RESEARCH IN THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF AFRO-LATIN AMERICA*

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Ideally, the study of the political economy of Afro-Latin America should be part and parcel of that of the political economy of Latin America as a whole.[1] Unfortunately, true to the tendency toward fragmentation and specialization in the human as well as in the physical sciences, that has not generally been the case. The problem has been made worse by the low salience of the nonwhite races in the Americas, due to their low socioeconomic and political status.[2] It is further compounded by the ambiguity and evasiveness of the Latin American racial ideology, especially in its Brazilian form, which leads both local and foreign observers and social scientists to conclude first that there is no racial problem (though such a position is no longer seriously held by scholars) and then that race is irrelevant to the study of the region's political economy.[3]

This is, to some extent, a problem of the sociology of knowledge. It is a reflection of the structure and distribution of knowledge in the Americas, which is in turn a reflection of the structure and distribution of wealth, power, and status in the region. To put it more directly, this situation reflects the fact that Afro-Latin Americans, for reasons of their low wealth, status, and power, have had little input into the shaping and development of the study of the political economy of Latin America (Bryce-LaPorte 1979). The consequences of this situation for Brazil and the need to remedy it were long ago pointed out by the Brazilian sociologist Guerreiro Ramos (1954).

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The term political economy, as used here, can be understood in two ways. In a broad sense, it refers to the study of economic and political forces, behaviors, and institutions. This is really a loose definition, the idea being to exclude ethnological, folklore, philosophical, and literary studies. The purpose is to focus attention on the role and position of Afro-Latin Americans in the process of production, distribution, exchange, control, and consumption of goods and services, in relations of power and influence, and relations of social stratification and class interaction.

In a stricter sense, political economy is used in its classical connotation, especially the Marxian version. Octavio Ianni (1978, pp. 3–50), using the significant work of Karl Marx, among others, has shown the crucial connection between mercantilism, the slave trade, plantation slavery (and other forms of New World forced labor), and the birth and ascendency of industrial capitalism in Europe, especially in England. Slavery and its consequences are, of course, central to an understanding of Afro-Latin America. The virtue of a political economy approach, strictly conceived, is to place the phenomenon under study within the totality of world social relations, focusing on the social relations of production, without neglecting those of distribution and consumption. Such an approach is at once materialist and historical; above all, it "assumes the centrality of economics and the power inherent in control of production and exchange" (Léons and Rothstein 1979, pp. xvi–xxxii). With respect to the racial question, a central issue in Afro-Latin American studies, this approach further assumes that, in the words of a leader of the Unified Black Movement against Racial Discrimination in São Paulo, "What determines the continuity of racism are economic relations and relations of production" (Cardoso 1979, p. 37).

This essay attempts to accommodate both definitions of political economy. It is, therefore, concerned with the relations of Afro-Latin Americans to modes of production (slavery, capitalism, socialism), economic institutions (the plantation, transnational corporations), economic development models, transnational relations, political systems, institutions, behavior, group and class relations (including class struggle), social mobility, and political mobilization. It does not exclude discussions of culture, religion, or folklore; they, too, may exhibit dimensions of protest and struggle (Carvalho-Neto 1978, Fernandes 1966, Warren 1965), though Ianni (1970, p. 75) has warned us that this has not been proved conclusively as far as the content of the black religions is concerned.

With this somewhat eclectic frame of reference as a guide, one finds that standard texts on economics, politics, political economy, or even sometimes sociology tend to ignore the African presence and its

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implications, in spite of millions of blacks, *morenos* (browns), mulattoes and *zambos* (mixtures of blacks and Indians) in Latin America. For instance, Charles W. Anderson's (1967) widely adopted study of the political economy of change in Latin America does not mention the problem of race. Yet the same Anderson, a few years later (1970), presented a very able critical survey of the use of race and class as explanatory forces in the study of Latin American politics. He correctly pointed out that there had been widespread use of these two variables by students of Latin American politics. But apart from repeated references in these studies to such pseudo-racial, and probably racist, concepts as "Hispanic cultural heritage," "hot blood," or "hot temper," the primary and almost exclusive racial reference has been to the "unassimilated" Indians, especially in Mexico, Guatemala, and Ecuador. Some of the classic works in this area have been by George Blanksten (1951), Roland H. Ebel (1964), and Kalman H. Silvert (1954, 1961).

In the early years of the study of Latin American politics, the "political pathologist" Russell Fitzgibbon (1950) diagnosed "the presence of unassimilated Indian populations" as a cause of the "pathology of democracy in Latin America." What was missing in all of this, though —and this is a problem that Anderson seemed not to have noticed at all —was an acknowledgment of the presence of Africans in Latin American societies. One finds this blindness to the black presence even in country studies. For instance, Colombia was estimated to have by 1970 a population of only 25 percent whites, the rest being made up of *mestizos* (42 percent), mulattoes (20 percent), blacks (8 percent), and Indians (5 percent) (Smith 1970). Yet, one of the most well-known books on Colombian politics devotes roughly five pages out of 452 to a small section entitled, "Population: Racial Composition and Demographic Trends" (Dix 1967); only two of these five pages mention the black or the Indian, and the issue is not raised again throughout the book.

Similarly, a relatively recent volume on authoritarianism in Brazil (Stepan 1973) never mentions the Afro-Brazilian population in spite of its vast size and the fundamentally authoritarian nature of its relationship with the white and quasi-white population. In fact, the author of one of the essays was, in the early years of his intellectual career, one of the most perceptive students of black-white relations in Brazil (Cardoso 1960, 1962, 1965, 1969), and another is the author of an influential book on the pervasive impact of the African presence on Brazilian philosophical and social thought (Skidmore 1974). Another volume devoted to the study of the Latin American masses failed to pay even lip service to the blacks of the region (Horowitz 1970).

Here and there, however, some efforts have been made. For in-

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stance, in a modest book on Latin American politics, Martin C. Needler (1976, pp. 16–22) offered a brief discussion of the relationship between race, class, and political development. In a subsequent book, Needler (1968, pp. 98–116) included a chapter entitled "Social Structure, 'Race', and Politics," in which he attempted a macroanalytical study of the correlations between racial/ethnic types of societies ("European," "mulatto," "mestizo," and "Indian") on the one hand, and GNP per capita, life expectancy at birth, income distribution, electoral participation, and political stability on the other. Similarly, in his influential study of revolutionary politics and working class in Cuba, sociologist Maurice Zeitlin (1967) includes a chapter on "Race Relations and Politics," in which he seeks to relate race to life chances, prerevolutionary attitudes toward the Revolution, and other variables. More recently, W. Raymond Duncan (1976, pp. 84–92, 119) engaged in a brief and superficial discussion of "ethnicity" in what he calls the "missing nations of Latin America," by which he means those cultural groups which are not coterminous with sovereign states. It is an extension of Needler's framework.

The situation is even worse in the case of straightforward economic studies; no published work is known to this author, at least for Brazil. This is especially surprising for the post-1964 period in Brazil, for which a considerable body of work on income distribution has been produced, both by Brazilian and American scholars. One explanation might be that economists of the neoclassical persuasion have a greater need than other social scientists for demographic and survey data, which have been practically nonexistent since the 1950 census. However, at least one of the post-1964 studies of income distribution used the 1.27 percent subsample of the 1969 census that was published (Langoni 1973), and that sample (and the unpublished bulk as well) did contain racial data (Silva 1978, pp. 93–94). The only effort on Brazil by an economist, known to this author, is the attempt by Eduardo Matarazzo Suplicy of the Getúlio Vargas Foundation in São Paulo to determine the racial distribution of the student body there in 1974. Needless to say, the black representation he found was less than 1 percent. This study does not appear to have been published.

Anthropologists and historians have shown greater interest in the study of Afro-Latin America. The former, for obvious reasons, have been fond of studies of ethnic and racial groups, especially of the traditional kind or in traditional society. Anthropologist Melville Herskovits (1930, 1943a, 1943b, 1966), although not working from a political economy perspective, devoted much time to the study of the black experience in Africa, North America, Latin America, and the West Indies. Although his mechanical search for African survivals has been properly

criticized, he at least clearly understood the term "Afro-American" in the larger sense that included all the Americas (1945, 1948, 1960). Of more relevance to this discussion is the work of another anthropologist, Norman E. Whitten, Jr., who has done some promising studies in the political economy of Afro-Latin America by examining the interface between the international and national political/economic systems and black community power structures in Northwest Ecuador and Southwest Colombia (1969a, 1969b, 1974). Specifically, he shows how international demand for the agricultural and mineral products of the area brought an influx of nonblack Ecuadorians, Colombians, Europeans, and North Americans, with the result that the local social system, which he had earlier diagnosed as "successfully adapting . . . to new and expanding economic, social, and political orders" (1965, p. 1), is now being disrupted, producing economic growth, but also racial conflicts and "black disenfranchisement." A similar correlation between economic growth and hardening of racial cleavages was found by Pitt-Rivers (1967) in a study of Central America and the Andean region.

Aside from this work, however, the anthropologists' contribution to the study of Afro-Latin America has not generally been in the realm of international political economy.[4] In fact, Bastide (1974) considers it to have been a partial revolution when the UNESCO team in the North and Northeast of Brazil (see below) moved the study of race relations in the area from the familiar level of cultural anthropology to the more promising one of social anthropology.

The historians' concern has been generally with slavery, the slave trade, the abolition of slavery, and the effect of the "peculiar institution" on relations between the races. It might be argued that not enough historical work on postabolition Afro-Latin America has been done that was not directly related to slavery or its end. Yet, slavery, as the principal form of social labor and production of the classical plantation system, and its abolition are crucial to our understanding of the foundations of the political economy of the black world. Luckily, a good bit of the historical work has been comparative.

Inspired by the Brazilian historical sociologist (or sociological historian) Gilberto Freyre (1945), who had written effusively about the favorable status of blacks in Brazil, in both slavery and freedom, as compared to the United States, Tannenbaum (1946) launched the comparative study of New World slavery. He attributed the allegedly greater degree of racial "tolerance" in Brazil and Spanish America, as compared to the British Caribbean and the United States, to the supposedly more humane experience of slavery in the former; there, law and customs recognized and protected the humanity and legal personality of the

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slave, whereas in North America the slave was mere chattel property. Tannenbaum explains this difference in terms of the longer tradition of Iberian contact with Africa, the early development of a legal system to regulate slavery even in the homeland, and the moderating influence of the Catholic Church.

These arguments were taken up, among others, by Stanley Elkins (1959) who used them as the foundation for his comparative study of slavery, though he emphasized that the difference was more in the acceptance of the moral personality of the slave than in their actual physical treatment. Clearly, some of the differences and contrasts allegedly discovered were rather abstract and "idealistic," as pointed out by Eugene Genovese (1969a, 1969b), or even without serious practical implications, as argued by David Brion Davis (1966). Although critical of Tannenbaum, Genovese acknowledged the contribution made by him and by Freyre to the development of the comparative study of slavery.

Davis sharply challenged Tannenbaum's thesis on the grounds that: (a) he erroneously assumed that North American law, unlike Latin America's, rejected the slave as a moral personality; (b) he overlooked the fact that Iberian Americans perceived the slave as both chattel and a human being with a soul; and (c) he viewed Latin American slavery in static terms, as if the humane laws of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries had been in existence and uniformly enforced during the whole period of slavery in the region. Davis reached two major conclusions: (1) competitive capitalism, which admittedly was more characteristic of North America than of Latin America, correlated better and more consistently than other variables with the harshness of slavery; and (2) since the intensity of capitalism tended to vary in time and place in *both* regions, the differences between these regions were no more significant than the differences in time and place within each and even within individual countries (1966, pp. 224–87). However, even he took a little too seriously the idea propagated by Freyre and Tannenbaum, among others, that somehow "Latin Americans (had) avoid(ed) the tragic hatreds, the malignant fears, and the unjust discriminations that followed the abolition of slavery in North America."

In his seminal study, Eric Williams (1944) had long established the connection between slavery and the rise of British commercial capitalism, which, with monopoly, developed into industrial capitalism; the latter in turn destroyed both slavery and the power of commercial capitalism (1966, p. 210). Williams quoted the French historian Gaston-Martin on "the essential importance of the slave trade: on its success or failure depended the progress or ruin of all the others."[5] He also showed that the highly cruel plantation systems in Saint Domingue (Haiti) in the

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late eighteenth century and Cuba in the mid-nineteenth century corresponded with the integration of these economies into the world market, and the relatively closed economies of Cuba and Trinidad in the late eighteenth century coincided with relatively mild systems of slavery (1957, p. 54).

This connection between capitalism and slavery has been taken up by Ianni (1978, pp. 3–50) in an exploration of the paradox of the Europeans' simultaneous implantation of free labor in Europe and forced labor in the Americas. The key to the paradox is the process of primitive accumulation. Ianni offers an analysis of the evolution of the relations between forced labor and mode of production. It is, in fact, a reformulation, in more orthodox Marxist terms, of the Williams argument. Slavery and other forms of forced labor were imposed by European mercantilism on the so-called New World as a means to exploit its resources. In order to secure the production of increasing quantities of mineral and agricultural goods, commercial capital had to attach the workers to the mines and the land, because, given the "free" availability of land, free workers would soon have appropriated these resources for their own use. Karl Marx had already pointed to the availability of cheap land and the scarcity of manpower in Europe as causes of the choice of slavery as a mode of production. The slave trade became the method of primitive accumulation for such cities as Liverpool, for example.

As this process developed, however, the focus shifted gradually from exchange to production as the source of accumulation; as a result, commercial capital was eventually supplanted by industrial capital. Thus, while mercantilism created slavery, the primitive accumulation generated by the latter brought about the transformation of mercantilism into capitalism with, of course, the help of the state and of state corporations. Thus, the slave became the foundation of the free laborer. Eventually, the apparent paradox of forced labor and free labor became a structural contradiction, especially as it was internalized in the New World itself, as a result of the independence of the American colonies. Slavery became incompatible with developing capitalism in as much as it tended to create absolute surplus-value, whereas capitalism tends to generate relative surplus-value (Ianni 1970, p. 47). In other words, as it turned into an obstacle to the further growth of industrial capitalism, slavery had to be abolished.

In another chapter, Ianni (1970, pp. 51–80) discusses what he calls the social reproduction of the races by the extant system of social relations. He sees the sense of alienation of the blacks and mulattoes in Latin America and the Caribbean as being most frequently expressed in their religious values and practices. But he later cautions that it has not

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been demonstrated that the content of Afro-Latin American and Afro-Caribbean religions "corresponds effectively to a counterculture or a counterideology" (1978, p. 75).

The theme of culture is further explored in a UNESCO-sponsored book edited by the Cuban historian of slavery, Manuel Moreno Fraginals (1977). This volume symbolizes a considerable evolution in UNESCO's approach to Afro-Latin American studies from its strong disappointment in the results of the research that it sponsored in Brazil in the early 1950s, because it had failed to support the myth of racial democracy, to its decision to appoint a Marxist Cuban historian to lead a series of studies on the African presence in Latin America.[6] This volume should also be seen in the context of growing institutional interest in the field of Afro-Latin American studies. For example, the First Congress of Black Culture in the Americas was held in Cali, Colombia, in August 1977 under the leadership of Manuel Zapata Olivella and the Center of Afro-Colombian Studies, and the publication of the proceedings of the Congress has been assumed by the Organization of American States. A Second Congress was scheduled for 1979 in Panama, but because of lack of enthusiasm on the part of that country's government it was rescheduled for 1980 in São Paulo, Brazil.[7] In the same vein the American Anthropological Association sponsored recently a survey of its contributions to Afro-American ethnohistory in Latin America and the Caribbean, under the direction of Norman E. Whitten, Jr.

Of course, not all of these studies fall within the scope of this article; similarly, not all of the essays in the Moreno Fraginals book are of interest here. Of special significance, apart from the chapter by Moreno Fraginals himself, are those by Ianni ("Organización social y alienación," pp. 53–76), René Dépestre ("Saludo y despedida a la negritud," pp. 337–62), and Sidney W. Mintz ("Africa en América Latina; una reflección desprevenida," pp. 378–97). After reviewing the positions of those who claim that African culture pervades all the former slave societies; of those who maintain that African culture has been reelaborated and modified by the experience of slavery; and of those who insist that the African and slave cultures have been superseded by one imposed by the dominant capitalist structures and relations of our times, Ianni attempts, not too successfully, to take an intermediate stance. In his effort to reconcile these differing points of view, he argues that, as the _x-slaves became the "blacks" and the "mulattoes," what is African or black about their culture is what is continuously reproduced by "the relations of interdependence, alienation, and antagonism characteristic of capitalism" (p. 58).

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Moreno Fraginals argues that a process of "deculturation," though not a total one, characterized the experience of slavery in the Americas. The mechanisms of this deculturation are found in the ethnic diversity of the slaves, the age at which they were brought from Africa (15 to 20 years), the imbalance of the sexes (a disproportionate male-female ratio), the dietary practices, the clothing practices, and the lodging facilities, most of which were determined primarily, and in some cases exclusively, by the requirements of production. Thus, the necessities of the production process, including work itself, generated deculturation and alienation. For Moreno Fraginals, therefore, one cannot study Africanity in Latin America outside the context of the class struggle and the role of the black African in the New World as producer of surplus value, both during and after slavery. He concludes by claiming that the Cuban Revolution performed the "miracle" of eliminating racial prejudice by breaking the capitalist economic and class structures. As a consequence, he suggests, "the elements of the subordinated culture . . . have passed into national folklore or are disappearing because the reason that brought them about no longer exists . . . the subordinate culture loses its reason for being" (1977, p. 33). To many blacks this may sound very much like another kind of deculturation, another version of the traditional Latin American attitude toward black cultural manifestations. It is precisely this problem that separates so many black scholars from the Cuban Revolution, a point to which I shall return later.

Dépestre approaches the issue at the level of ideology. He sees negritude as a form of maroon ideology, one that serves some limited psychological and political purposes, but is inadequate to the task of liberation from capitalist domination and imperialism. Thus, he rejects it in favor of an ideology of "Americanism" that would unite the region's various ethnic and racial elements. In the intellectual realm, he proposes an Americanology *a secas* (dry), without prefix, whether Afro, Indo, or Euro (p. 341).

Mintz starts with a discussion of the relationship between capitalism and slavery along the Marxist lines taken by Ianni, but, unlike Moreno Fraginals, he does not speak of deculturation. Instead, he affirms that the Afro-Latin Americans were not "the passive and unconscious object of external processes, but at least, and on the contrary, active agents of their own transformation" (p. 392). Still, he maintains that Afro-Latin culture can only be understood adequately in the specific social and cultural systems in which the various Afro-Latin groups are found. He warns that the concept of the marginalization of the

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Afro-Latin people must not blind the student to the realization of the profound integration of these people into the bottom positions of the existing economic systems.

These essays raise and explore some of the important issues in the political economy of Afro-Latin American culture, but the book as a whole cannot be said to be oriented toward political economy. Even less so is the work of another author who has considered some of these questions, the Dutch sociologist H. Hoetink (1971). In discussing the two variants of race relations in the Greater Caribbean—the North-West European (the English, Dutch, and French spheres) and the Iberian (the Portuguese and Spanish spheres)—Hoetink concluded that these relations were determined by two factors: intimate relations are regulated by "somatic distance," which is the extent of deviation of the phenotype of the subordinate group from the "somatic norm image" of the dominant group; and public, nonintimate relations are determined by cultural factors that, for the North-West European variant, consist of Protestantism, individualism, and the all-important commercial capitalism (p. 19).

In a later study, Hoetink (1973) further elaborates some of these points. In a decidedly nonmaterialist approach, he attempts to examine what he considers to be the neglected aspect of Tannenbaum's (1946) thesis, that is the alleged correspondence between systems of slavery and systems of race relations. He concludes that black-white relations in the Western Hemisphere cannot be explained as a result of slavery, in as much as there is no correspondence between cruel or benign systems of slavery and tense or loose systems of race relations. What he sees as significant are: (1) cultural factors (e.g., religious differences), (2) numerical factors (objective numbers and their perceptions), and (3) somatic factors (physical criteria of preference in social selection). Except for the second, this appears to be an excessively cultural analysis, one that would seem to be based on dependent variables that themselves need to be explained, rather than on truly causal factors.

Carl Degler has also explored the linkage between slavery and race relations. Taking Tannenbaum's thesis as a working hypothesis, he proceeded from a discussion of slavery in the U.S. and Brazil to a comparative exploration of race relations in the two countries. He concluded that, while the situation in Brazil is different from that of the United States, it is certainly not characterized by racial equality between blacks and whites. The key to the difference is what he calls the "mulatto escape hatch," that is "the presence of a separate place for the mulatto in Brazil and its absence in the United States" (Degler 1971, p. 224). In a review article in a magazine that was shortly thereafter banned by the

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Brazilian government, Afro-Brazilian sociologist Eduardo de Oliveira e Oliveira (1974), himself a mulatto, took exception. In his judgment, the "escape hatch," while serving as an emergency exit for the system, is also a "prison" for the mulatto (p. 70, note 13). In response to the argument that the recognition of the mulatto as separate from, and above, the black maintains the stability, peace, and harmony of the system, he cites seven of the major leaders of the black social movements in São Paulo in the 1920s, five of whom he classifies as mulattoes.[8] When Oliveira criticizes Degler for mistaking the mulatto as a racial category for the mulatto as a social category (p. 71), he is expressing a reality borne out by research in São Paulo and elsewhere in Southern Brazil, which shows that the actual treatment of the mulatto is not very different from that of the black (Fernandes 1979a, Silva 1978).

There have been other comparative historical studies of slavery and the Afro-Latin American experience by Herbert S. Klein (1967), who compared Virginia and Cuba and attempted to explain the much vaunted Iberian racial tolerance in terms of the system of slavery; by Arnold A. Sio (1964–65, 1967), who related slavery to the larger society; by Franklin W. Knight (1974) who, among other things, discussed critically Brazil's alleged racial democracy; and by Magnus Mörner (1967), who focused on social and physical miscegenation. There have been studies of the same kind for individual countries such as Argentina (Masini n.d.), Brazil (Toplin 1972), Colombia (West 1952, 1957; Escalante 1964), Cuba (Knight 1970), Mexico (Aguirre Beltrán 1974), Uruguay (Pereda Váldes 1965), and Venezuela (Saignes 1975), plus a variety of country studies in volumes edited by Ann M. Pescatello (1975) and Robert Brent Toplin (1974).

However, most studies have focused primarily on the period of slavery and its immediate aftermath, even when this is not indicated in the title (for instance, in Pescatello's volume, *The African in Latin America* [1975], every contribution deals with an aspect of slavery). A major effort to remedy this situation has been made by Leslie B. Rout (1976) in an ambitious book that seeks to encompass the whole Afro-Hispanic experience from the beginning of the sixteenth century on. It succeeds in giving a broad tableau of the early Iberian contact with the New World and the decision to establish African slavery; the development of the slave trade; the trials and tribulations of the black slave; the slave rebellions; the status of freedmen; the black participation in the wars of independence; and the postindependence condition of blacks in the various countries and regions of Hispanic America. It is a straightforward historical work and does not have an explicit theoretical framework, but it is full of valuable insights on systems of racial dominance

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and mystification. It is unique in bringing together so much material in one volume, and its section on revolutionary Cuba is a useful, though too brief, review of the literature (pp. 308–12).

Whitten, writing about Northwest Ecuador and the southern area of Colombia's Pacific coast, discovered a connection between economic growth, racial conflict, and black disenfranchisement (1969a, 1969b, 1974). Discussing race relations in Cartagena, on the Caribbean coast of Colombia, Sidney Kronus and Maurício Solaún have sought to explain the absence of racial conflict in this old and aristocratic city, in spite of a tradition of racial discrimination, a rapid rate of urbanization, and a history of high levels of political and class violence (Kronus and Solaún 1973, and Solaún and Kronus 1973). They find the answer in the absence of racial bifurcation in the social structure, for while whites tend to be overrepresented at the apex of the social order, persons of color are represented in all the strata. They also "predict that it is improbable that Cartagena will experience major racial problems that will severely complicate continuing urban-industrial modernization," which runs counter to the conclusions about the racial conflict-generating character of modernization reached by Whitten and van den Berghe (1967). However, even some of their data fail to support these conclusions and seem to point to possible conflict. Specifically, their table on enrollment at the Law School of the University of Cartagena (1943–64) shows a sudden and total disappearance of *negros* from its ranks from 1960 on (Kronus and Solaún 1973, p. 107). While this may not be representative of trends occurring elsewhere, it does suggest the possibility of black disenfranchisement and future conflict.

If we turn to Brazil, we find studies that come closest to dealing with the political economy of Afro-Latin America. This is not to say that Afro-Brazilian studies might be characterized uniformly by a political economy approach; far from it. We need not delve into the blatantly racist literature of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century; it has been extensively discussed elsewhere (Ramos 1954; Skidmore 1969, 1974; Mauro 1974). Suffice it to say that, with the discrediting of the European racist theories, Brazilian writers moved away from this pessimist tradition to one that accepts the African origin of most of the Brazilian people, but also believes that they are in the process of "whitening," and that this is a good thing.

Perhaps, the most significant tenet of this school of thought, from our point of view, is that Brazil is a "racial democracy." A quote from Gilberto Freyre (1959, p. 9), the chief exponent of this point of view, excerpted by Toplin (1971, p. 135), expresses it perfectly: "With respect to race relations, the Brazilian situation is probably the nearest approach

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to paradise to be found anywhere in the world." Armed with this belief, Freyre continued to present Brazil as a model of racial harmony (1966): this being the case, it follows that there is no need to discuss the problem of the Afro-Brazilian, since by definition he does not have any problem qua Afro-Brazilian; thus, there cannot be a political economy of the Afro-Brazilian per se. Therefore, the optimist school was oriented primarily toward folklore and social anthropology, leading toward what has been called the "folklorization" of the Afro-Brazilian: the exclusive preoccupation with religion, rituals, language, diet, and sex that Oliveira calls the "eternal kitchen-bed binomial" (1974, p. 66).

The first and second Afro-Brazilian Congresses, held, respectively, in Pernambuco (Recife) in 1934 and in Salvador (Bahia) in 1937, under the leadership of Gilberto Freyre, were roundly criticized for their patronizing attitude and for being more interested in food, ritual, and music than in the countless socioeconomic problems of the Afro-Brazilians (Levine 1973, pp. 189, 190). This sense of unreality was the more remarkable since all of this was occurring at a time of intense Afro-Brazilian mobilization. The year 1937 marked the high point of the black social movements of the 20s and 30s, especially the Frente Negra Brasileira (Brazilian Negro Front), which had transformed itself into a political party just before it was abolished, together with all other parties, by the Getúlio Vargas dictatorship (the Estado Nôvo).

American sociologist Donald Pierson (1967) was influenced by Freyre in his study of race relations in Bahia, in which he attributes prejudice against blacks to class rather than race, and the low socioeconomic status of such blacks to their slave ancestry, not to racial discrimination. While he provides a detailed breakdown of racial distributions among diverse categories of employment, there is no effort at explaining the larger meaning of these occupation-race correspondences, since the inevitability of black poverty is accepted as a result of historical circumstances (pp. 177–205).

Not surprisingly, an external influence brought about the revolution in the study of the Afro-Brazilian experience, though the revolution was performed by Brazilians themselves, the sociologists of the so-called São Paulo School. It took the form of a UNESCO study whose purpose was to document what was then believed to be the reality of "racial democracy" in Brazil and to use the results of the research in showing the rest of the world how to achieve such an objective. Needless to say, no racial democracy was found, at least in the Center-South region, but our knowledge of black-white relations in Brazil was improved immeasurably, ushering in what has been called the "revisionist" point of view in Afro-Brazilian studies (Toplin 1971).

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There were two UNESCO teams under the overall direction of the French social scientist Alfred Métraux. One team was led by the anthropologist Charles Wagley (1972) of Columbia University, the Brazilian Thales de Azevedo (1953, 1966) and Luiz de Aguiar Costa Pinto (1953), with the assistance of the American anthropologist Harry W. Hutchinson (1957), Marvin Harris (1964), and Ben Zimmerman. This group contributed greatly to the study of the social dynamics of race and class relations in Northeast and Central Brazil, including Rio de Janeiro. The second team, based in São Paulo, was led by French sociologist Roger Bastide (Bastide and Fernandes 1959) and the Brazilian sociologist Florestan Fernandes (1969a, 1969b), assisted by Oracy Nogueira (1955, 1959), also a sociologist, by psychologists Virginia L. Bicudo and Aniela Ginsberg, and by "the leaders of black associations of São Paulo" (Bastide 1974). This formal interaction and collaboration between academics and leaders of black organizations was occurring during a period of a social ferment among Afro-Brazilians as witnessed by the activities of the Teatro Nacional do Negro and of the black-led First Congress of the Black Brazilian (1950), both organized in Rio de Janeiro by Abdias do Nascimento (1961, 1968), and by Guerreiro Ramos's call for a rejection of white-dominated Afro-Brazilian studies (Ramos 1954). It was from this team that the São Paulo School emerged (Bastide 1974), consisting of Fernandes, Fernando Henrique Cardoso (1962, Cardoso and Ianni 1960) and Octavio Ianni (1962, Cardoso and Ianni 1960).

Fernandes sees himself as a militant sociologist (1975, p. 10) and considers it the responsibility of the social scientist through his scientific work to contribute to the achievement of true democracy in Brazil (1969b, pp. xvi–xvii). His analysis of the racial situation is part and parcel of his overall view of the development of Brazilian capitalism, one that has been self-consciously influenced by C. Wright Mills's perspective and his use of history and structural frameworks. Fernandes' major work on race (1969b) must therefore be read concurrently with his work on the Brazilian "bourgeois revolution" (1975). He sees the abolition of slavery in the last years of the nineteenth century as having been caused by the irresistible pressures of competitive capitalist economic relations. Many of the advocates of abolition were not at all interested in the welfare or fate of the slaves but only in unleashing the productive potential of the society by creating a "free" labor market. It is as if the dominant white group in São Paulo, the locational focus of Fernandes' book, expected the slave to vanish with slavery. The ex-slave was thus rapidly eclipsed by the vast number of new immigrants, who were preferred even in jobs previously held by freedmen. The blacks and the mulattoes were marginalized.

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The paradox is that this competitive class society retained the traditional views of blacks and mulattoes characteristic of the plantation social order. Thus, the old invidious stereotypes (Carvalho-Neto 1978) still operate to block the access of Afro-Brazilians to jobs, status, and power. Even the black and mulatto protest movements of the 1920s and 1930s did not really challenge the new order. Instead they aimed at eliminating the vestiges of the old order and achieving the fulfillment of an open class society. They were, therefore, doomed to fail under the weight of sheer white indifference. Since then, collective protest movements have been disarmed and continued growth of the industrial economy has allowed industrious "New Negroes" to integrate themselves by filtering in small numbers into the system. The ideological basis of the stability of the existing social order is the whites' "prejudice of having no prejudice," while in fact they continue to subject Afro-Brazilians to subtle, diffuse, and pervasive discrimination. A solution to the problem of deprivation and inequality for blacks and mulattoes will require substituting racial conflict for the prevailing culture of racial accommodation. It will require challenging the extant class system. It will also be a prerequisite to true political democracy in Brazil.

When Bastide criticized the members of the São Paulo School for omitting the study of black culture to the point of even denying it (1974, pp. 119–20), he was in part expressing the preoccupations of a sociologist with strong ethnologic and folkloric interests, as opposed to the others' primary interest in the political economy of race and class. While the accusation is basically correct with respect to Cardoso and Ianni, it is less so in regard to Fernandes who more recently (1972) devoted considerable space to the discussion of cultural issues, both as worthy of consideration in their own right (part four) and as instruments in the search for racial democracy (part three). He also explicitly defended himself from accusations of denying the black and mulatto cultural heritage (p. 10).

The overall preoccupations of Cardoso and Ianni are very close to those of Fernandes, that is to identify and illuminate the roots and dynamics of Brazilian (and Latin American) dependency in the hope of contributing to its elimination. All three have been intellectually influenced by their *paulistano* background of dynamic urbanization and industrialization. In a study of the rise and fall of the slave system in Curitiba, capital of the southern state of Paraná, Ianni (1962) explores the dynamics of the transformation of the "slave" into the "black" and the "mulatto" in a community where slavery was not the dominant form of labor organization and coexisted with free labor. He found that this did not prevent the prevailing racial ideology from being strongly

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influenced by the legacy of slavery. Discrimination operated as a mechanism to maintain the distance between blacks and whites, as color became a primary social attribute that dominated class relations.

Ianni pursues his examination of the contradiction between the agrarian-slave past and the requirements of an industrial capitalist society in a subsequent volume (1972). Here, he presents the cultural and racial relations as being mere reflections of two fundamental relationships: (a) the regime of private ownership of the means of production, and (b) the domination-subordination generated by the social division of labor. He sees the postabolition history of the blacks as essentially the history of their proletarianization (Ianni, 1970, p. 270). And, like Fernandes, he links the future of race relations in Brazil to the future of true democracy there.[9]

Cardoso is one of the foremost exponents of the dependency model of Latin American underdevelopment (Cardoso and Faletto 1970); his earlier works, however, were in the area of black-white relations. His major study of the subject was a replication in the southern state of Rio Grande do Sul of the work done on slavery by Fernandes in São Paulo and by Ianni in Curitiba (Cardoso 1962). His findings have pretty much confirmed theirs on the consequences of capitalism and slavery for Brazil. One significant point to which he calls attention is that the traditional Brazilian behavior of racial accommodation tends to break down when whites find themselves confronted by blacks with superior professional and social status (1965). Cardoso also shows the transformation of the function of racism, after slavery was abolished, that insured the continued subordination of blacks under the regime of free labor.

Cardoso and Ianni have examined the place of the blacks in the economic development of Florianópolis, the capital of the southern state of Santa Catarina, with emphasis on their location in the occupational structure of the community and the impact of economic change on the transformation of that occupational system. Using questionnaire surveys, they also analyzed the racial ideologies of both blacks (and mulattoes) and whites, the former being identified as an "ideology of compromise" (1960, p. 225).

The principal characteristic of the São Paulo School has been its combining of Marxist dialectics with quantitative research in a context strongly influenced by the historical dimension—in this case, as in the other Latin American cases, the history of slavery and its abolition. Its approach tends to be generally meta-analytical, although, as has been seen, microanalysis of sorts has been used in circumscribed urban contexts. The range of topics has been limited. In part, this is the result of the unavailability of census data after 1950, since countries such as Bra-

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zil, Colombia, and Peru avoid including racial categories in their censuses. Thus, the time, money, and technical burden make much research practically impossible. This is complicated by the "prejudice of having no prejudice," which casts a shadow of illegitimacy, irrelevance, or even menace on research on black-white relations in Latin America, especially in Brazil.

Unfortunately, Cardoso seems not to have written on this topic since 1965. Fernandes and Ianni have continued producing in this field (Fernandes 1972; Ianni 1972, 1978), but their work is not being renewed empirically. They are putting out reinterpretations based on data collected in the 1950s. Although probably due, in part, to the absence of fresh demographic data, such research is also unpopular in a society that refuses to think critically about its own racial situation. One study worthy of mention is João Baptista Borges Pereira's (1967) work on blacks in the field of radio. But this, too, is based on survey data collected in 1958.

Fortunately, there appears to be a new stage developing in Afro-Brazilian studies, building on and transcending the contributions of the São Paulo School. But before analyzing this new crop, a peculiarity in the writings on the black condition in Brazil should be brought up. It concerns the use of the terms "politics" and "political" in this context. Freyre's *The Racial Factor in Contemporary Politics* (1966), "Political Aspects of the Brazilian Racial Dilemma" by Fernandes (1972, pp. 256–83), "Race and Politics" by Ianni (1978, pp. 127–42), and "Race and Politics in Brazil" by Hasenbalg (1979, pp. 223–60) have one thing in common: they do not deal with political institutions, behavior, or attitudes, or with elections, electoral behavior, or political parties, or even public policy, all of which are the stock-in-trade of political scientists. In fact, in some cases, such as that of Freyre, they do not deal with politics at all. Those that do, do so in a broad sense, at an abstract level of conflict and power imprecisely defined. Or, as in the case of Hasenbalg, they try to explain the historic failure of blacks to mobilize as a group around racial issues.

Of course, these authors are sociologists; but even the political scientist Bolivar Lamounier (1968), who may have made the first attempt at straightforward political analysis of race in Brazil, did so also in a general and schematic way, and he too attempted to explain the blacks' absence from the political field in Brazil. Still, he provided a valuable framework for political research on race and class. Lamounier asked three important questions: (a) To what extent do social inequalities tend to result in political attitudes (beliefs) and behaviors that reflect them? (b) To what extent and under what conditions does a sense of racial or

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ethnic solidarity capable of expressing itself in collective political be-havior develop? (c) How does a biracial or multiracial state operate? (pp. 39–40). While he did not answer these questions, he provided a good discussion of the role of symbolic politics in race relations in Brazil.

Lamounier was aware of, and made reference to, the then forth-coming work of Amaury de Souza (1971), another seminal contribution to the political study of blacks in Brazil. To my knowledge, at the time of this writing, this is the only published study on the subject using survey research. Both Lamounier and Souza make ample use of the work of Fernandes in developing the theoretical underpinning of their analyses. Basically, Souza draws on Fernandes' conclusions to depict a back-ground of "demobilization" of blacks, prevalence of the ideal of "whit-ening," black acceptance of the Brazilian racial ideology, and loss of racial identity as the price of social mobility. He then takes up the three questions asked by Lamounier. Using survey data collected by Gláucio Ary Dillon Soares in Rio de Janeiro in 1960, he found basically: (a) that there were strong socioeconomic inequalities between blacks and whites; (b) that blacks generally thought of themselves as belonging to the lower strata of society; (c) that, though there was no difference in level of electoral interest, blacks tended overwhelmingly to support the populist Brazilian Labor Party (PTB) and whites the centrist National Democratic Union (UDN); and (d) that the black vote tended to be more homoge-neous in this respect, regardless of class. He concluded that, though there was basis for collective protest action among blacks in terms of the existence of a racial consciousness, it was unlikely because of their in-dividualistic approach to social mobility.

The premises of this body of work on black politics are rejected by Michael Mitchell (forthcoming). Dividing students of Brazilian race rela-tions between those who believe in the fluidity of the racial line and the ambiguity of racial attitudes and identities, and those who subscribe to a rigid, structural mode of analysis that resolves race relations into reflec-tions of broad class relations, he rejects both schools of thought. Against the ambiguity school, he argues that this characteristic is mostly in the eyes of the outside (generally white) observers and that the blacks them-selves are quite clear about their identity. Besides, the number of those with unambiguous phenotypical characteristics is rather substantial (Dzidzienyo 1971). Against the structural approach, in both its Marxist and non-Marxist formulations, Mitchell points out that, while it allows for the possibility that under certain conditions of social change, racial consciousness can express itself openly and politically, it fails to take advantage of this by legitimizing the political study of racial conscious-ness and its impact.

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He then proposes an alternative approach that rejects a class focus in favor of a group focus, and whose major assumption is that, within a dominant-subordinate system of relations, groups will act so as to maximize their respective power positions. Needless to say, this model reflects the North American origin and experience of its author. The rejection of class analysis is also a serious departure from the traditions of the São Paulo School, and possibly may have its limitations in terms of the explanatory and predictive capacity of the model. However, this is a political study of Afro-Brazilians based on relatively fresh (1972) survey data generated from a sophisticated questionnaire probing for self-concept, political efficacy, and the like.

Two recent sociological works on Brazil deserve attention, both dealing with the issue of inequality and discrimination (Silva 1978; Hasenbalg 1979). It is difficult to exaggerate the significance of these contributions, for with the use of survey research and quantitative analysis based on tightly argued theoretical models, they have at the very least put to rest the myth of racial democracy. What the Hasenbalg study has sought to discover is the nature of income, educational, and employment inequalities between the races and the mechanisms by which they have managed to exist without disruption or violence. Unlike Mitchell, Hasenbalg accepts most of the premises of the São Paulo School, especially Fernandes'. In fact, he accepts both the thesis of fluidity, which he expresses as "fragmentation of racial identity," and the necessity of class analysis; as he puts it, it is racism that determines the position of the blacks as social agents within the class structure. He differs sharply from Fernandes in the matter of the precise function of racism in a modern capitalist society. Fernandes sees it as an archaic survival from a traditional, quasi-feudal past into the competitive social order; Hasenbalg characterizes it as having evolved and modernized into a structural element of that order. The difference is highly significant, for while Fernandes' position optimistically expects racism to disappear as the competitive social order becomes well established, Hasenbalg sees no such prospect and expects the industrial capitalist order to accommodate a necessary dose of racism. As for the blacks' "acquiescence," he explains it as being due to the absence of a split labor market; the fragmentation of racial identity; the ideology of "whitening" and "racial democracy"; the depressed economic conditions of nonwhites; and the authoritarian nature of the political system.

The study by Silva, though dealing too with discrimination and inequality, is from a different mold. It is further removed from the tradition of Brazilian sociology and is firmly a University of Michigan social research type of study.[10] It is less given to broad-gauged theorizing, is

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more data-bound, and the quantitative manipulations are more diverse and complex. It is too bad that they had to be based on partial 1960 census data (the 1.27 percent subsample), and not on something as recent as the 1972–73 survey data used by Hasenbalg. Predictably, this study makes no reference to class; it does not even discuss the validity and relevance of class analysis as opposed to group analysis.[11] Thus, while the existence of economic discrimination by race is convincingly demonstrated, we still do not know why it occurs and what can be done about it. But these were not the author's objectives.

What Silva set out to do—and he did it admirably—was to test two hypotheses drawn from a review of Brazilian sociological literature on race. The first was that of clear differentiation between blacks and mulattoes in terms of educational, occupational, and income attainment, with the mulattoes achieving higher levels in all dimensions. The second was that race is largely irrelevant to mobility, which is influenced more by the historically disadvantageous position from which non-whites started. Through meticulous manipulation of the data along the dimensions of educational attainment, marital status, income attainment, and occupational and age discrimination, Silva demonstrated both hypotheses to be implausible. The major strength of this work is the fundamental assumption that "discrimination is not a binary behavioral outcome that one can suffer or not . . . it is exactly in the process of achievement . . . that discrimination has its most vicious impact . . . by preventing people to have [sic] access to a higher position in the social status dimensions . . ." (p. 71). Its principal finding, in this author's judgment, is that "nonwhites suffer increasing disadvantages as they try to go up the social ladder . . . the magnitude of the discrimination coefficient seems to increase with the educational requirements to perform the occupation, and hence with its economic rewards" (pp. 215, 274).

A discussion of the Brazilian contribution would be incomplete without a mention of the relevant work of Abdias do Nascimento (1968, 1978, 1979). The constant in his writings has been an effort to expose the myth of "racial democracy" and the ideal of "whitening," which he characterizes as genocide. There is an implicit framework of "Afrocentricity" and a rejection of "Eurocentricity"; the approach is rather eclectic, encompassing history, folklore, theatre, politics, and transnational relations; the tone is pessimistic, and rejectionist, accusatory at times, and enthusiastic and hopeful at other times. Though the author does not claim to be a "social scientist" in the conventional sense of the term—in fact, he explicitly rejects such a label—his writings are full of unexpected insights into the Brazilian situation, precisely because of his unorthodox

style and his activism. Finally, there is a peripheral body of work indirectly relevant here. It does not focus specifically on blacks qua blacks, but the people whom it studies are in great measure, and sometimes in majority, black. This is the case, for instance, in studies of the favelas (Leeds and Leeds 1970, Perlman 1976, Valladares 1976),[12] of criminality and police brutality (Donnici 1978),[13] and of syncretic religious movements (Brown 1974).

In a 1975 conference on applied social science research at the University of the West Indies, George Beckford (1978) made a strong plea for the development of a framework that would incorporate systematically the notion of race into the analysis of the political economy of the Afro-Caribbean region. The same should be said for Afro-Latin America. Norman Girvan (1975) has drawn the basic outlines for such work in a design that includes a taxonomy based on patterns of relations of production and of ethnic/racial composition of labor forces. It distinguishes three geocultural areas based in part on a typology by Marvin Harris (1964): (a) highland America, with the Indian and the hacienda system; (b) tropical lowland America, with the Africans and the plantation system; and (c) temperate lowland America, with the Europeans and modern industrial society. Each area is then analyzed in terms of its role in the evolving international division of labor and production and in the stratification and relations of the races in this division.

The study of the political economy of the Afro-Latin American world must, to be complete, include a full and systematic account of the way in which socialism is coping with the racial problem in Cuba. We need to explore how the nineteenth-century slave society (Knight 1974) was transformed by the wars of independence, the abolition of slavery (brought about by the first war of independence), the American intervention, the incorporation of the sugar plantation system under U.S. control, the political movements of the 30s, the labor movement, the Communist party, the dictatorship, and the Revolution. Here, we need to go beyond a survey of black attitudes to the Revolution (Zeitlin 1967) to an analysis of the objective conditions brought about by the combination of a modified (by intimate U.S. contact) Iberian racial ideology with a Marxian world view and socialist policies.

Unfortunately, while a steadily growing literature on the Afro-Cuban world has appeared since the Revolution (Arredondo 1958, Betancourt 1959, Masferrer and Mesa-Lago 1974), some of it deals with prerevolutionary Cuba (Fermoselle-Lopez 1972, Foner 1970, Martinez-Alier 1974), and much of the rest is polemical (Clytus 1970, Dépestre 1966, More 1967, North 1963, Stearns 1971). One revolutionary era issue that deserves attention is the differential rates and patterns of emigra-

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tion of blacks and whites as a reflection of their differential responses to the Revolution (Aguirre 1976), and the impact of that emigration on the demographic, socioeconomic, and political position of blacks in revolutionary Cuba. For the pre-Castro period, two issues, among others, should be of interest to researchers. One is the rebellion and massacre of the Association of Black Independents, a frustrated political party, in 1912 (Fermoselle-Lopez 1972). The other is the relationship of blacks to the Cuban Communist party in their search for equality and freedom (Betancourt 1959). For the future, there is a need to analyze seriously Cuban involvement in Africa (Dominguez 1978a, Segal 1978) in terms of its implications for the political economy of blacks in Cuba. But no question is as central as the issue of the comparative importance and mutual relations of race and class consciousness in building a socialist revolution and the resulting implications for public policy.

As Lourdes Casal (1979, p. 26) has pointed out, the problem is that "the view of the status of blacks in prerevolutionary Cuba is closely tied to the ideological commitments, social class and racial membership of the commentator one chooses to read." The same could be said, and more so, about the revolutionary period. Here the passions are even stronger, as demonstrated in particular by Dépestre (1966) on the pro-revolution side and Clytus (1970) and More (1964) on the other. The cleavage appears also in the scholarly literature: thus, one finds Casal (1979) on the prorevolution side; Masferrer and Mesa-Lago (1974) rather on the other side, arguing that things were not as bad before the Revolution as some suggest, though they were not exactly good either; and Domínguez (1978b) somewhere inbetween, but closer to Masferrer and Mesa-Lago. This is probably inevitable, given the issues, class interests, and world views involved.

Perforce, Afro-Brazilian studies have taken up the greatest space in this article. This is, in part, a reflection of the size of the African-descended population of Brazil, the salience of the racial situation there, the myths that still prevail about it, and the influence of the racial question on the development of Brazilian social thought (Skidmore 1974). It is, therefore, not by accident that some of the most interesting work has been, and is being, done in and about Brazil, in spite of obstacles that such studies encounter there. However, there is much left to be done. In particular, there is a need to explore the notion of power in the relations between the races, the relationship between ethnicity and race (the interaction between certain ethnic groups, including the Indians, and blacks), the very meaning of the notion of race in an officially assimilationist society, the dominant Brazilian vision of blackness, Africa, and

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Africanity, and the socioeconomic and political implications thereof (Dzidzienyo, 1971). One needs to examine the evolving roles being assigned to blacks in relations of production in an increasingly technologized society. For instance, what are the implications of the fact that blacks in Brazil are generally considered to be excellent drivers for heavy trucks, while Japanese are considered terrible drivers, but excellent in work requiring extreme manual dexterity in handling small and complex objects; or of the fact that blacks are not normally hired as waiters or in any other jobs requiring direct contact with customers, though they are considered good as cooks, maids (in private homes, not in hotels, where they might encounter the guests), or stevedores? At a grander level, there is a need to analyze the structural role of the black in the Brazilian economy as a particular social agent of production.

But Brazil is only a special case of a larger situation; the same questions can be raised about other Latin American countries, and these questions should, preferably, be treated comparatively. The concept of forced labor, for example, might be redefined or adapted in such a way as to allow an exploration of the spatial and historical continuity of the black condition in Latin America. The concept of marginalization too, might be useful, provided we keep in mind the counsels of Mintz (Moreno Fraginals 1977) and Perlman (1976). In order for all this work to be done properly, however, more data must be forthcoming. At least in Brazil, the issue of reintroducing the color dimension into the census is being actively debated (in 1978, by the Brazilian Association for the Advancement of Science meeting in São Paulo; in 1979, in a joint meeting of the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics [IBGE] and the Institute for Research on the Black Culture [IPCN] in Rio de Janeiro). The IBGE did a national survey in 1976 that included racial data, the publication of which will be useful to researchers in Afro-Brazilian studies. It is to be hoped that the example will be followed elsewhere in Latin America.

NOTES

1. The term Afro-Latin America is used here to designate all regions of Latin America where significant groups of people of known African ancestry are found. These include not only the obvious cases of Brazil, Colombia, Venezuela, Ecuador, and Panama, but also the Carribean coastal areas of the various Central American countries (including Costa Rica), and as well Uruguay and the Buenos Aires region of Argentina. In addition, the Hispanic Antilles (Cuba, the Dominican Republic, and Puerto Rico) are also encompassed in this designation.
2. Their low socioeconomic and political status has not prevented a significant amount of research on the Indians of Latin America under the auspices of various indigenist institutions and journals, but these too tend to be of an ethnologic or folkloric nature, not generally in the realm of political economy.

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3. For a serious challenge to the thesis of ambiguity, see Michael Mitchell (forthcoming; chap 1). I am grateful to Mitchell for making relevant parts of this important manuscript available to me.

4. An extensive bibliography of Afro-American anthropology broadly conceived can be found in Whitten and Szwed (1970, pp. 419–49).

5. The phrase "all the others" apparently means all the other trades. The quote is from Gaston-Martin (1931, p. 424), reproduced by Williams (1966, p. 209).

6. The irony of this was underlined by Mitchell in a letter to the author.

7. The Panamanian resistance to the congress points to the continuing operation of strong institutional obstacles to the development of Afro-Latin American studies. The Latin American racial ideology, which is yet to be systematically studied, is strongly contemptuous of everything black or African. This explains the existence of such ideals as *embranquecimento* ("whitening") and of such expressions as *negro com alma branca* ("black with a white soul," that is, a good black). It explains why Dominican blacks are called *indios* and Panamanian mulattoes are called *mestizos* (Bryce-Laporte 1979, p. 13). It is also expressed in the pungency of Latin American stereotypes of blacks, which has been documented by several authors, most recently by Carvalho-Neto (1978). One of the behavioral manifestations of these attitudes and beliefs is the discouragement of, and resistance to, all forms of autonomous black self-expression. Institutionally, it means a pervasive censure, sometimes subtle, sometimes rather crude, against any studies of blacks, especially those that do not conform to the prevailing negative view of blackness and Africanity. Thus, in August 1977, the Brazilian government refused to help the Afro-Brazilian writer Clovis Moura to attend the First Congress of Black Culture in Colombia, which prevented his participation. The same year, the Brazilian government had prevailed upon the government of Nigeria to reject a paper submitted by the Afro-Brazilian writer and artist Abdias do Nascimento (1978) to the Second World Festival of African Arts and Cultures (FESTAC), held in Lagos in January-February 1977. The following year, the authorities in Bahia and Rio de Janeiro repeatedly interfered with a festival and congress organized there by a group of black North American scholars (Richard Long of Atlanta University, John Henrik Clarke of Hunter College, Hoyt Fuller of the *First World*, and others). The resistance and censure extends also to private entities. For instance, according to Roger Bastide (1974), Deoscoredes dos Santos and Juana Elbein dos Santos (1972)—who, incidentally, are among the authors included in the Moreno Fraginals book—were unable for a long time to find publishers for their work on Nagô philosophy, because it was considered too alien to the Brazilian worldview and the Brazilian vision of blacks. Even the respected Brazilian news magazine *Veja* refused in 1978 to publish a report on blacks written by one of its star reporters, Claudio Bojunga (1978). These examples illustrate the Latin American perception of Afro-Latin American self-expression and studies (especially self-studies) as being profoundly and inherently subversive of the existing order, or at the very least incongruous. It is to this situation that Bryce-LaPorte (1979, p. 13) was reacting when he wrote, "Hispanic/Caribbean Blacks now can and, therefore, must be willing to participate *as Blacks* in Latin America without feeling that to do so makes them any less Latin American, nationalist, revolutionary, human or refined."

8. It came as a surprise to this author, however, to learn that two of these leaders, whom he knows personally, are labelled mulattoes, and not blacks.

9. Ianni's more recent work on race (1978) has been discussed above.

10. Hasenbalg's book also has a University of Michigan connection, since the survey data he used has been collected in part by Michigan's Institute of Social Research, which also provided him with technical and methodological assistance. Still, he managed to retain a broadly theoretical, strongly historical, and strictly political economy perspective, in the sense defined by Léons and Rothstein (1979, pp. xv–xviii).

11. It could, of course, be argued in extremis that the occupational dimension is a proxy for class, as American social scientists often discuss class in occupational terms; but Silva does not make the argument.

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12. Of a random sample of *favelados* who were interviewed for Perlman's (1976) study, 20 percent were identified as blacks, 30 percent as mulattoes, and 50 percent as whites. From the elite sample of 150 leaders, 12 percent were blacks, 23 percent mulattoes, and 65 percent whites. The color identifications were made by the interviewers, who were all Brazilians. This information was given to the author by Janice Perlman in a telephone conversation in Rio (September 1979). If these figures are truly representative of the population studied, they suggest that, even at the level of the favela, the dominant racial patterns of leadership tend to prevail, though to a significantly lesser extent than in the rest of the society.
13. The reader is informed that the majority of violent crimes are committed by poor people, who are usually black or mulatto (Donnici 1978, p. 234) and that in the frequent police raids on the *morros* (the steep hills of Rio de Janeiro where the favelas are usually located), "the presumption of innocence does not exist, *especially for black people*" (Donnici 1976, p. 207) (the italics are mine).

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