectors; the approach and identification with other Indians who have lost their identity; the maintenance of social economic and/or symbolic relations with the original community. The action of these factors, of which the accurate study is still to be done, finally leads to adopting again the original identity, but in a different level and with different characteristics. In fact, the Indians who have recovered their origins engage themselves politically (going back to Indian origins is, above all, a political decision) and not only recover their local identity but also assert another, wider one – the Indian one, which permits the identification with other colonized ethnical groups. The recovery of Indian identity is thus followed by the participation in organized Indian struggles, in which some of these "re-Indianized" people occupy leading positions due, to a certain extent, to the experiences and abilities accumulated during the process of seclusion from their Indian origins.[6]

D) The "Indianized" intellectuals and leaders. These are people descending from the non-Indian sector of society who choose to embrace the Indian identity (we could almost say, of a typical Indian) for basically political reasons. The analysis and the perception of problems and alternatives of the national society has brought them to the conclusion that making this society Indian is the only solution and the first step that must be taken is assuming themselves as Indians. The rightness in adopting this new identity is justified in historical and ideological terms (the "mestizo" being considered as a redeemable Indian). As a real organic relation with Indian populations does not exist, there sometimes arise nuclei of "Indianized" people presenting political programs in which a proposition of return to the pre-colonial past is frequent. The action of these groups is more directed towards the non-Indian society than towards the Indian communities; but even so, they bring forth an ideology which the Indian organisations frequently assume.

E) In some countries it is possible to distinguish a last group, which we may call ex-officio leaders. They are generally of Indian origin, but they may be totally secluded from their origins. They are assigned the role of representatives or Indian leaders according to the interests of the instruments of State, churches or political parties which need to present, at certain moments, at least the appearance of an Indian participation. Their capacity of association with indigenous bases and of mobilizing them politically depends, amongst other factors, on the relevancy of the programs they serve, of the resources that are put at their disposal and of the character and permanence

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of the projects in which they act as Indian representatives. In some cases the fictitious acting turns, permanently or eventually, into some form of real participation in favour of Indian struggles.

As we may judge through the typology that has been outlined, the aspect of the new Indian leaderships is far from being uniform. The social dialectic opens various ways to the rising of Indian political leaders, ways which are sometimes unusual and contradictory. Except inside the communities, which have mechanisms to choose and try their authorities, there are no organized supports to the building up of leading staffs now required by Indian communities; they are built up haphazardly, at the mercy of favourable events, in daily strife, without systematically developing all their potentialities.

A figure that must be taken into account is the relatively high frequency of new Indian leaders who have had, at a certain moment of their lives, the experience of going through institutions or specialized qualifying programs implying in their seclusion from their origins. Does that mean that the training programs lead to totally different results from the ones that are looked for?[7] Or is the social movement, at this moment, asking for a new Indian leadership and, through it, even the development acquired in programs with opposite aims may be used in benefit of Indian struggle? We may anyhow ask if it is possible to put into practice projects which are meant to form new intellectual and political leaders for Indian organizations and, in the affirmative, which characteristics must they concentrate.

I shall briefly refer to two experiences: the Marandu project implemented in Paraguay, and the Program for the Professional Development of Ethno-linguists which is, at the present moment, being carried on in Patazcuaro, Mexico. In the first case, a group of anthropologists and people interested in the Indian cause, having their headquarters at the Catholic University of Asuncion, began, in 1972, a program destined to operate on three levels: 1) against the national society, with the purpose of fighting the racist ideology through adequate information on the reality of the ethnical groups of Paraguay; 2) on an international scale, to gain the solidarity of public opinion to Indian struggles in the country; 3) aiming at the very ethnical groups of Paraguay, through information courses destined to "spread knowledge that may allow a better adjustment of ethnical groups among themselves, overcoming ancient antagonisms which weaken their fronts, and, above all, diminishing the intensity of the friction with national society by means of information that leads to self-defence".[8] Clearly speaking, the Marandu project gave up the idea of "forming" leaders, an intention that frequently leads to a new dependency and brings about divisions amidst ethical groups. Members of the Marandu project, in reunions that lasted from 10 to 15 days, provided the Indian leaders with data on practical problems: how to conduct affairs with the governmental offices,

which are the individual and the collective rights the Paraguayan law guarantees, how to present denouncements to authorities, how to organize co-operatives, as well as simple information on first-aid, identification and prevention of infectious diseases and physiology of human reproduction.

I have not heard of a systematic evaluation of what has been achieved by the Marandu project. What we know for certain is that it was discontinued by the Paraguayan Government, its activities were forbidden and its leaders suffered either prison or exile under subversion charges, which allow us to believe that Indian leaders initiated by the project were developing a very intense and efficient activity in the defence of their own people.

The Ethno-linguistics Program has a different structure. It is a university licenciate course carried under the auspices of the National Institute for Indian Studies which is under the scholastic responsibility of the Center for High Studies and Researches on Social Anthropology. The students are all of Indian origin and they aim at graduating as professionals in a new field, conventionally called Ethno-linguistics. Assembled in this field are not only the knowledge of linguistics, history and social anthropology, but also basic and complementary subjects: but the three main subjects are conducted in a manner which differs from the usual university courses. The bilingual and doubly cultural condition of the students is used as a basic means in their formation; they learn linguistics through the analysis of their mother language; they get acquainted with history through the study of the historical development of their own people; they study social anthropology starting from the anthropological analysis of their communities and of the relations they keep with the national society. The final purpose is that they should frame their professional knowledge according to the historical interests of their own people. Thus anthropology is not anymore the study of "the others" but, above all, a systematic meditation on one's own social reality. Naturally this does not exclude the general basic knowledge of each of the subjects, but emphasis is laid upon the need to understand the Indian position from the Indian point of view and upon using the scientific contribution that may be useful. The program is in motion and, as such, we cannot yet mention its final results; but its development allows us to ascertain achievements and errors, the knowledge of which may be useful to the building up of similar projects.

One of the first problems is the choice of students and teachers. Contrary to Marandu, in Ethno-linguistics it was necessary to ask for previous scholar qualifications, because it was a formal program, academically valid. As students had been through a process of seclusion from their communities, it was necessary to introduce some periods of field work in the course of studies, which enabled them to rediscover their own communal reality. Previous schooling, even if it makes the beginning of university studies easier, also allows vices and disfigurements the eradication of which needs a

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longer period than otherwise expected and which is not always successful. Students who come from ethnical groups less "integrated" to the national society, even if they face bigger problems to get into the habits of formal study and possess a more restricted general information have, nevertheless, bigger chances to handle their new knowledge in the perspective of a more realistic problematic situation. In the light of this experience it would be advisable to reduce the importance of instruction as a standard for selection and to emphasize the degree of rooting in the community.

As regard the teachers, the experience in this program indicates that the identification with the furthermost aims of the project is as important and necessary as the professional and academic capacities. A group of teachers must be gathered who are capable of accepting the demands of the work the project involves and, at the same time, of not falling into paternalistic or dogmatic attitudes that disguise the intention of imposing personal points of view on the problems of Indian communities studied during the course. On the other hand, it is essential to prevent the program from developing itself inside an artificial situation, in "the void", students must be in contact with teachers who defend divergent positions and points of view which are totally opposed to those inherent to the project. The problem seems to lessen if we manage to combine a permanent body of teachers who are perfectly acquainted with the program's aims with a constant participation of scholars and lecturers who impersonate the widest possible range of attitudes and directions.

Finally, as we do not wish to enter into details of technical and administrative problems, it is worthwhile to say something about the destiny of the egressed ones. Students are not trained to be leaders, but to be ethnolinguistics. What is aimed at is forming Indian personnel with professional specialized qualifications the exercise of which, in this particular case, is related to Indian educational problems. Nothing guarantees they may not also become organic intellectuals or political leaders of their peoples; but, if we come to that, the program shall have given them some useful elements to undertake this road. We do not wish for more.

I shall now summarize, in a few words, the main arguments which I intended to submit to your consideration for this report. The racism that is practised against Indian populations in Latin America involves, as a historical project, the elimination of those populations as ethnically distingished social entities. The fight against racism belongs to all of us, but the ascendant place in it befalls the Indian populations. Against the assault that has been made upon the Indian ethnical minorities there have appeared new Indian political organizations with their own alternative and civilizing projects. The present leadership of these organizations is heterogenous and it does not often attain the necessary level of efficiency in the presdent conditions. It is imperative to find adequate forms of support which may

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bring about new leaders with the necessary knowledge and information to allow them to fully participate in the task of recovering the political and cultural initiative of Indian populations. For that reason, it is convenient to analyse in detail the experiences that have been undertaken in this direction, of which, in this report, we have mentioned two: the Marandu project and the Program for the Professional Development of Ethno-linguistics.

One suggestion seems possible: to summon an international reunion with the participation not only of people who have been involved in capacitation programs that do not tend to seclude Indians for their origins, but also of leaders of Indian organizations, so that the results of those experiences may be collectively evaluated and the possibilities of building up new programs studied. A reunion such as this could attain better results if we care to proceed in the first place on a brief research meant to collect the suitable information and to provide it with objective elements of evaluation.

1. Aguirre Beltran, Gonzalo: *El proceso de aculturacion*, UNAM, Mexico, 1957, 133 pages.
2. In that year the first "Inter-American Congress on Indian Studies" was held in Patzacuaro, Mich., Mexico. One of its issues was the creation of the "Inter-American Institute for Indian Studies".
3. A large scale display of the forms of the new invasion was presented at the Fourth Bertrand Russell Tribunal, held in Rotterdam, Holland, in November 1980. A summary of the cases is presented in Bonfil Batalla, Guillermo: *Testimonies de dignidad ye de ignominia*, Nexos, number 40, Mexico, 1981.
4. Compare: *Report on the works of the National Institute for Indian Studies, 1972-1980* presented at the Eighth Inter-American Congress on Indian Studies, Mexico, 1980.
5. Compare: Bonfil Batalla, Guillermo: *Utopia y revolucion. El pensamiento politico de los indios en America Latina*, Ed. Nueva Imagen, Mexico, 1981.
6. The case of temporary immigrants is different, as far as they do not change their Indian identity even if they hide it for a certain period.
7. See the case of North-American leaders in Hertzberg, HW: *The search for an American Indian Identity*, Syracuse University Press, 1971.
8. Compare: *Por la libertacion del indigena*, Ediciones del Sol, Buenos Aires, 1975.

RACISM DIRECTED TOWARDS IMMIGRANTS:
the case of Argentina

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I would like to present to the panel on immigrants in the Symposium on Ethnic Groups and Racism as an illustrative case the one of Argentina, a society characterised by massive immigration and in which manifestations of racism show themselves in different forms, according to origins, social class, occupational rank, cultural distance, phenotype and the religion of the immigrants.

I have put down a number of questions, which are listed at the end of this exposition and which I trust will be useful for opening the discussion among the participants, about racism directed towards immigrants in distinct societies receiving foreigners.

I should like then to clarify that my discourse does not endeavour to make a comparative analysis of societies where there is racism directed towards immigrants because that objective is beyond the scope of this work.

It would be difficult to balance the historical and structural circumstances in each of them, which certainly introduces racist modalities of a distinct nature. The choice of Argentina for an examination of the forms taken by racism is motivated by two reasons: (1) because foreign immigration has been massive and Argentina constitutes an ethnic mosaic and (2) because, good as an 'open' society apparently is, discriminatory attitudes, differences in prestige and some hostile tension towards distinct ethnic groups exist.

Argentina can in brief be characterised as a pluri-ethnic country with numerically significant nuclei of immigrants of European origin (the Italians and the Spanish occupy first place) and with a much smaller proportion of immigrants from Asia, Africa and other American countries, with the exception of Chile, Bolivia and Paraguay, bordering countries which are expellers of people that went to Argentina in search of sources of work. It is important to note here that Argentina has fundamentally a *white* population, that is, the indigenous sector is of limited proportions and the black population which was important during the colonial era, has been reduced to an insignificant minority by the mixing of races or by extinction. This is notwithstanding the fact that we have set about 'inventing' our

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Blacks as will be seen further. The fact that Indians and Blacks constitute minority groups makes for big differences with other countries of Latin America in which they form larger sectors and towards which stronger racist pressures are directed.

Germani affirms that contemporary Argentina could not be understood without a deep analysis of massive immigration. In the first place this has been taken to be linked as an integral and fundamental part of the process which since the mid-nineteenth century, has tranformed Argentinian society, endowed with a structure still linked to traditional forms, into a modern nation. In the second place, the intensity and volume of immigration in relation to the native resident population was such that in a non metaphoric sense it would be possible to speak of a substantial renewal in the country's population in particular in zones of greater economic, social and political significance. No other case exists, not even in countries of great immigration like the United States, in which the proportion of foreigners has reached, in adult ages, the level which it has in Argentina, where for over sixty years foreigners have represented about 70% in the capital city (where between a fifth and third of all the country's inhabitants have been concentrated), and almost half in the group of provinces of greater demographic and economic importance. The significance of immigration appears still clearer when one remembers that it has resulted in a conscious effort, on the part of the elites that direct the country's organisation, to substitute its old hereditary structure of colonial society by a social structure inspired by the models of the most advanced Western countries. This elite, inspired by the enlightened and rational ideas of the eighteenth century and constituting groups belonging to the higher urban classes, essentially from Buenos Aires, has dreamt of establishing a national state, based on a liberal type of constitution which is undertaking the same political and economic programme that the middle classes in Europe and the United States were undertaking in their respective countries. The work of 'national organisation' could only be implemented by supporting a renewal of the country's social structure and in particular its principal dynamic element, the human one. This attitude, moreover, was reinforced by ideas, so widely spread at the time, regarding the role of racial factors in the national character. It was necessary to 'Europeanise' the Argentinian population to produce a 'regeneration of races', following the expression of D. F. Sarmiento. It was necessary to bring Europe to America *physically*, if we desired a radical transformation of society and men (1966). What precedes is illustrative of an ideology about the assimilation of immigrants that have lasted until the present, which means attracting certain white European groups in the face of almost total indifference towards the acceptance of Asians and Africans.

Let us then pass to looking at the migratory movements and their composition by nationality following data of the five national censuses. The

data on migrant population are reliable since the first national census released in 1869. The knowledge of the evolution of the country's population during the first part of the colonial period is no more than an estimate that does not go beyond the level of simple conjecture. The total population in 1869 was 1,736,923, while the foreign origin was something above 210,000 (12.1%). From this total foreign population in 1869, the following nationalities show percentages which are included here:

Table 1

Nationality	Percentage	Absolute Number
Italians	33.6	70.560
Spanish	16.1	33.810
Border Nationalities	19.8	41.580
French	15.3	32.130
English	5.1	10.710
Swiss	2.8	5.880
Germans	2.4	5.050
Others	4.9	10.290

Table 2

Year	Total population	Percentage of foreigners
1869	1,736,923	12.1
1895	3,954,911	25.4
1914	7,885,237	29.9
1947	15,893,827	15.3
1960	20,013,793	13.0

Table 3 Nationality of principal foreign groups

1869	% of total	1895	%	1914	%	1947	%	1960	%
Ital.	4.1	Ital.	12.5	Ital.	11.9	Ital.	4.9	Ital.	4.4
Span.	2.0	Span.	5.0	Span.	10.7	Span.	4.7	Span.	3.6
Fr.	1.9	Fr.	2.4	Russ.	1.2	Poles	0.7	Parag.	0.8
Urug.	0.9	Urug.	1.2	Fr.	1.0	Russ.	0.6	Chil.	0.6
Chil.	0.6	Brazil.	0.6	Turks	0.8	Urug.	0.5	Poles	0.3

The increase due to immigration is notable in Argentina (see Table 2). While in the United States, another country receiving immigrants, the population increased approximately four times in 80 years (from 1870 to 1950), Argentina increased more than 10 times in 90 years (between 1869 and 1959). (Tables 1, 2 and 3, Fuentes Lattes, 1975 and Germani, 1966).

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A cursory examination of Table 3 allows us to observe variations in migratory movements. The dates of the Argentinian censuses are suggestive in so far as they demarcate stages of world political events which ended in exoduses, such as the situation of Turkish provinces in the first decade of the twentieth century, the two world wars and the diaspora of the Jews.

The massive migration of European origin ended in the 30s and since then one notes an important increase in inner migration, coinciding with the phenomemon of urbanisation and industrialisation in Argentina – this migration accelerated still more in the 40s during the first government of Peron.

The migratory influx of Argentina is then constituted by European nuclei, by the inhabitants of bordering countries and by an internal current originating in various provinces, whose objective is installation in the metropolitan zone of Buenos Aires. We can establish differences between these groups and even more within each group by reason of the time of migration, the reasons which lead to it, cultural and racial characteristics and occupational rank in the land of arrival. A more complete analysis would lead us to examine the indices of male population, the educational level, the political orientations and religious ideas of immigrants. I think that each of these variables is reflected in the articulation of the foreigners with the receiving society and influences the social space they fit into as well as the strategies of adaptation they will employ.

If we established a continuum of racism according to its intensity we would have to place Argentina at a point below the middle. That is to say that racist violence has had sporadic manifestations and racism expresses itself more in discriminatory attitudes, verbal expression and limited access to spheres of power. Important political realities have not been superceded by ethnic differences. As far as the State is concerned, there is no formal statement of racial measures. The fact that Jews cannot enter the army or certain prestigious educational or recreational institutions is not laid down in any regulation though it has functioned in reality. Having mentioned the Jews, it is important to note that among all the foreign groups it is they who provoke the greatest rebuff between groups of an ethnic or national character (Germani, 1969). A prejudice exists towards the foreigner, but to discuss the variability of this according to one nationality or other is outside the aim of this discourse. In an investigation made in Buenos Aires 20 per cent demonstrated a general xenophobia. Perhaps it is interesting to mention that a nucleus towards which little prejudice exists, is the Anglo-Saxon one. The reason, one might suggest, is that these immigrants were mainly qualified persons who succeeded in finding good economic and social positions in Argentina. The interests of the ruling class was great in incorporating those engineers who participated in the construction of the railway and the technicians who contributed to the expansion of cattle activities.

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With the aim of specifying the significance of expressions of racism I shall limit myself to three groups each of which has its own peculiar characteristics: the Jews, the immigrants of border countries and those coming from provinces of the interior. As a final group, I shall briefly mention a recent conflict with great repercussions in the mass media – the arrival in Argentina of 300 families from Laos, an experience which ended in a complete fiasco.

The visibility of the three groups of immigrants under consideration is high. In the case of the Jews their language (they were principally Russians, Poles and Germans), their culture, their phenotype and their religion establish marked differences with other sectors of the population. In the case of those who arrive from bordering countries there is a strong mestizo element and this element of colour widens the social difference. Besides, those who come from these countries are in their great majority non qualified workers, something similar to the condition of internal migrants. Both constitute an important part of those who reside in the 'Villas Miseria' that surround the capital city. Those who come from the provinces of the interior are described by terms like 'negros', 'peloduros' and 'cabecitas negras' (and recently 'pardos'), which define attitudes towards them. The stereotypes towards these groups are fully disseminated and emerge out of what Nash (1962) call the three logical confusions of racism, which are: (1) – the identification of racial differences; (2) – the supposition that cultural successes are directly and primordially determined by the racial characteristics of a population, and (3) – the belief that the physical characteristics of a population limit and define the type of culture and society which they are capable of creating and in which they can participate. Thus the conflict is more intense if the groups are not only physically but culturally different.

Manifestations of violence have existed. Against Jews, pitch bombs and other occasional damage to synagogues; in the case of Bolivians and Paraguayans obligatory departure from the country in trains destined for their place of origin as well as military occupation of squatter settlements and their destruction by the simple means of passing over them with bulldozers. Apart from these events, racism manifests itself in discrimination in the work and social sectors and in the limited possibility for social mobility. Construction and factory workers and the labourers in agricultural and cattle breeding establishments are Chileans, Bolivians, Paraguayans and provincial people, and not members of the hierarchy.

The Jewish community which is numbered at 500,000 in Argentina has greater room for social movement than the groups mentioned above. They succeeded due to the ability and ambition of its members, and many work as professionals, industrialists and tradesmen. In the city of Buenos Aires and in Argentina in general there are no Jewish ghettos and, if they exist, they have very tenuous 'surrounding walls'. What do exist are concentrations of

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Jewish populations in certain quarters like that of Once and Villa Crespo, but sociological and anthropological studies explaining the reasons for these nuclei and the forms of their interaction with other groups do not exist. Korn (1974) devotes a part of her book to the 'Jewry of Once', which, according to the author, lacks the characteristics of a ghetto. Based on the analysis of L. Wirth on the North-American ghetto, Korn asserts that in the Jewry of Once there was a lack of the essential elements, such as that of occupying zones of deterioration and extreme poverty, taking into account that location values in Once are above average in Buenos Aires and because customs are so well maintained, there is no loyalty to a national minority nor intergroup hostility. I think that her conclusions demonstrate a certain ingenuousness. El Once has one of the highest indices of 'viviendas conventillo' (large houses in which each room is rented to a family), and the deterioration of 'conventillos' is commonplace in Buenos Aires. We do not know what type of data are behind her assertion that customs are being preserved but that there is no national loyalty nor intergroup hostility.

To corroborate more forcefully antisemitism in Buenos Aires I shall base myself on an investigation carried out in 1961 by the Department of Sociology of the National University of Buenos Aires and led by Dr. Gino Germani. The investigation took the form of an inquiry applied to a sample of 2,078 cases from the population of the urban conglomeration of Buenos Aires. The inquiry had a wider list of items but had four questions relating to our theme.

1. Who, according to you, are the people or group of people who are the most prejudicial in the country?

2. A question relating to the people or groups that are favoured.

3. The interviewee was asked to indicate from a list of 12 groups (which included Jews together with tradesmen, workers, politicians and natives of the city, etc.) which of these groups were favoured, prejudicial or neither one nor the other.

4. Which, from a list of 10 nationalities, was it all right to 'attract', 'allow in', 'act depending on the person', or exclude.

The results showed 22.1% of antisemitism and Germani conjectured that in the case of a specific question on the Jews, the figure would have increased to 30% of the adult population, in 'normal' circumstances. Correlations were established between antisemitism and sex, age, nationality, educational level and social class and from all these it emerged that it is social class that exerts the greatest influence on antisemitic attitudes. It is useful to include the percentages of antisemitism according to social classes represented in the sample.

Social classes and antisemitism

Lower 'common'	27.6%	Middle middle	18.3%
Higher 'common'	27.7%	Upper middle	18.3%
Lower middle	18.2%	Upper	6.9%

These results seem to belie a commonly held belief that antisemitism is, above all, a phenomenon of the middle class. The resulting picture was confusing, as in Argentina the most violent manifestations of antisemitism never originated in the lower and less illustrious classes, but, on the contrary, in groups with the best social and educational positions. What hypothesis could support a solution to this question? Germani suggests that the same general claim that the Jews are a prejudicial group and that they should be excluded as immigrants can disguise forms of antisemitism. The first would constitute what he calls traditional antisemitism meaning passive acceptance of certain stereotypes that are quite common in the group in which one lives. Antisemitism in the rural population is above all of this kind. The second form would consist of much more precise and elaborate ideological attitude.

The conclusions it reaches are the following:
1. In the middle and upper classes the proportion of antisemitism is smaller than in the lower classes, but consists mainly of ideological antisemites who are consequently more likely to transform their attitude into action.
2. The proportion of antisemites is greater in the lower classes, but this is traditional antisemitism, the passive acceptance of a stereotype whose psychological significance is not necessarily the same that it is at middle and upper levels.
3. From the point of view of the possibility of diffusion of antisemitism, the main danger lies in the fact that the groups in the lower class who are bearers of traditional antisemitism may be taken advantage of by ideological anti-semites; in this sense they constitute a dangerous 'reserve', comprising around 27% of the lower classes, which would correspond to 11% of the total population interviewed (Germani, 1969).

With respect to immigrants from bordering countries and from the Argentinian interior, we lack studies that lead to appraisals as specific as the investigation of antisemitism. Common elements are linked to both groups, as mentioned before – their mestizo phenotype and their quality of being members of the urban proletariat. The case of people from the provinces – the 'cabecitas negras' – is a potentially rich one for analysis. They constituted the majority of adherents to Peronism and in the end they seem to be originated among the associated leaders displaced by Peronism, but they seem easily infiltrated middle and upper classes, as well as other anti-Peronist groups, where they still persist.

The case of the Laotians

Almost a year ago the national government took part in the international plan to accept Laotian immigrants who wished to leave their country because of prevailing conditions. 300 families arrived in Argentina and received a kind of intensive two-week course for cultural adaptation to the new country. These families were located in areas situated far from each

other, a few of them living in different parts of the country. Almost without exception they were given agricultural tasks without considering that some of them might have better experience in other fields of activity and none in agriculture. Conflicts arose in little time. Living conditions, salaries and treatment by employers did not satisfy the Laotians and their anger led to protest actions such as escape from the place of residence, marches to the United States Embassy to obtain entry permits to that country, etc.

As a result of this a press campaign against the Laotians began, uncensored by the government. They were accused of being incapable of adapting to Argentina on account of their race and customs. Macabre stories circulated among a wide public readership about the Laotian habits of killing dogs and cats for food, the robberies they committed, the promiscuous violation of women in the group and even about their intentions to contaminate food in their areas of residence with poisonous substances.

Many families succeeded in leaving the country. Some of those who remained survived in a precarious manner by begging and living on the streets.

In my intention of describing racism in Argentina it was necessary for me to ask some questions which I present here to the panel to open the discussion. I have not given them consideration because I think that the situation in this country could be extended to other social systems in theory, but because they have led me to a more dynamic perspective of racism, which I think is important in any analysis of societies in which these attitudes and forms of action show themselves.

1. What type of social system is analysed? What political, economic and social characteristics explain racism levelled against immigrants?

2. This question is very related to the previous one but it introduces the dimension of time. What difference can be detected in the same society at different moments in its history and what relationship can be established between local events and world events which determine migratory movements?

3. What degree of intensity of racism exists? Is there apartheid, with denial of rights, persecution, expulsion and even elimination or is racism expressed more 'lightly' with verbal expressions, prejudices and restricted access to certain spheres of prestige and power?

4. At what level does racism take place? At a state level with discriminatory practices incorporated into a body of laws which are explicit and run through various social classes or do they manifest themselves in a different form according to the social classes of the receiving society and of the immigrants, and which does not necessarily have to coincide with the State's formal apparatus.

5. What attitudes and racist actions correspond to distinct groups of immigrants? In this case might they be influenced by a) cultural distances, b) phenotypical impulses, c) their importance in terms of number, d) their occupational position, etc. All this affects the visibility of foreigners.

6. How does one view a different racism, if it exists, in pluriethnic societies where Indians, blacks and immigrants co-exist?

7. What influence does a situation of contact have? For example, in the case of the Tobas Indians in the Chaco or the Chileans in the south of the country, situations of greater tension arise than with the same groups in Buenos Aires, where they are more 'diluted' in the context of the large metropolis.

8. What social space do receiving societies leave for the strategies of adapation of immigrant groups that could potentially be discriminated against racially? Barter (1969), in his study on ethnic groups and limits, establishes three possibilities for fuller participation in a social system, as follows:

A – These groups can try to 'pass' and be incorporated into an already established industrial society and its cultural groups.

B – They can accept the status of a 'minority', accommodate to it and look to reduce their disadvantages as a minority, embracing all the cultural differences in sectors where there is no articulation, while participating in the fuller system of the industrialised group in other areas of activity.

C – They can choose to emphasise their ethnic identity, using it to develop new positions and guide lines to organise activities in those sectors which did not previously exist in the society.

9. Can one try to establish a typology of racist societies?

As can be appreciated, all the preceding questions are deeply interrelated and constitute different approaches to the study of racism. Perhaps a lot remains to be expounded on. This is the task we can direct ourselves to now.

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THE FOLKLORIC PROCESS OF THE BLACK CULTURE IN BRAZIL

by

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I
Introduction

The folkloric process of the named Black culture in Brazil must be looked upon within a wider historical process that, subject to many factors, is being emphasized at the present time: a progressive and contradictory desentail between 'the Black culture' and the ethnic or racial group to which it has been historically or logically associated. In other words, the Black cultural expressions become disqualified, spread abroad and they begin to be considered as a constitutent of the national culture. It is within this historical context of cultural spreading, that what we specifically call the folkloric process of the Black culture, is situated. This process embodies two kinds of phenomena which complement one another: on one side this folkloric process consists of considering the Black cultural manifestations as something irrelevant; just an ideal component to set up the model of entertainment or fulfil empty holes in the leisure field of a vast strata of the population, especially those who can usufruct, to a large extent, certain kind of leisure generated by the Brazilian society. Thus, it is not taken to heart, it is a burlesque culture. On the other side, it expresses the adjustment of some layers of the white classes to the black cultural foundations, even with the complicity of individuals and coloured groups, who bring to terms, in order to handle their ethnicism or 'culturality' as a tactic or strategy of mobilization and adjustment in the social patterns of an urban Brazil. The invasion of the 'schools of samba',[1] 'gafieira',[2] 'candomblé'[3] 'umbanda'[4] etc, can be taken as examples.

II
The Folkloric process and the existential conditions of the Blacks

The results of this process can be understood in two levels:

1 – a situation of ambiguity, which is very disadvantagoeus for the Blacks, is brought up through this process. This ambiguity consists of splitting the Blacks from their culture, and contradictorily at the same time, transforming the man in the extension of his own culture. It's an incoherent process of ethnical representation of the Black people with profound influences in their nature and racial relations. This incoherency faces at one side the prestige of the Black culture opposite the social discredit of the coloured group or individual on the other. That is, the Black culture was never before so praised and boasted as it is nowadays, discording flagrantly

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with the social blame to which the black population is put. The exaltation of Black culture is taken under consideration, to the level of an ideological point of view, to prove or exhibit the degree of acceptance of whatever is Black by the Brazilian whites. What could this mystification transmit to the ordinary man, if it confused honest and experienced writers like Roger Bastide? The Blacks themselves become a victim of this ideological ambush when they therefore try to explain this phenomenon in an almost anthropophagical way using the following slogan in his own project of ethnic self-assertion: the Blacks are not incorporated, they incorporate the others or are the assimilators of the whites. The other side of the incoherency or ambiguity is the ideological confusion between culture and Black people, that is, when the culture undergoes the folkloric process, the group and the individual experience the same process. When the folkloric process is viewed from this angle, it becomes part of a historical device of producing the spectacle man or the spectacular one, the exotic and frivolous human being and thus assimilated to the false, historical and magic dimension of national context. It is clear to see what this means to the building up of the Black image, mediator in the relationship between Blacks and whites; this controversey is the theme of many articles, including this present one.

2. – the adaptation of Black cultural expressions by the whites represents great losses of historical victories of th egroup, risking the conditions that influenced, even precariously, the integration of the Blacks in some layers of the modern Brazilian society. As I see it, the 'schools of samba', 'gaffieira', 'candomblé', 'umbanda' and so on, are the niche of sociability, which define a parallel world to the whites', built up hardly by the Blacks along the years. In order to do such a thing the Blacks used the available potentialities of the group and the scarce freedom to create an official and dominant world – the world the whites have granted them. As they could not penetrate the white man's world, enclosed as they can be because of their own niches where they can develop their cultural practices and sociability in the urban views of the Brazilian society of classes. There they live among their own people, in a social mini-world which although having its own conflicts, tensions and understandings, it does not have the hostilities of the external world. Considering this point of view, the adaptation of the Blacks' cultural expressions by the whites, corresponds to the true spoilation, because it removes them from these scarce niches, leaving them with no alternatives for social participation. Therefore what they have is taken away from them, what was historically hidden from them, still is, because in all their efforts for cultural and social participation, they stumble in every situation, due to misunderstanding of their social characteristics.

III
The folkloric process of the Black culture and the Brazilian sociological and anthropological thought

Putting the traditional cultural view of the 30's and 40's aside, we can consider two theoretic-methodological marks: a sociological one, whose most important works arose in the 50's and 60's, and they formed what Bastide called 'School of Sao Paulo. The other, an anthropological-social view (considering all the amplitude and ambiguity that the label suggests), which arose in the 70's. The traditional cultural view, according to some critics, was responsible for the construction, settlement and spreading, on the anthropoligical level, of the folkloric Black culture, due to its relation with certain kind of folkloric reflection (subject). The words from the 'School of Sao Paulo', emphasizing the problematic life conditions of the Black population in Brazil, were the first to denounce the whites as the responsible for the folkloric process suffered by the Black culture. However, these works of marxistorientation stumbled against the difficulties of logical order. These words do not define the Blacks 'culturally', but, on the other hand, they are defined as a dialectic opposition to the white. Culture is conceptually defined as an epiphenomenon. This assumption when led to the very consequences of a logical coherence incites the studious person to deny the existence of the Black culture. The methodological difficulty appears at that point, impeding the writer to treat the phenomenon of the folkloric process systematically, and instrument it for the consequent denunication. Bastides' question refers to how to denounce the whites for something that does not exist? 'If the Afro-Brazilian culture can be manipulated it is because it exists'. And the writer ends his critique almost giving a self-criticism: 'It's a pity that the "School of Sao Paulo" did not try to integrate the culture in its own anthropological approach'.

The works of social anthropology, even focusing on cultural and social scenes, where the folkloric process emphatically takes place ('schools of samba', 'candomblé' and 'umbanda') treat us as a cultural expression of the people or national life, not expressing the presence of the blacks, making them methodologically irrelevant. Before talking about Black anthropology, these works talk about the Brazilian urban citizen anthropology, of whom the Blacks, although methodologically not mentioned, are a great part. Ultimately, in this scientific view of reflection, the folkloric process is taken, at the most, as an information and not as a phenomenon that needs to be explained. By the way, the same can be said about previous sociological and strong functional inspiration, when the Black religion levelled and confused with others is methodologically treated only as a corollary of the Brazilian urban industrial process. Needless to say that these observations do not compromise the scientific values of these works, not even criticize

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their proposals. These are observations that only become critical when they consider the theme of this communication.

IV
Some considerations drawing to conclusions

Although not wanting to give a conclusive feature to this temporary work, which intends only to raise up some questions for debate, I would like to call attention to two important points, with which the people who are concerned about this subject will get involved: the first is related to the concept of Black culture; the second is related to the stratification of Black population in Brazil nowadays.

1. The concept of Black culture is becoming a challenge for all of those who are interested in that subject. This challenge has been forced through at least three formulas, all of them, one way or the other, unsatisfactory, even if used in a proper way. The first one simply consists of quoting the term 'black culture'; the second consists of the adoption of expressions such as: 'the so-called Black culture', 'what is considered to be Black culture'; the third formula sends us back to the traditional 'afro-Brazilian culture '. Note that in the first two formulas, whose nature is more descriptive than analytical, there is an effort to extract the worn down 'afro', through the embodiment of the vulgar concept of black culture, according to which a logical identification between the group and the culture is established. This identification is sometimes of a historical nature. The concept of Afro-Brazilian culture, being more analytical try to send the black culture back to its African roots. This concept is much used by the cultural writers of the 30's and 40's, but it is avoided by the new generation, which tries to protect its works from any misunderstandings. Thus, the formula is in the adoption of a concept that gives understanding of the Black cultural expressions, at the same time as a dynamical component of a Brazilian culture that tends to the urban view, and as specific creations of a definite group of the national society. At this point it is impossible to put aside the structural conditions that give the parameters of the existential conditions of the Black group in the Modern Brazilian Society: the conditions of a minority group, marginally set up and slaved. But this slavery is built and justified by its racial characteristics, therefore, it has an incorporation and, at the same time, a specification within an economic category. According to this, the Black culture must be understood as historical creations of a group contained on its own project of social participation; of a group that has limited freedom to create its own social and cultural universe. Universe that can be built, and maybe it is, from the African cultural elements 'shaped' in the historical limits and senses of the national society, that gives the mark of a unique situation under many aspects. Consequently the Black culture, which is suffering the folkloric process in the two ways pointed out already, is the result of this act of creation in unfavourable conditions.

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The second thing to be considered is not to treat the Black population as something homogenous. If this was possible until some time ago in this country, it no longer is, at least in the most urbanized and industrialized parts of the country. There is a structural difference of the Black group, that even though incipient, already avoids this aspect to be methodoligically forgotten. As I see it, the stratification of the Black group elucidates only a bipolarity, having at one side the Black poor people and on the other the most privileged segments, and thus it is already sufficient to raise a problem. How the diversified black group trying apparently to build through many ways its social and cultural identity in the Brazilian society sees the folkloric process of the so called black culture, built and experienced and for this reason, identical to it for the Black and poor people? That is, how certain Black groups see this historical stigmatized way? Of course this question has a lot of answers, which can only be obtained through systematical research based on the anthropological and sociological resources.

In my opinion it is primarily important to enrich the scientific literature about the Brazilian Blacks. The review about this done up to now in Brazil, shows that much is said about the coloured population especially through scarce data from some sociological monographs. I think some themes and ideas are over emphasized through a monotonous repetition leading to the wrong idea that everything was already mentioned. In reality the Black studies have just begun, and there's still a lot to be researched, including the critique of these studies which ought to be considered as a starting point and not as the end of everything. It is necessary to come up with new studies and essays which reveal, fearlessly of the empiricism, what really took and takes place with the Blacks in Brazil. This approach which is at the same time critical and methodological suggests that such studies should come up with a great deal of empiricism and even giving a large importance to the description of the facts. Some studies have already been conducted concerning the conditions of Black people in the rural life, in different parts of the country, such as the ones held at the State University of Campinas, directed by Peter Fry and the others at the University of Sao Paulo, directed by Joao Baptista Borges Pereira.

These studies are at different stages of development, but it is already clear that they will make a way to new outlooks for the discussion of the whole problematic situation concerning the Blacks, as a coloured group or an expression of culture, in the different variants of the Brazilian society.

1. 'schools of samba' – group organised for the purpose of creating and exhibiting songs, dances and costumes during Carnival.
2. 'gafieira' – dance festivity frequented by the populace.
3. 'candomblé' – a voodooistic ceremony.
4. 'umbanda' – a place where the voodoo rites are practised.

PUBLICATIONS AVAILABLE

The above publications are available from EAFORD's London Office at

Agriculture House, Knightsbridge, London SW1