

RACIAL PROBLEMS:

THE BRAZILIAN PERSONA

In the present essay I intend to approach the racial problems of today's world, or more particularly the problem of the Negro and of his integration in multiracial societies, from the point of view of the Jungian concept of *Persona*.

I will, of necessity, limit my study to one national case only, that of Brazil. The use of Brazil as a particular instance for study can be easily justified. Brazil is probably the most complex multiracial society in the world and one that boasts the least tensions among communities of different stock, religion or cultural background. In 8.5 million sq. km., over one hundred and twenty million people are living who speak the same language, both in the literal and the figurative sense. We believe we have been somehow more successful than the Americans in emphasizing the element of fraternity that is so fundamental to the democratic way of life. My thesis is that we have achieved such a result thanks to a very peculiar working of the archetype of the *Persona*. This article will try to adumbrate the construction of what one may call a *collective Persona*, a façade, a pattern of national behaviour which tries to overcome the problem by simply overlooking the fact that genetic differences of colour, shape and mind exist.

This article will also endeavour to touch on the racial problem by way of contrasting the Brazilian solution, with all its shortcomings, and present American efforts at integrating the Negro into American society. The peculiar role of the Negro as a bearer of *shadow* and *anima* images should be taken into consideration. Let me tell you right away how I see this particular side of the argument. Colonial Brazil was fortunate to have its *Black Mother*, as an expression of the Great Mother archetype. Much romantic poetry has been written concerning the Black Mother in the structure of our ancient patriarchal society. She is somehow the symbol of fraternal love, since both white and black drank from the same milk. Tainted with sin and suffering, and overcoming evil through the power of her love, the Black Mother grants peace and friendship to men of all races and origins. This, to my mind, is the significance of the black images of the Virgin that appear all over the Christian world, as in Czestochowa, in Poland; or in Switzerland at Einsiedlen; or in Aparecida, in Brazil—black images because they carry our sins. The Virgin who has “appeared”, *aparecida*, is the patron and protectress of Brazil.

The role of the Black Mother calls attention to the fact that the solution to racial tensions, in Brazil, has been reached through the erotic element in the formation of our society. Hence, the black woman or *mulata* appears, quite consciously, with positive qualities of attractiveness and seduction. In a society like America, on the other hand, where erotic impulses were drastically repressed through the strict Protestant morality of the Founding Fathers, the black image falls into the unconscious while the contents of the erotic impulses that emerge to the surface are projected onto the Negro.

In counterbalancing our approach from the contrasting points of view of an erotic society, such as the Brazilian, and a “logical” society, such as the American, we take into account the quite different valuation and position of the Negro as a carrier, respectively, of positive *anima* symbolism and of negative *shadow* projections.

The *Persona* of an upper-class Brazilian is that of a white man.

The façade which we wish to present abroad is whitewashed, albeit quite easily one half of the population shows some shade of colour. Whatever the real pigment on the skin, the flatness of the nose, the Mongolian slanting of the eyes or the kinkiness of the hair, Brazilians consider themselves as belonging to the Caucasoid type.*

The *Persona* expresses really what one wishes to represent as against what one truly is. Schopenhauer spoke about *Schein und Sein*. The collective *Persona* may be distinguished from the true, authentic *Ego*, from the *Ego* in its inner nakedness, its innocence and originality, and in its true colour. As nationalistic as any people of the so-called Third World may be today, and as proud of its own native traditions and culture, everyone prefers to represent—in this wide world where we intend to play a meaningful part—the role of a technologically advanced nation, according to the model offered by Europe and America. It is better, after all, to be white, powerful and rich, than a poor, coloured, submissive *native*. This natural desire, as expressed in national behaviour, requires the building of a more or less impressive whitewashed façade, such as that of the huge apartment buildings that line Copacabana beach, in Rio de Janeiro, pushing back and hiding behind their monumental show of progress the polychromatic anarchy of the *favelas* that climb the hills in the background.

In Brazil, the part which we have chosen for ourselves, in all but folkloric, expansive manifestations such as music, dancing, carnival and other secondary and playful, popular expressions, is not that of a half-breed, half-naked playboy with a big *sombrero*, playing the guitar under a palm tree; but that of a technocrat, building up a huge industrial power on the limpid sands of the South Atlantic shores.

And what is psychologically true of Brazil, is also in great measure true of the rest of Latin America. And it equally explains much of the behaviour of the Third World of Africa and Asia. For even those who hate the West and still feel a

* I do not take seriously, in this connection, occasional statements or attitudes to the contrary, taken in a contestatory frame of mind and under the influence of foreign ideologies. You may see in Brazil hippie-type Negroes with Afro hairdo. But this is exceptional and artificial.

strong resentment at what they have suffered under European colonial policy, and who might even want to destroy the West, still try to imitate Europe and America and behave like Europeans and Americans. The study of the Western cultural façade in the modern world, and how it impinges on the racial question, seems therefore essential to the understanding of the tensions and struggles that divide our planet. We could easily say that, although our minds are divided, a unique Western civilizational *Persona* covers the earth.

I have chosen Brazil as an example for a phenomenon which in some degree or other, is well nigh universal. This is because Brazil, while *definitely* Western, a member of the Latin, Mediterranean and Catholic branch of Western culture, has been able to absorb and mingle, with singular tolerance, elements from non-Western races and cultures. It serves, to my mind, as a good test-ground for the thesis I intend to develop.

To begin with, let me point out that the notion of a coloured race and that of the tropics are intimately associated in our minds.

The façade therefore is not just one of a European people, but also of a temperate climate. Until rather recently we always seemed to be rejecting the very idea that Rio de Janeiro is a city where the climate is hot and sultry. In colonial days there was a certain healthy adaptation to the conditions of the tropics, not only in the type of architecture, but in the habits of the European settlers and their way of dressing. When the King of Portugal and his court sailed to Brazil in 1808, to escape capture at the hands of Napoleon's armies, Brazilians started building this grandiose *Persona*, such as befitted a new independent Empire, ruled by a European dynasty. The governing elites reacted against the necessary process of adaptation to the tropics. My father, for instance, at the beginning of this century, still dressed in a frock, waistcoat and spats, right in the middle of summer, when temperatures were soaring to 37° or 40° centigrade. Clothes were used which seemed fit for the climate of England. I still remember when we were visited in the early thirties by the Prince of Wales, the future Edward VIII. He saw fit to wear

a tropical white uniform and a pith or dome helmet, as used by the British in India and Africa. The hosts were not amused, since the head-dress was called a "colonial" helmet. It was a *faux-pas*...

At that time, the houses of the rich had forgotten the old traditions of the large plantation mansions. Residences were built like small French *châteaux*, without any consideration for the needs of ventilation in hot, humid days. Only later, the introduction of such innovations as the *brise-soleils*, under the influence of modern architecture, helped modify what was then fashionable. But still today, modern skyscrapers in Rio or Brasilia, with their large picture windows, seem built rather to cultivate man in a hot-house than to provide for his comfort. The use of air-conditioners is still a relative luxury. In his office a real gentleman must wear a coat and tie. To walk in shorts outside the beach area is considered extravagant. Class distinctions can be made according to whether one wears a coat or walks about in shirtsleeves. To greet one's friend with the expression "how hot today!" is a usual gambit, as if to establish one's inborn lack of familiarity with such hostile climatic conditions. You may notice, incidentally, how often Southeast Asian generals, sheiks of the Arabian peninsula and Caribbean Presidents wear dark glasses: they seem to want to prove that their delicate Nordic eyes cannot bear the harsh sunshine of their tropical birth-place. It is a distinctive psychological reaction of the *Persona*. Women have pointed the way in this particular field as in many others, and have conquered the right to dress lightly in the dog days, a welcomed influence of what the Germans call our modern *Nackte Kultur*.

The tendency to pretend that the climate is different from what it really is, corresponds to the parallel tendency to force nature into a European type of landscape. It is a common habit to plant French or English gardens in our cities. This is all part of the big play at "modern" civilization, into which we are now madly rushing with a stupendous industrial boom that carries in its wake not only a much needed social development, but all the evils of the affluent society.

I have described summarily some of these phenomena, with the object of conveying the notion of a *collective Persona*, the crea-

tion of which seems to be one of the main purposes of Culture. In one way or another this particular psychic function can be discovered in all ages and all nations, so that the way a people builds up its own personal façade is a subject quite relevant to the study of its social and cultural patterns. I will not burden you with so many examples, but just remember two tremendous historical cases—that of Peter the Great turning Russia into a European country, by building St. Petersburg as “a window open to the West;” and Kemal Atatürk doing a similar job in Turkey after the First World War. Both these historical giants forced upon their people a foreign *Persona*. Peter cut the beards of the Russian aristocracy, made them neglect their oriental looking *kaftans* for French-style *redingotes*. As in an opera, an entire European *scenario* was created, a magnificent set which Peter imposed upon the ruling elite. But the trauma it caused on the national psyche was such that it festered like a neurosis all through the XIXth century, until it burst open in the terrible upheaval of the Revolution. In Turkey, Mustafa Kemal also started by cutting off the heads of those who refused to wear hats, instead of fezes. The fez, like the hat, was a symbol of the collective *Persona*, Moslem in one case, European in the other. What you wear, what you look like, the way you behave in society, all this is part of the defensive function of this archetypal *mask* that we create, in order to relate to one another in a civilized community.

So we Brazilians also found ourselves in need of building a whitewashed façade, at least as long as European racial prejudices endured. Since the Nazi catastrophe, things have changed. Still, the problems of *apartheid* in South Africa and the integration of the Negro in American society prove that such handicaps are by no means over. This goes a long way to explain why Brazilians in the olden days were so sensitive to all criticisms of foreign observers as far as the mixing of bloods and, more particularly, as far as the strong African dose in its ethnic crucible were concerned.

Racism was a phenomenon peculiar to the XIXth century. Former centuries were not really racist. In the XVIIth it was still pos-

sible for Captain Smith to become a hero, after making love to the Indian Pocahontas. And for Shakespeare to picture Othello as a Negro making love to the blonde Desdemona. The French Encyclopedists admired the Orientals, in whom they pretended to find a wisdom often lacking among Westerners. The rationalization of racial prejudices was a product of Victorian ethics and positivist science upon the old Calvinistic substratum, during the great colonial expansion of European powers in Africa and Asia, and in close connection with the final spreading of Western civilization over the planet. Whereas the concept of both Spanish and Portuguese pioneers during the early discoveries was one of a Christian Crusade against the heathen (whatever profitable political and economic connotations such a Crusade could convey), the new outlook was wholly secularized into pseudo-scientific channels. The white man was the civilized man, the white race the superior one, dominant above all other races and carrying the white man's burden.

It is good to recall some of the sources of racist theories. First of all that of Count de Gobineau. Gobineau was more than a lunatic ideologue: he simply translated into pseudo-scientific language what had already become a general current of thought among cultivated Europeans. As a French diplomat, he served at the court of the Brazilian Emperor Pedro II until, it seems, his assignment was cut short by a jealous husband who publicly slapped his face at the entrance to the Opera House. In a furious mood of revenge, he wrote that our monarch was the only white man in Brazil, "a pure Aryan or nearly," while the rest of the population was made up of mulattoes, "vicious in blood as well as in spirit." Let me quote you in French from his famous "Essay on the Inequality of the Human Races," with its pessimistic conclusions concerning our future: "*L'Amérique du Sud, corrompue dans son sang créole, n'a nul moyen d'arrêter dans leur chute ses métis de toutes variétés et de toutes classes. Leur décadence est sans remède.*"

In his dire essay, Gobineau ascribes the facility with which the Portuguese intermingled with Indians and Africans to the "deteriorated" quality of the Portuguese race. As a matter of fact, Gobineau believed that the whole of Latin America, all this half-white, half-Negro and Indian world, coexisted without

difficulty, due to the "horrible" confusion created by the Portuguese and the Spaniards. "The governments of America," said he, "can only be compared to the Empire of Haiti, and those who long ago have applauded the sham emancipation of those people, and had hopes for the best results, are the same who today realize their mistake." He foresaw that the bulk of this "human rubbish" in the degenerate Brazilian and Mexican nations would shortly fall under Anglo-Saxon domination from North America, which although already mixed, as he believed, still kept some of the old "Aryan energy." This foreign domination was the only one "capable of giving them the strong education which they need."

A similar prophecy was echoed with equal pessimism by the English author Houston S. Chamberlain, in his pan-Germanic ravings. He wondered whether the savages of Central Australia did not live a more harmonious and dignified, even more sacred existence, than those "unhappy Peruvians, Paraguayans," etc., born from the illegitimate union of two, and sometimes even three races and cultures which could never mix, since they had nothing in common. They were, as he defined it, "the product of a fornication against nature."

American authors at that time expressed similar opinions in the wake of the great Yankee expansion beyond the Far West, into Mexico, the Caribbean area and the Pacific. Even a British liberal socialist who is considered the founder of the science of futurology, H.G. Wells, anticipated that "the Negro Republics of Latin America, speaking Spanish and Portuguese," are "not only required to elaborate their own cohesion," but "have already fallen under the political tutelage of the USA..."

Many of these ideas could be linked to the myth of the Green Hell. The torrid heat of the tropical rain forest had burnt not only the skin, but also the intelligence and the energy of the Brazilian people. The responsibility for such a disgrace could be attributed both to race and climate. A French anthropologist, Lapouge, foretold that "*le Brésil constituera sans doute, d'ici un siècle, un immense état nègre, à moins qu'il ne retourne, et c'est probable, à la barbarie.*" Yet Lapouge exerted a great influence upon Brazilian social science which became, so to speak, fascinated by these dire denunciations.

The opinion that Brazil was a great tropical hot-house bubbling with obscene, ignorant and lazy mulattoes, spread even among cultivated Brazilians, among those educated few of the upper classes who had travelled to Europe, and were sometimes patriotically horrified with the consequences of their own country's underdevelopment. Many authors in the social sciences were impressed with the negative conception of "pathological anthropology," "racial morbidity" and "degenerate miscegenation." They confirmed in erudite works the impression of that American traveller who was astounded at the "terrible bastard aspect" of our mixed population. All travellers at that time came back from Brazil with the distinct impression that coloured people exceeded by far the number of whites—an impression that lingers in world public opinion: A well-known Brazilian author, Eduardo Prado, a monarchist by conviction who belonged to an old Paulista family but had apparently some African blood in his veins (so much so that it is reported that he was once discriminated against in the USA), went so far as to lament "those ganglions of mixed populations, born out of all human inferiorities, who insist upon the make-believe notion that they constitute a people... The artificial amalgam known as Brazil is undone, albeit two or three generations had come to live and die under the illusion of this artifice which is now coming to an end..."

In the United States, the image which was divulged by literature and mass-media created a stereotype of the "Latin": a Papist and Spanish-speaking coloured "native," wearing an enormous *sombrero*, playing the guitar to the romantic *Señorita* in the window, or just lying down, half-asleep under a palm-tree. And if someone bothers him with questions about when he is going to work, he answers back in a bad temper: "*mañana*." And if another insists, he shouts back "*caramba!*" and rises to make a revolution, installing another big-mustachioed General as dictator, with lots of brass, and medals, and an enormous sword at his side.

You must consider first the geographical background of this stereotype: American public opinion was fashioned by the neighbourhood of Mexico and Cuba, by Chicago wetbacks and New York Puerto Ricans. There was also a very relevant his-

torical background: after all, the British colonization of North America, since the time of Queen Elizabeth, was undertaken mainly under the spirit of the Protestant Reformation. For the Pilgrim Fathers who fought against Catholicism and High Church, the main enemy was Spain. From Spain and from Spanish successor states of mixed blood in North and Central America, the original Thirteen Colonies conquered or acquired a large portion of what is now the USA: Florida, Texas, the South-Western states and California. The stereotype created under such religious and political unconscious motives affected the whole relationship between the North Americans and the Latins, inextricably interwoven with national problems such as absorbing first Europeans from the Southern and Eastern parts of the continent (Italians, Slavs and Jews), then Orientals in California, finally Negroes, ex-slaves of the rebellious South. The problem of discrimination against Negroes in America cannot be entirely detached from the problem of discrimination that existed, and perhaps still exists, against such minority groups.

No wonder contacts between the *gringos* and their Latin neighbours south of the Rio Grande were not always friendly. I will tell you a story that conveys the feeling of inferiority that the over-powering presence of the USA exerted south of the Rio Grande. I served once in a Latin American country which is inhabited by a small, white Spanish elite of cultivated and democratic coffee-growers. In their local dialect the word *macho* means not only a courageous male but also a *blond* man, an Aryan-looking individual. And by extension, an American. A blond woman is therefore a *macha* and a pretty, well-rounded foreign miss is called a *machita*. I had a very close Spanish friend and colleague who disliked, for good reasons, this idiotism typical of a banana republic. My friend was red-haired and had deep set blue eyes. So, whenever someone asked him, either out of curiosity or hidden admiration, whether he was a *macho*, he struck back with a furious Castilian pronunciation, machine-gunning his words: "*Que lo soy, pero de España!*" Which means "I am a male indeed, but from Spain!"

This then was the situation at the end of the Victorian era. Faced with an international consensus which reflected upon us and gave rise to feelings of inferiority, the feminine reaction of

our collective *anima* led us to adapt external forms of government and social behaviour to the ideal image which would contradict European prejudices against us and refute such presumptions. This tendency was felt very soon in the Brazilian dominant elite: it dates probably from the end of the XVIIIth century. It became necessary to deny, under the circumstances, that we were “natives” in a tropical milieu. As soon as Brazil became independent, we chose to turn into an Empire, ruled by a white, blond and blue-eyed Emperor, the son of an Austrian archduchess, the heir to the noblest reigning families of Europe. This was required by our collective *Persona*—and incidentally it secured prompt recognition of our Independence from European sovereigns who had gathered under the *Sainte Alliance*. Cultural and political factors strengthened each other. Our aristocracy was supposed to be white, they dressed in beautiful frocks and uniforms, according to the latest fashions from London and Paris. As in London, we had a Parliament with two parties, Conservative and Liberal. Such members of Parliament whose ancestry could possibly be Melanesian disguised their appearance under long beards, shiny decorations and pompous titles of Marquesses, Viscounts, Counsellors and Marshalls. They wore a fair mask over their dark skin—albeit this never entirely convinced the Americans and the Europeans, and for that matter not even our southern neighbours, Argentina and Chile, who still consider us a Negro nation (we pay the Argentinians back by using against them the expression *gringo...*).

Still today in Rio’s famed Carnival, one of the most common fancy-dresses in the so-called *samba schools* or clubs, recruited among people of moderate income, mostly coloured, is that of the Court of the Governor General in colonial days. The result of this attitude was that the racial problem actually turned into a purely *social* problem. As the pure Negro and half-breed descendant of Negro slaves remained at the bottom of the economic scale, the distinctions in Brazilian society turned into a question of rank and class and hierarchy, rather than of colour.

Sir Richard Burton observed in imperial Brazil that “here all men, especially free men, who are not black, are white; and often a man is officially white, but naturally almost a Negro. This is directly opposed to the system in the United States where

all men who are not unmixed white are black.” We say that whoever has a drop of white blood is considered white in Brazil, while in America it is the other way round. Visiting Brazil half a century after Burton, Lord Bryce included it among the countries where the distinction between the races is a distinction “of rank or class rather than of colour.” Also an interesting consequence of this was that, whereas the possession of African genes was something one tried to hide, being a descendant of Indians became, on the contrary, a nationalistic motive of pride. The Romantic movement with its exalted figure of the *Bon Sauvage*, exerted a lively influence upon our XIXth century literature. In the lines of Rousseau, of Chateaubriand and of some American writers, the Indian was praised as the native hero who never surrendered willingly to European conquerors. Nationalist individuals abandoned their Portuguese family names, in favour of Indian ones. One became the Viscount of Sinimbú, another the Marquis of Paraná, a third the Baron of Itamerad. A famous scientist was known as Dr. Indian of Brazil...

This phenomenon, as you know, also occurred in the USA. Max Weber, while studying the structure of power in his master work *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft*, writes that in America “every Yankee accepts the civilized quarter-breed or octoroon Indian as a member of the nation; he may himself claim to have Indian blood. But he behaves quite differently towards the Negro, and he does so especially when the Negro adopts the same way of life as he and therewith develops the same social aspirations.” How can we explain this fact, he enquires? “The aversion is social in nature, and I have heard but one plausible explanation for it: the Negroes have been slaves and the Indians not.”

Yet in Brazil there is no doubt that the Negro, as a man, was vastly superior to the Red Indian. The Indian refused to become a slave, not because of his alleged heroism or martial temperament, but because he was in fact so primitive that he could never accept a working routine. The Indian contribution to Brazilian civilization has been close to nihil. The Negro, particularly the Sudanese Negro from Western Nigeria who made up the bulk of the five or six million slaves imported into Brazil in the early XIXth century, was culturally far superior. He was intelligent and physically strong, his religious mythology was

quite complex, he knew agriculture and had developed an advanced political organization. The Africans were very artistic, as the marvellous sculptures of Benin testify, and extremely musical. Both North and South American music has been strongly influenced by African rhythms. Henri Bates, a British scientist who spent a number of years in Brazil during the middle of the XIXth century, came to the conclusion that the Negro was happier than the Indian in tropical America. Bates, as quoted from Lynn-Smith's book on Brazil, contrasted the Indian's "constitutional dislike of the heat" with the Negro's perfect adaptation to it. His reasoned judgment was that the Negro, not the Indian, is "the true child of tropical climes," of Brazil as well as of Africa.

However, those considerations, supported by strong scientific evidence, never crossed the minds of those responsible for the creation of a Brazilian *image* abroad. The concept that the *Persona* is more important than the *spirit* never surrendered among the Brazilian elites. When the Republic was proclaimed in 1889, one year after the abolition of slavery, the United States, instead of Europe, became the model for Brazil. Even the name of the country was changed into that of United States of Brazil, as if the very name possessed some kind of magical power to convert the nation into something like the revered model in wealth, industriousness, power and prestige.

The Republic nevertheless did not change much of the pretences at the big theatrical role we had set for ourselves. Although there is no colour bar in Brazil, there remained one in the two services that were supposed to *represent* Brazil abroad, namely the Foreign Service and the Navy. We stated again and again our official position that there were no Indians, no Negroes in Brazil. We disliked being told the reverse, just as we disliked being reminded of Rio's extreme heat or of snakes in Brazilian gardens. In the early thirties we had an Ambassador in Paris who remained there for 20 years and became quite popular among the *société* and literary circles. He once replied curtly to a question in an international meeting: "There are no more Indians in Brazil." Until a few years ago, an official publication of the Brazilian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which is periodically edited to give general information to foreigners, solemnly proclaim-

ed that the large majority of the Brazilian population is white and that there is only a "tiny percentage" of coloured people. Further on, the publication carries the usual reference concerning the fact that no racial discrimination exists in Brazil.

We indeed make pious declarations against discrimination and pay lip-service to the generous concept of racial democracy, but national pride always tries to emphasize the white appearance of the *Persona*. The popular thesis of a progressive "Aryanization" of our people frequently represents a kind of theoretical wishful thinking which one finds most often among light octoroons or quadroons. Many were indeed the intellectuals who, being themselves suspiciously dark in complexion, enjoyed writing such nonsense as that the Negro was "the coal for the racial furnace that would soon turn Brazil into a white race." The Government followed suit by taking deliberate measures to change the people's natural composition through immigration. From the middle of the XIXth century, a steady stream of Portuguese, Spanish, Italian, German, Slavonic, Syrio-Lebanese, and finally Japanese settlers were introduced into the country. Some five million of them approximately. No Negroes or East Indians were admitted.

These people were called upon to reverse the trend and whitewash our skin.* Erudite studies were undertaken to prove that natural selection, after a few generations, would secure the prevalence of the more numerous race, that is the European. In short, the white race was bound to win in the long run...

There are many amusing examples of the unconscious working of this tendency to the *blanchissement* of the race, a process which an author has named a peculiar kind of *Daltonism*: one looks at brown or black and sees everything white. Gilberto Freyre, who is probably the foremost Brazilian social scientist and also the best known abroad, invented the expression "*lusotropicalism*" for our culture. His *obra prima*, translated into English "The Masters and the Slaves," describes the patriarchal society of Northeastern and Eastern Brazil in colonial days. No one dared attack with such courage and scientific probity the racial taboos, no one faced with greater academic skill the phenomenon of miscegenation. No one has criticized more

* Like the counter-hero, Macunaima, who was born black and subsequently whitewashed.

ardently the bad habit of elegant Brazilians to hide everything black in our origins. Yet in spite of all this, not even Freyre could escape from the unconscious ascendancy of the *Persona*. In his monumental study he glorifies the role of the Negro in the plantation system of Bahia and Pernambuco, pointing to the presence of Negro blood in a large number of the most prominent local families, but makes an exception for the Wanderley family. The Wanderleys are descendent of the Dutch who, in the XVIIth century, occupied for a while the Brazilian Northeast. Freyre alleges that "the Wanderley family was able, through inbreeding, to maintain a relative 'Nordic purity'." Soon afterwards, he discreetly confesses that he himself is a Wanderley through his mother...

I will give you further examples of the same custom. In every beauty contest to which we send our selected misses, who incidentally have carried the title several times, eight out of ten times a blond girl is chosen to represent the charm and perfection of the Brazilian woman. No account is taken of the very obvious fact that the real feminine Brazilian type is that of the brunette, if not the *mulata*, such as can be found by the thousands on the sands of Ipanema, wearing tiny mini-bikinis.

With regard to the custom of creating a European *Persona*, we may add another curious usage which generally our Portuguese friends do not much appreciate. In Brazil, we enjoy a great freedom in the choice of both personal and family names. Names are usually long and there is no rule as to their rank and position. One rule, however, is quite widely followed which consists in using only the less common, more foreign or exotic part of the name. Nobody remembers that we had a President whose name was Oliveira (Oliveira in Brazil being as common as Smith or Brown in America). President Oliveira is better known by his mother's family name, Kubitschek. Many of you have heard of the famous Brazilian architect Niemeyer who built Brasilia: his father's family name is Soares. There are hundreds of other examples on the same lines.

Sometimes, however, the appearance of foreign names in high places does not necessarily imply a wishful "representation" as against the truth of our *lusso*-Brazilian origins. When one examines, for instance, the list of great businessmen and industrial

magnates in the state of S. Paulo, one is impressed by the large number of Italian, German, Anglo-Saxon, Jewish and Japanese names. But this simply means that descendants of immigrants have been quite successful in economic endeavour, while the "four hundred years old" aristocrats very often did not pass the test of achievement. There is also the case of the frequency of Saxon patronymics in the high command of our armed forces. Hardly has there been a time when one or another of the top seven or eight military men in Brazil did not bear a name such as Lott, Kruel, Geisel, Heck or Grunewald Rademaker. I have often wondered whether a German name and a Prussian appearance may not have favourably affected the career of such officers. It is also curious to notice the extreme frequency of German and Italian names among the bishops and archbishops of Southern Brazil, as if only sons of immigrant families found the holy vocation for the Church. Among the six or seven top Catholic clergymen in Brazil, we discover Cardinals Rossi, Scherer, Arns and Lorscheider.

Observe now the former Brazilian Government: the President is the son of German Lutheran immigrants and his name is Ernesto Geisel. Among his Ministers, we could find Mr. Simonsen in the Treasury, Admiral Henning in the Navy, Mr. Shigeaki Ueki in the Ministry of Energy, Mr. Quandt in Communications and Mr. Paulinelli in Agriculture. What should be emphasized in this connection, and for the purposes of our research, is that the number of non-Portuguese immigrants in our population structure is far smaller than that of non-British in the total American population. The United States harboured over forty million Europeans in the last 150 years, as against 4 million for Brazil. Yet, the U.S. is still mostly ruled by WASPS (White Anglo-Saxon Protestants) in banking, in steel, the press, the oil companies, the Senate and the Presidency. Kennedy was the first non-WASP President of the United States and he barely made it. In Brazilian history, one registers two non-Catholic Presidents, one mulatto, two who were part Indian, and one of Czechoslovakian ancestry. In this, we may certainly claim to be a better democracy than the USA.

Our country is indeed very often proclaimed, both by ourselves and by our friends, as an example of racial democracy. In such

an historical moment as this, when the winds of change are still blowing across decolonized Africa, and carry us to witness the effort at integration of the Negro in American society, our experience can indeed be presented as an example for the world. When all over the planet we watch with horror tribe fighting against tribe, language group against language group, Semites against other Semites, Irish Catholics against Irish Protestants, nation against nation, and the ominous and most cruel clash of meaningless ideologies, we Brazilians believe we have something to be proud of, as a successful case of peaceful coexistence of the most different communities. Indeed, the ties of what the old Greek philosophers called *philia*, are such that in spite of all our shortcomings we have been able to establish one of the least violent nations in a violent world. Under the archetype of Eros, our way of life has been able to shape out of so many stocks a coherent society with a strong personality.

It is therefore interesting to see how, in Brazil, social and racial tensions have been smoothed through a peculiar process which you might call feminine, the definition of which was better given, I believe, by Count H. von Keyserling nearly 50 years ago, when he used the Portuguese word *delicadeza*. Where else but in Brazil could a mother call her white child *meu negrinho*, "my little black one," as an expression of endearment? Or a man use the same words *minha nega*, to his white wife?

For these reasons I do not agree with some scholars, both Brazilian and American, who allege that the sexual attraction of the *mulata* is merely a result of her availability to seduction by a white, linking the phenomenon to slavery. If the "dusky Venus" of which the French sociologist Roger Bastide speaks, represents the height of erotic attractiveness for a Brazilian male, this has nothing to do with her "facility," so to speak; neither can it be contradicted by the fact that the same man who wants to go to bed with a *mulata*, will not necessarily marry her. If the light-skinned woman in the USA unites in her person the accessibility of the Negro with the appearance of the white woman, being therefore vulnerable to rape, this type of reaction is not typical of Brazil. Sexual crimes based on race are practically non-existent there. The *mulata* is sexually attractive in her own right, quite independently of social conventions or lack of them.

The reverse proves the point: in London and Paris you may easily see Negroes carrying on with Nordic looking blondes. This does not mean that the black is “available” as an ex-slave who cannot resist the whims of his mistress, but that he possesses a sexual reputation that attracts women in search of novelty. I therefore disagree with Bastide’s contention that “racial ideologies extend their conflicts even into love’s embrace,” as far as Brazil is concerned.

The process of smoothing racial relations involves the creation of a particular type of *Persona*. In order not to offend the sensitivities of everybody concerned, a mask of warm cordiality is required. Please read what Jung has to say in his *Psychological Types*, about the *feeling extravert* personality, and you will have an idea of such mechanisms of social lubrication... The Brazilian has also been called the “cordial man.” But everything that comes from the heart (from *cor, cordis*) is not necessarily positive. The feeling type can cordially hate his enemy, and very often his outpouring of friendliness may be artificial.

As applied to race relations, the most important principle to smooth feelings and quieten down emotions is simply to ignore that there is such a thing as colour. When slavery was abolished in Brazil in 1888, after some twenty years of slow agony, all the archives of the infamous institution were ordered to be destroyed, whatever the cost to historical research... and to possible claims against the government from impoverished owners. The practice is followed today with the reluctance to take a census of racial data.

In 1872, the population census gave a percentage of only 40% whites. In 1940, this proportion of whites had grown to 60%. In 1920 and in 1950 there was no item in the census concerning colour. Today most studies calculate that 10 to 15% of the population of over a hundred and twenty million is African; some 40% coloured (including mulattoes; *caboclos*, that is mixed white and Indians and *safuzos*, mixed black and Indian) and the rest more or less white. The failure of statistics to tackle the issue is emphasized by the fact that any filling out of Census forms is voluntary, so that a light *mestiço* will have a natural tendency to put himself up as “white” in the proper item; and a Negro will answer “brown.” This is an example of

the official policy of whitewashing our racial composition—sometimes in order to deceive ourselves while thinking we are deceiving others. Two of the better known Brazilian anthropologists, Manuel Diegues and Thales de Azevedo, insist that Brazil is a *mestizo* country and is bound to become more and more so. Does the suppression of any racial reference in the census intend to prove that we are not racist? The two scholars believe that this rather silly attitude is really an unconscious manifestation of racism.

Now, what about the future?

Statistics indicate that the number of European immigrants that have entered Brazil to stay, since Independence, plus the number of Portuguese who came during three hundred years of colonization, must not have exceeded five million in all. These five million Caucasians gave to the present Brazilian population the vaunted brightness so proudly proclaimed by those who argue in favour of the permanent “bleaching” of the Brazilian people. Yet, all calculations as to the number of African slaves that were brought to Brazil between 1500 and 1850, when slave traffic was suppressed, tend to exceed that figure of 5 million. A number as high as 16 million has even been suggested by a well known historian. And if we add to the levies of African slaves, the Indians who were found by the early settlers and who are still occasionally being discovered in the heart of the jungle, we are bound to reach the conclusion that a much larger amount of coloured people has originally contributed to the Brazilian melting pot than have the whites. Thus, if the European element predominates today, this is due to the effects of sexual selection, which from the start acted to the greater benefit and pleasure of the European male. This is not surprising. It is however not well known and rarely taken into consideration in our many historical and sociological researches, notwithstanding its enormous social relevance.

Immigration has practically ceased nowadays as an important factor in our explosive demographic growth. There is consequently no scientific basis for believing in the future “Aryanizations” of the country. If you mix coffee and milk, the result will not be white but brownish. We do not find ourselves any more in the olden days of the breeding plantation farm, when

the Portuguese patriarch was happily growing and multiplying in the company of his white wife and a multitude of Indian and Negro concubines, thereby creating those selective conditions favourable to the genetic heritage of the privileged stud.

Now, if we take into account that the old customs of patriarchal Brazil have changed, and no premium is put any more on the reproductive power of the master; and if infant mortality, which affects mostly the poor (and therefore coloured) classes has a tendency to decrease, as a result of the progress of tropical medicine and the social extension of its benefits—we come to the inescapable conclusion that selection will not favour the European, as it did in the past. For the time being, the upper classes, mostly white, still reproduce with nearly the same intensity as the poorer layers, although less fertile as a result of birth control, since they are able to preserve their offspring from infant diseases. But as soon as health benefits are democratized in the wake of economic development, we must expect a different trend. The truth is that selection from now on should logically favour the Negro. This is already happening in the USA where on average a greater fertility prevails among Negroes and Hispanics than among whites, besides the fact that all mulattoes are left to increase the ranks of the Negroes, while in Brazil it goes the other way round. In the Brazilian South, more temperate climatic conditions and an overwhelming number of European immigrants may enforce the predominant role of the Caucasian part of the population. In the tropical areas of Central, East and Northeast Brazil however, there are no indications that the Negro and the brown will find themselves overrun. On the contrary. Natural selection in a tropical environment should act to the benefit of the race physically better adapted to humid heat. And that race is the African one.

Modern anthropology has sufficiently advanced against the current flow of prejudices, of emotional reactions and fallacious generalizations to consider the Negro, biologically, as one of the most perfect human types. There are a series of observations which are interesting in this respect. We should not be impressed, either favourably or unfavourably, with very timid experiments which have been undertaken with the purpose of reassessing the IQ of Negroes. But the truth is that the perfection

or superiority of a human being has very little to do with IQs. Artistic talent, spirituality, sanctity involve other functions and psychological factors besides intellect. In the olden days, one used to present the so-called gnathic indicator as the supreme criterion to measure the “superiority” of races. But if instead of prognathism, you take, for instance, capillarity as a standard for comparative judgment, you will come to the conclusion that as far as hairiness is concerned, the Caucasian is much closer to our supposed ancestor the monkey, than the African. One can very easily contend that the Negro is athletically superior—but of course we are not in Ancient Greece any more where tests were passed at Olympia. However, if, to the physical advantages of the African in our type of climate, we add his reputed libidinous propensity, then we realize that indicators are pointing towards the coloured man, in the friendly competition taking place in demographic quotas. The future is reserved for the *moreno*, that is, for the brown man, be he a mulatto or a European with dark complexion. Ours is an erotic and prolific society which follows a policy of ethnic integration and plurality, and we may already be creating that “cosmic race” which the Mexican philosopher José Vasconcellos foresaw as the goal of human development.

This is a positive outlook. The wealth of racial lineages seems to constitute an advantage, contrary to old-fashioned prejudices concerning assumed “purity” of race. Miscegenation contributes to a diversity of constitutional temperaments and enriches the genetic mixture. Thus, it might be that the African strain reinforces the great feeling warmth of the Portuguese, a fact that the disciples of Auguste Comte already stressed. Immigrants from Central and Northern Europe will tend to bolster the elements which are more capable in the pragmatic and industrial activities. A lively tension between feeling extraverts who love dance and music and enjoy the good things of life on one side, and the more serious thinking introverts who prefer to take care of the economy and administration on the other, cannot but be favourable to what we envisage as the psychological melting pot of tropical Brazil.

Undoubtedly slavery has caused a national trauma. The psychological implications of slavery upon the collective unconscious cannot be dismissed, and the historical impact of the phenomenon is seen today through its sometimes ludicrous effects upon the national *Persona*. There are objective consequences of the colonial system that have not been wiped out: the poverty and archaic *latifundia* in the northeastern part of Brazil, the backwardness of the interior, the slums of the big southern cities, all this is sufficient to shake the optimistic complacency of some official statements and literary manifestations. The law may punish anyone responsible for discriminatory acts; the intellectual may affect his sophisticated indifference for racial prejudices; the official document may declare that the number of *mestiços* is insignificant—none of these initiatives will dissolve the traumatic impact of the colonial system, with its implications upon the national character. If it is true that lust was one of the basic sins of colonial Brazil, and if it is equally true that the lascivious propensities of the European settler destroyed racial barriers by stimulating contacts between the races, we cannot forget nevertheless the basically immoral nature of the process of miscegenation, in its intimate relationship with slavery, as it took place in colonial days. The lust of the slave-owner and the wanton greed of the adventurous pioneer; the silent suffering of the betrayed European wife, as well as that of the Black Mother who nursed her own children, together with those of her mistress; the unbridled use of the Indian woman, the negress and the *mulata* as mere sexual objects; the exclusion of the negro man from his deserved participation in building up the Brazilian Great Family; the unequal treatment of the legitimate children of the patriarch who made up the ruling aristocracy, the middle class of little mulattoes and *mestiços* more or less legitimized and educated by their father, and the great mass of Negro urchins abandoned to their own devices—all this is socially relevant to the problems of modern times. It is true that those three classes of children upon which the social hierarchy was set up, did coexist in rather cordial and peaceful terms, but the inequality was there, deeply rooted. And it still exacts a price in terms of the national character. Semantics follows the right path when it views in the composition of the

word "character," both the moral quality of the person concerned and the mere aggregate of his distinctive attributes, impressed by nature, education and habit. There is no psychological observation which does not also imply a moral judgement.

Therefore, when we praise the merits of our brilliant "Brazilian solution" to the racial problem, we cannot dismiss from our minds the secret moral flaw in the organization of the erotic society in bygone days. Eros has indeed been instrumental in bringing races together and surmounting colour bias, but we cannot simply banish to the limbo of historical forgetfulness the sexual origins of this admirable method. They are not easily wiped out from the unconscious memory of the nation. It is quite obvious that the patriarchal plantation master did not justify his sexual hyperesthesia as against the itchings of his Catholic conscience, with learned sociological considerations concerning the future needs of the country. In the aphrodisiacal atmosphere of the colony and taking advantage of the economic leisure that slavery bestowed upon him, the master simply enjoyed his power without much compunction and afterthought. To racial and telluric influences we must add, consequently, those historical events to the configuration of our national character. The historical injuries would be equivalent, in this connection, to the special circumstances of childhood which, as we all know from psychological analysis, play such a determining role in fashioning the latter destiny of the individual.

In order to appraise in its proper measure the power and rigidity of our whitewashed façade, let us call attention to the well known fact that vertical movement is still rather limited in the social organization of the archaic part of Northeastern and Central Brazil. This is the reason a French social scientist, Lambert, has spoken about the *two Brazils*. Recent studies of Brazilian sociology, such as those undertaken by Prof. Charles Wagley of Columbia University, have thoroughly demonstrated the still markedly aristocratic character of the social hierarchy in areas not affected by XIXth century European immigration. The strong *Persona* is the psychological corollary of such an organization. In those areas, the Negroes are still poor and the poor are still those who, like the slaves of bygone days, "sweat at their work..."

Any analysis of the racial problem cannot therefore dismiss the system of social stratification which, notwithstanding its nearly complete absence of *conscious colour* prejudices, upholds very strong semi-conscious *social* prejudices. As a result of this, lack of vertical movement exerts a conservative effect upon the very process of racial amalgamation. It is well known that miscegenation generally occurs in Brazil through intermediary colours, the husband being generally lighter than the wife. There are relatively few cases of straight black-white marriages. Racial blending is an intense process in the half-breed middle class. Marriages of white women with brown men can occur only when the husband enjoys an exceptional social or economic advantage. The conservative effect of the rigid *Persona* contributes thus to the permanence of European domination in the ruling and more affluent classes.

We have to confess that Brazil, being a self-proclaimed “racial democracy” who once elected a mulatto to the Presidency, and had two other Presidents who looked distinctly Indian, is also a country whose army has no really black generals, whose navy has no black admirals, and where there are few Negro bankers, Negro doctors, Negro university professors, Negro millionaires—at least not as many as those who prosper in the much maligned birthplace of Jim Crow and the Ku Klux Klan. Paradoxically, some contend that the mechanism of our *Persona* may be working to the benefit of white supremacy, in a much more efficient manner than North American racial discrimination.

In sum, the result of our own erotic solution has been the construction of a magnificent façade of European architecture, which brain-washed the whole problem. We simply eliminated the issue. We decided that it did not exist. We forgot about the past and erased it, in the same manner as we burned the archives of slavery. Perhaps it is better this way, since it is precisely *racial consciousness* that brings conflict to America. Eros is a great and crafty demon, said Diotima to Socrates. And like anything demonic, it occupies a place midway between the divine and the mortal.

Let me finish this essay by telling you an anecdote that I believe describes the whole “Brazilian solution” to the racial problem. An English settler in Brazil, who wrote about his

adventures a hundred and fifty years ago—Henry Koster was his name—once met upon the road a dark mulatto riding a magnificent horse and wearing the swanky uniform of an army Captain. Taken aback, the Englishman asked a passer-by, a native peasant, who that Negro was. The old man answered him, philosophically: “Oh no, Sir, he *was* a Negro. Now he is a Captain. How can a Captain be a Negro?” The moral of the story is this: the important thing is to obtain a certificate of pure blood, even if appearances testify against it. The *appearance* is really the all-important requirement. It is the way to palliate hostility and refine feelings. What matters is not the colour of the skin, but the uniform, the habit you wear. In Brazil, indeed, *l’habit fait le moine...*

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