

## Interlocação

Not all of History is recorded in the books supplied to school children:  
pale History books and the neglected U.S./Brazilian dialogue  
over the New World African diaspora, 1914-1966\*

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Writing at a moment of titanic struggles, Dr. Martin Luther King opened his famous 1963 book, *Why We Can't Wait* by criticizing the "pale history books" available to the Black children of Harlem, New York, and Birmingham, Alabama. Published one year before the passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, King decried the censored histories of Afro-North Americans and suggested that this cultivated ignorance affected U.S. Black youth and the prospects for deepening democracy in the nation. (1) Elsewhere in the African New World Diaspora in 1963, people of African descent in Brazil wished success to the anti-segregation struggles being waged in the United States by those linked to them by color. Yet both they and their white Brazilian neighbors also suffered from an equally "pale" education that reduced the role and the contribution of African-descended peoples to a minor shadow in Brazilian history.

Focusing on "missing pages" in the Brazilian/U.S. relationship, this chapter begins with a discussion of the concept of the New World African diaspora as a tool for understanding the historical inclusion and exclusion of African-descended peoples in the hemisphere. In particular, it examines three little known episodes of U.S./Brazilian dialogue that touch on the historical specificities of slavery, racism,

\* This chapter was written for the conference "Resistance and Inclusion: Encounter on the Memory and History of Afro-Brazilians and Afro-North Americans," which was held November 25-26, 2002 in Rio de Janeiro with co-sponsorship by the Pontifícia Universidade Católica of Rio de Janeiro and Consulate General of the USA. My personal thanks to Dr. Anthony Fisher, Public Affairs Officer at the U.S. Consulate General in Rio; Pamela Howard-Reguindin, Director of the Rio office of the Library of Congress in Brazil, and Senior Cultural Affairs Specialist Victor Tamm. Warmest appreciation is also due to Denise da Fonseca, and her PUC collaborators, for the energy and verve with which this stimulating conference was conducted. Helpful comments on this chapter were also received from David Sartorius, Alejandro Velasco, and the Duke and Carolina students who discussed it as part of my "Diasporic Dialogues" seminar and working group.

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Editoração  
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Revisão de Originais  
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ISBN: 85-87926-04-7

Resistência e inclusão : história, cultura  
e cidadania afro-descendentes /  
organizadora: Denise Pini Rosalem da  
Fonseca. - Rio de Janeiro : PUC-Rio :  
Consulado Geral dos Estados Unidos, 2003.

262 p. : 21 cm

Apoio: Library of Congress, Escritório do Rio de Janeiro.

Inclui referências bibliográficas

1. Negros - Brasil.
2. Negros - Estados Unidos.
3. Afro-brasileiros - História.
4. Afro-americanos - História.
5. Relações raciais. I. Fonseca, Denise Pini Rosalem da.

CDD: 305.896081

and discrimination in both societies between 1914 and the mid-1960s. The chosen examples are drawn from two landmark periods in the history of the entire African diaspora: from the nadir of Jim Crow segregation and lynch law in the United States to the highpoint of the U.S. Black freedom movement that brought down the legal structures of racial oppression in the early 1960s. Two dialogues between Euro-North Americans and white members of Brazil's dominant class are used to illustrate the shared racist terrain that linked U.S. whites with their Brazilian upper class counterparts. The third example offers an example of acts of diasporic solidarity by people of color in Brazil with the U.S. civil rights struggle of the 1950s and early 1960s. African-descended peoples in Brazil, it will be argued, recognized that the struggles of Afro-North Americans were directly linked to their own fate. Indeed, such gestures of diasporic solidarity flowed from recognition that a victory for the descendants of slaves in the U.S. would directly and positively impact the landscape of struggle for African-descended people in Brazil. Overall, the driving force and urgency of diasporic debates about race, racism, nation, and culture, it will be suggested, are linked to a common search for effective weapons to be used in an anti-racist struggle, by both Black and white, that is integral to the broadening and deepening of democracy in both societies.

### Why adopt a diasporic approach to the Afro-American New World experience?

In both Brazil and the United States, the African-descended (2) are an integral part of the North American and Brazilian peoples, with long and deep historical roots and ties that pre-date later waves of mass European immigration. Moreover, these Afro-American New World peoples, who contributed so much to the settlement, development, defense, and culture of the two countries, share a common history of subalternization within their respective societies (realities that are manifested through distinct but related patterns of racialized distinction as well as differing combinations of collective and individual resistance and struggle). These realities have been surveyed and debated for at least seventy years in the academic world and at least two centuries in terms of public policy (slave trade, emancipation, and abolition).

Given this long history, it is easy to ask: why should one adopt a diasporic approach to this historical trajectory and contemporary reality? And what is meant by the adoption of the term "African New World diaspora" in the contemporary U.S. and international scholarly debate? In 1998, the distinguished Caribbeanist historian Colin Palmer addressed these questions at the American Historical Association's annual meeting on the theme of "Diasporas and Migrations in History." Palmer began by distinguishing five major African diasporic streams in history, including the often-neglected African diaspora in the Indian Ocean. Yet he focused his attention primarily on the fourth major stream that is associated with the Atlantic trade in African slaves between the 16th and 19th centuries (the fifth is the movement of African-descended peoples within and between countries since emancipation).

As in all diasporic phenomena, Palmer observed,

"...the construction of a diaspora" involves "movement from an ancestral land, settlement in new lands, and sometimes renewed movement and resettlement elsewhere" in various "interrelated, yet discrete"

movements. He also emphasized the existence, at some level, of a shared awareness of their dispersal, as well as "a sense of 'racial', ethnic or religious identity that transcends geographic [i.e. national] boundaries." Pushing for greater clarity, Palmer offered the following succinct definition:

"The modern African diaspora, at its core, consists of the millions of peoples of African descent living in various societies who are united by a past based significantly but not exclusively upon 'racial' oppression and the struggles against it; and who, despite the cultural variation and political and other divisions among them, share an emotional bond with one another and with their ancestral continent; and who also, regardless of their location, face broadly similar problems in constructing and realizing themselves." (3)

Whether a diasporic framework is judged compelling to its potential constituency or not, Palmer argued, it is best understood as a project not an empirical reality:

“...diasporas are not actual but imaginary and symbolic communities and political constructs; it is we who call them into being.” (4)

Far from being an expression of historical inevitability or biological or cultural essences, the emergence or consolidation of a diasporic discourse and practice must be historicized across space and through time. Diasporas are also, I would add, a discontinuous construct so it is most appropriate to view it as a series of diasporic moments more than as an ongoing diasporic reality. As suggested in Martin Luther King's comments on “pale history”, the activists linked to the weak, the subaltern, and the defeated - in this case the descendants of African slaves brought to the New World - are necessarily oriented to both a postulated yet largely unknown past and a future still to be made. (5) In this process, the perceived need to reach beyond the borders of the nation state to seek solace, to draw strength and inspiration, is accompanied by the use of history as a weapon in the fight for inclusion, liberation, and redemption. Under conditions of oppression, as Franz Fanon observed, “the plunge into the chasm of the past is the condition and the source of freedom”.

History in this context becomes the last or ultimate symbolic recourse when little or no justice is to be found in the world itself. It was this impulse that gave birth at the end of the 19th century to the search for a history of Blacks in the old and new worlds. This was an international process through which numerous African-descended intellectuals and activists, including the Black Puerto Rican Arturo Schomburg, the Afro-Brazilian Manoel Querino, and innumerable Afro-North Americans, contributed to the birth of a new transnational Negro or Pan-African identity. (6) Having started out as an activity of passionate activists and amateur collectors, Black studies in the United States took on its current institutional form within North American universities as a result of the fiery Black student struggles that accompanied the immediate aftermath of the abolition of the pure segregation of the “Jim Crow” era.

The founding rationale for U.S. Black Studies was first articulated during the bitter year-long student strike at San Francisco State University. The aim, declared the Black Student Union, is

“...to prepare Black students for direct participation in Black community struggles” while reinforcing “the position that

Black people in Africa and the Diaspora have the right to democratic rights, Self-determination and Liberation.” (7)

The ability of the new field to win a foothold was linked, in no small part, to an overwhelming growth in Afro-North American college enrollment and its shift in location. In 1950, “only seventy-five thousand Negroes were enrolled” in U.S. colleges and universities, and three-fourths of those - using statistics from a decade later - were enrolled in the “historically Black colleges” built under segregation. In 1970, by contrast, nearly 700,000 Afro-North Americans were enrolled, three fourths of those at white colleges (Duke itself only admitted its first Black students in 1963). (8)

Although far less politically charged today than in the 1960s, programs, departments, or institutes of what is now called African-American or African and African-American Studies are now an accepted part of most U.S. college campuses, including elite universities like Duke and Harvard. Manning Marable, the leader of the Institute for Research in African-American Studies at Columbia University, has recently argued that the field, at its best, aspires to

“...a practical connection between scholarship and struggle, between social analysis and social transformation. The purpose of Black scholarship is more than the restoration of identity and self-esteem: it is to use history and culture as tools through which people interpret their collective experience, but for the purpose of transforming their actual conditions and the totality of society all around them.”

They must do so, he insists, without turning Black scholarship into “a kind of narrow advocacy or a partisan polemic with no genuine standards of objectivity.” (9) Yet how is one to understand, conceptualize, and construct the African diaspora in today's increasingly globalized world? Clearly, scholarly debates and political disagreement has raged for the last seventy years, in both Brazil and the United States, as to how one should answer such comparative questions. The dominant conceptual tools have varied over time and include notions of cultural preservation, survival and resistance, syncretism and creolization, and more recently

collective memory. Addressing these characteristic metaphors and concepts, Harvard anthropologist Lorand Matory, a student of the Yoruba and their New World diaspora, suggests that it would be most fruitful if we approached diasporic processes as

“...a dialogue, less as evolving *languaes* [languages] or as isolated readers of self-contained national pasts than as changing participants in a conversation. The metaphors of dialogue places these [various] traditions into a context beyond region and nation,” while better capturing “major processes in the selective reproduction of culture and, more importantly, in the continually changing inscription of meaning that have produced some of the best known cultures and most pervasive trends on the Black Atlantic.” (10)

As an historically evolving dialogue, Matory goes on, the relations between African-descended peoples throughout the modern Atlantic world

“...posits the radical *coevalness* [existence in the same moment of time] of Africa, Latin America and the United States in a dialogue that, even following the conclusion of the slave trade, has continually shaped them all. In other words, Africa is not the past of Afro-Latin America. Nor is either of these sets of cultures the past of Black North American [or Brazilian] culture.”

He proposes, instead, that we should see it as a power-laden dialogue “that has united Africans, Europeans, and Native Americans so intimately over the past 500 years,” while simultaneously witnessing the emergence of new “political identities and cultural formations that have resulted on both the eastern and western shores of the Atlantic.” (11) Extrapolating, I would argue that even exchanges among the white exploiters and oppressors of Black people constitute a fundamental dimension of this Euro-Afro-Indo American diasporic history and dialogue. (12)

### A white “ruling class” dialogue on their respective “Black problems” (1914)

Writing in the mass circulation magazine *The Outlook*, former U.S. President Theodore Roosevelt’s article “Brazil and the Negro” begins with a dramatic contrast between the two countries:

“If I were asked to name the one point in which there is complete difference between the Brazilians and ourselves, I should say that it was in the attitude towards the Black man.”

This statement is followed by what appears to be a detour - although he will return to it later - about the existence of Brazilians of Indian descent which, he claims, is viewed as no more shameful in Brazil, than it is in the U.S. After all, he explains, those North Americans with “Indian blood” in Oklahoma, the U.S. state with the largest population of highly assimilated Native Americans, are proud of the fact; and so is “the [sitting] President of Brazil,” he declares, as well as “others among the leaders whom I met”. (13)

As a self-conscious Anglo-Saxon and advocate of U.S. imperialism, Roosevelt speaks from the top of the international white racial hierarchy when he defends Brazilians against the indiscriminate charge of being a mongrel people. Damning with faint praise, he insists that this is, no more, true for Brazilians than it is for such “great and civilized old races as the Spaniards and Italians” (the subaltern in the Northern European-dominated Western Europe of his day). Besides, he says nonchalantly, “the evident Indian admixture [in Brazil] has added a good, and not a bad element,” at least in the opinions he has heard from the

“...men and women with whom I closely associated [who] were in the very great majority of cases pure white, save in the comparatively rare instances where they had a dash of Indian blood.”

Having taken up the role of judge of whiteness, Roosevelt picks at the ubiquitous and defensive posture of his white upper class interlocutors in Brazil who will admit, if forced, to some non-white

blood but only as long as it is "not" Black. Moreover, they insisted to Roosevelt that "the very large European immigration" to Brazil would eventually make the stigmatized "Negro blood a smaller element of the blood of the whole community." The proper future racial direction for the country is clear to both Roosevelt and his Brazilian class counterparts: "the Brazilian of the future will be in blood more European than in the past, and he will differ in culture [from Europe] only as the American of the North differs" from the European homeland.

Returning to his paternalistic defense of a subaltern Brazilian upper class, the former president assures his U.S. readers that white supremacy is not threatened by this peculiar Brazilian approach to the "Negro problem".

"The great majority of the men and women of high social position in Rio," he insists, "are of as unmixed white blood as the corresponding class in Paris or Madrid or Rome. The great majority of the political leaders are pure whites [as well], with an occasional dash of Indian blood."

Returning yet again to this evident source of anxiety, Roosevelt once again reiterates that

"...the great majority of men and women I met, the leaders in the world of political and industrial efforts and of scientific accomplishment, showed little, if any, more trace of Negro blood than would be shown by the like number of similar men in a European capital"

(suggesting perhaps that this might not be true in the United States where the upper classes are truly pure and white). On the other hand, Roosevelt does report that the bottom of the class hierarchy is as it should be: most "Negroes, and most of the colored people - that is, the mulattoes and quadroons - do not make their way up to the highest positions, and they are proportionately most plentiful in the lower ranks". He even pauses to observe, reflecting on his travels, that "in Bahia there is a very large Negro element" but that it is far less significant in Rio.

For Roosevelt, it is especially important to address the most fundamental of racist anxieties in his home society: racial miscegenation. Yet he does so from the point of view of a leader of a Northern Republican establishment that had defeated the Southern slaveholders during the U.S. civil war a half century earlier, only to have later acquiesced to the legal segregation decreed by their former enemies. Thus, he contrasts the "white men" who do the bulk of the work in Rio unfavorably with what he sees as a parasitic class of lower class southern whites who "live on the labor of the Blacks." Moreover, he notes favorably that Brazil's working class whites work "side by side in the same organization" with Blacks, "draw no line against the Negro, and in the lower ranks intermarriages are frequent, especially between the Negroes and the most numerous of the immigrant races of Europe." His position on this issue is shaped by Roosevelt's role in the United States as a self-identified champion of Anglo-Saxon supremacy, which defined itself, in those years, through its hostility against the inferior "new immigrants" to the U.S. who came from Southern and Eastern Europe. Thus it is not entirely surprising that he is untroubled by evidence of racial miscegenation in Brazil involving Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese immigrants. Yet his discussion of the issue is curiously euphemistic because he refers solely to inter-racial marriage and not concubinage, simple sex, or rape, all of which were illegal under U.S. statutes (inter-racial marriage would only be legalized in 1967 by a Supreme Court decision). (14)

Ideas about appropriate class hierarchies also play a role in ordering Roosevelt's own notions of racial purity. He is reassured by the fact that

"...in the middle classes [in Brazil] these intermarriages are rare, and in the higher class almost unknown so far as concerns men and women in which the Black strain is at all evident."

Even while vouchsafing for their racial soundness, Roosevelt reveals the fundamental fraudulence, in U.S. eyes, of the claims to whiteness made by the "Brazilian upper ranks" among whom, he says,

“...there is apparently no prejudice whatever against marrying a man or girl who is, say, seven-eighths white, the remaining quantity of Black blood being treated as a negligible element” (which again discredits their “whiteness” under the U.S. “one-drop” rule in which those with any African descent are designated as Black). (15)

So wherein lays “the complete difference” between Brazil and the United States in terms of the Negro? This former Republican Party statesman starts by suggesting that intermarriage is part of the answer because

“...the best men in the United States, not only among the whites but among the Blacks also, believe in the complete separation of the races so far as marriage is concerned.”

In drawing this contrast to Brazil, Roosevelt presents a U.S. white supremacist legal ban as if it was primarily a cross-racial cultural preference in his country. This is even more dishonest because of the tight linkage between the “defense of white womanhood” and the 5,000 *lynching* of Blacks in U.S. history (racial killings that were at their highest point the second decade of the 20th century). Moreover, Roosevelt ignores the long history of Afro-North American demands for the revocation of anti-miscegenation statutes, not so much out of a desire to marry whites but as a defense of the Black community’s young women who, once dishonored by a white, could never be made “right” given the illegality of racial intermarriage. (16)

The former U.S. President is astute enough, however, to assign importance to another differentiating factor: the existence of “successful” upwardly mobile African-descended peoples at the top of white society in Brazil. While emphasizing that the middle and upper classes are white, he does report having met “one or two colored Deputies. At one military school I met a Negro professor. At one great laboratory, I saw a colored doctor.” This handful of token individuals, “Blacks with white souls” in Brazilian parlance, provides the vital symbolic proof of Brazil’s mythic conception of itself as a society free of racism and discrimination. It could be observed, of

course, that even the existence of ten times as many “out-of-place” African-descended people would not alter the racial inequalities in a country where the majority of the population is of African descent. Yet it is also interesting to ponder the U.S. roots of Roosevelt’s interest in the fact that

“...these [colored] men were accepted quite simply on their worth, and apparently nobody had any idea of discriminating against them in any official or business relations because of their color.”

It is precisely on the question of upward mobility by visibly African-descended peoples that Teddy Roosevelt engaged in his greatest and most outrageous distortions. First, he completely misreads the social dynamic that explains the rise of this handful of exceptional people of color. Ignoring patron/client ties, he presents their advancement in terms of the U.S. myth of advance based solely on individual worth and merit (a falsification of the U.S. experience in factual terms but powerfully alive as a nationalist mythology). “Any Negro or mulatto [in Brazil] who shows himself fit,” he claims, “is without question given the place to which his abilities entitle him.” If this claim were true, of course, the absence of more than a handful of Blacks at the top of Brazilian society would offer compelling proof of Black inferiority.

However statistically insignificant, the differing treatment of successful Blacks between Brazil and the United States is well illustrated by the case of W.E.B. Du Bois, a mulatto intellectual who emerged as the most influential leader of Afro-North Americans in the first half of 20th century. When Du Bois received his doctorate in the late 19th century, he was unable to find a regular job in any U.S. university of substance and import despite the fact that he had received his degree from Harvard University, the institution at the very apex of power and cultural capital then and now. Massachusetts-born, he had to move to a segregated Black institution in Atlanta, Georgia in order to get a job in his professional field - a trajectory quite unlike that of the mulatto engineer André Rebouças of Brazil. For an exceptional individual of color like Du Bois, who had acquired all of white society’s credentials, the path to advancement in the United States was barred solely because of his African descent. This personal

injustice, which linked his fate indissolubly to that of Afro-North Americans as a whole, would lead Du Bois' toward a path of protest and struggle that charted the modern trajectory of his people with the founding of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. (17)

Yet the case of Du Bois has a very direct connection to Roosevelt's short article about "Brazil and the Negro." In his most egregious misstep, Roosevelt cannot admit the truth of the U.S. situation facing people of color because it so directly contradicts his own country's mythic understanding of itself as a meritocracy. This is revealed when Roosevelt insists, unconvincingly, that

"...the best men in the United States [also]... believe in treating each man of whatever color absolutely on his worth as a man, allowing him full opportunity to achieve the success warranted by his ability and integrity, and giving to him the full measure of respect to which that success entitles him."

It is precisely this lie that Du Bois will nail, with polemical sharpness, in his two articles responding to "Brazil and the Negro". (18) Roosevelt ends his short article by leaving the final word, in direct quotes, to a subaltern member of the "ruling class" of Brazil, an unnamed Brazilian statesman who is, Roosevelt assures his U.S. reader, "himself of pure white blood". Speaking for his class, his race, and his country, this member of the Brazilian ruling class begins by frankly stating that both countries have inherited "the problem of the Negro". Yet the blame for this is assigned not to the slave owners, who worked them to death, but to the traders in slaves who first made African slaves available for use in Brazil. Having evaded the vicious exploitation of Black labor, he reiterates that "the presence of the Negro is the real problem, and a very serious problem" in Brazil (as Afro-North Americans have often pondered bitterly, "what does it feel like to be a problem" in the land of your birth). Ever so benevolently, the unidentified white speaker even grants that slavery was an "intolerable method of solving the problem" while graciously judging the ending of slavery to have been proper. Unfortunately, emancipation could not resolve the root of the problem, which he defined as "the presence of the Negro" in Brazilian society. He further underlines his adherence to the anti-Black orthodoxy he shares with

Euro-North Americans when he admits that race mixture in Brazil has weakened the country's population by adulterating its "pure white blood", although this occurs mostly, he adds, among the immigrants and the lower class.

He defines the Brazilian policy as one of "absorption" of the Black, which he judges defensible as the only way that Brazil can overcome the "physical, mental, and moral traits of the [Black] race" (which he treats as self-evidently inferior). Thus, this member of the Brazilian ruling class does not judge the U.S. policy of "keeping the Blacks as an entirely separate element" to be wise, when compared to the Brazilian solution of encouraging the "disappearance and absorption" of Blacks by whites (what I would call a hierarchized "racist integrationism"). While hewing strictly to the "white is right" school, the speaker also strives to project a self-image of benevolence *vis-à-vis* the benighted Blacks. "We treat the Negro with entire respect," he says, although this claim should be more truthfully rephrased as a statement that 'we upper class whites treat the Negro with the respect that is accorded the lowly when they prove themselves sufficiently loyal and obedient'. Speaking self-consciously from the top of the class hierarchy, he notes that Blacks respond to such respectful treatment. "If a Negro shows capacity and integrity, he receives the same reward that a white man would receive. He has therefore every incentive to rise" (on white terms, of course, and as part of the structures of patron/client relations that uphold their rule).

Looking towards the future, our upper class white Brazilian is hopeful that, with the passage of time, the "Negro problem will have entirely disappeared" in Brazil "because the Blacks themselves tend to disappear." Needless to say, this clearly stated racist objective is far from what might be expected of a society that claims to be non-racist and whose elite that always made a show of being ever so benevolently patriarchal. In contrast, the speaker admits that the white race in the United States will have maintained "its original race strength", but at a price which he judges to be perilously high. Because of your policy, he prophesizes, Blacks will "remain a menacing element in your civilization, permanent", growing in numbers, and informed by "an increased and bitter sense of his isolation". This path, he insists, is a far more dangerous one than ours since the Black/white equality and the extirpation of anti-Black racism is inconceivable to a white Brazilian of his class and generation.

### The persistence of Brazilian upper class racism at the height of the U.S. Civil Rights Movement: Pernambuco's Caio Lima Cavalcanti (1966)

Teddy Roosevelt's 1914 article documented the racist attitudes among the powerful with great accuracy. Such deeply rooted attitudes did not disappear from Brazilian society over the following half century, even as progress was made in developing new and more racially inclusive visions of Brazilian nationhood. Wherever the power of the dominant class remained unchallenged by socio-economic change and popular struggle, racist views and practices continued to predominate as is clear from the written summary of a 1966 conducted by U.S. social scientist Robert Alexander interview with Caio Lima Cavalcanti. (19) The sixty-eight-year-old Cavalcanti was a prominent member of an oligarchical clan in Pernambuco whose drive for dominion was infamous: "In Pernambuco, you're either Cavalcanti or cavalgada" [ridden over] goes one local saying. His comments on race continue, fifty years later, the dialogue between a North American white and a Brazilian ruling class "white" (perhaps with no "dash of Indian" this time). The interviewee begins with the story of the founder of his clan, an Italian who settled in Pernambuco in the 16th century, and whose descendants became powerful sugar growers (he explains that only very recently had the family finally sold their last *usina* when his brother-in-law died).

After recounting his adventures as a supporter of the *tenentista* military rebels in the 1920s and as a police chief in the 1930s, he turns to contemporary affairs and declares himself "very much in favor of the United States." While noting that North Americans "are very hospitable and very openhanded" he does complain to Alexander that they are "not always well represented by the representatives of the trusts abroad, or the State department". Having warmed up, Cavalcanti switches subjects with a declaration that he "cannot understand the racism in the United States." After this opening, however, Caio Lima quickly clarifies that "he doesn't want to mix with the Negroes and would rather die than see a daughter of his marry a Negro."

Having thus established his rightful claim to whiteness Cavalcanti reiterates his inability to "understand the attitude of the [North] Americans" about race since he "doesn't think that any damage is done to him when he shakes hands with a Negro".

Drawing out the contrast he sees between the two countries, Cavalcanti further declares that "in Brazil, the Negroes are better than the whites" and that "if they are treated right, they are exceptionally good people". This apparent praise for Blacks is immediately followed, however, by his statement that if Blacks are treated well, "they are as loyal as his dog is to him".

If one were to defend Cavalcanti from the charge of being racist, it could be said that his analogy between Blacks and dogs was meant to be humorous, even if in bad taste. Yet this defense leaves unanswered the question of what sort of man jokes in this fashion. The answer becomes clear when we examine Cavalcanti's discourse about the slave system from which his family drew its wealth for centuries. Not surprisingly, he minimizes the institution except for claiming that his father "was a very good employer" (he does not explicitly say slave-owner). In explaining what made him a "good" employer/slave-owner, Cavalcanti offers a strikingly one-sided reading of the exploitation of Black labor. His father, he insists, "freed his slaves before 1888. . . [and] always treated his slaves well and as a result, not a single one left the *fazenda* when they were freed". (20) There are, of course, various possible explanations for such behavior by ex-slaves, if it did occur with such startling unanimity, including planter self-interest, the limited alternatives open for ex-slaves, and his family's unparalleled power. Yet Cavalcanti also goes on to claim that his family "never inflicted corporal punishment on their employees, as did many other *fazendeiros* and *usineiros*". Again, we will put aside the improbability of Cavalcanti's claim that his father's sugar plantations, using slave labor, were run without any use of coercion. Yet his claim is further undermined when, in the course of praising his brother's role as Governor in the 1930s, Caio Lima reports that Carlos Cavalcanti had taken "steps against those employers who did inflict corporal punishment". This caused him to become "quite unpopular with his class", Caio Lima added (a politically-useful reading of Vargas's replacement of his brother in 1937 with Agamenon Magalhães). In other words, this Brazilian ruling class man admits that the coercive practices associated with slavery continued to govern labor relations in the Pernambuco sugar industry five decades after abolition. Yet he would have us believe that his father never used the whip on his workers even when they were his property?

These barely credible remarks by Cavalcanti reflect the capacity



of his class to arbitrarily impose their own version of slavery on the wider society. Given the unparalleled power and influence of his family, Caio Lima can not only deny the centrality of slavery but even lie about the institution's most mundane and irrefutable truths.

What holds his discourse together, fundamentally, is the pretense - dear to the heart of Brazilian slave owners and their descendants - that others may have been bad but he (or his ancestor) always "treated his people [i.e. slaves] well". The pseudo-benevolent conceit of the "Good Master" was also shared by Gilberto Freyre, a fellow Pernambucan of the same generation as Cavalcanti. Yet, Freyre offered a somewhat more honest version of the benevolent paternalism thesis in his monumental *Casa Grande e Senzala*. The book retains a certain moral credibility even today, because at least Freyre admitted the underlying violence, sadism, and oppression that characterized a slavery system that he still grotesquely judged to have been in some essential sense benevolent.

It is not surprising that so many of the grandchildren of slave owners, men like Cavalcanti and Freyre, were strong supporters of the post-1964 military regime that brought an end to political insurgency from below that characterized the Populist Republic of 1945-1964. Indeed, Cavalcanti bragged to Alexander about the evidence that he had provided to the military authorities in their investigations of the foreign ministry Itamaraty. He even claimed to have information that he hoped would prove decisive in the prosecution of the former democratically-elected Presidents Juscelino Kubitschek and Jango Goulart. Similarly, Freyre, who remained an apologist for post-1964 dictatorship till his death, seized upon the coup to purge the leadership of local university in Recife and thus put an end to the leftist intellectual subversion of the established order. (21) The flip side of benevolence, of course, is the arrogance and aggressiveness (*prepotência*) bred by unchecked power. (22)

**Solidarity and the dialogue from below: Brazilian popular and Black responses to the fight for civil rights in the United States (1950s and 1960s)**

Pernambuco was a center of political mobilization by peasants, workers, and the middle classes in the early 1960s leading up to the election of the leftist Miguel Arraes as Governor in 1963. Yet the

state's transition toward a populist electoral and political dynamic was still incipient if compared with the heavily industrialized state of São Paulo. As the center of Brazilian industrialization, São Paulo in the late 1920s and early 1930s had witnessed the earliest and most successful mass mobilization of Blacks (the *Frente Negra Brasileira*), while a post-World War II explosion of labor militancy and communist and populist electoral mobilization had transformed its political dynamics. (23) Within São Paulo's dynamic urban centers, working class and Black voices were increasingly heard during the Populist Republic and their views, on questions of race, found expression as opposition to the Jim Crow segregation identified with the United States. The existence of these voices of Black solidarity, anti-racist protest, and humanistic disgust can be documented through the archival records generated by the U.S. diplomatic and consular officials as they recorded Brazilian reactions to the Black civil rights struggle in the 1950s and early 1960s.

Brazilian criticism of U.S. policies of legal segregation went well beyond the "usual suspects" to be found in the Communist, anti-imperialist, and nationalist camps of an emerging Brazilian mass politics. Surprisingly enough, public criticism of U.S. race relations included even many individuals who were directly allied with the United States, including those labor leaders amenable to U.S. influence. During the Cold War, the U.S. government maintained an active program of political recruitment of and financial support for those who could contribute to the defeat of Communist and leftist influence in the trade unions. An all expense-paid trip to the United States was one of the prizes most heavily sought by these men, who were mostly do-nothing time servers in the higher levels of the state-sponsored trade union structure (*pelegos*). Yet even these conservative men, coming from a working class that was thoroughly multi-racial, were critics of the U.S. system of racial segregation. This can be seen in a long 1955 report that reported on the trip to thirteen U.S. states by a delegation from National Confederation of Truck Drivers and Chauffeurs. While offering glowing tributes to the living standards, culture, and trade unions of the United States, the report also declared that the delegation could not understand:

"...why a nation with so high an educational standard can

still, in some parts, condone that most humiliating stigma, i.e. racial bars. Even those who seek to break up the unity that is characteristic of the country, finally admit that good and evil have no connection whatsoever with the colour of a human being's skin. The development of the mind and the encouragement given to cultural activities in the U.S., the basis of its progress, are not compatible with the upholding of such precepts of colour. Individuals are what they are by reason of their moral and intellectual qualities and not because they are Black or white or any other shade or colour. It is only a good character that counts in welding a union of human values. This is our frank and outspoken opinion, as a group that visited the United States and it is our earnest hope that, in the very near future, the racial problem will be banned forever! This is a crying need in a country which, by reason of its many great qualities, its progress, and its ideal of communal well-being, has become the pride of and example for the whole world." (24)

Criticism also appeared in other official publications that came out of these U.S.-sponsored trips by trade unionists who were at war with nationalistic rivals who were vocally hostile to Yankee imperialism. After returning from their trip, Arnaldo Widmer and Breno Romeu, the presidents of the oil workers unions in Salvador, Bahia and São Paulo, recorded their disappointment at the U.S. racial scene. Writing in the newspaper of the Federation of Oil Workers, they reported that "there has been much debate [in the U.S.] about racial discrimination, which no longer exists by law," they said in a reference to the *Brown v. Topeka Board of Education* school integration case of 1954,

"...but which in reality is still in force." They ended their report with the statement that "it is interesting to observe how everyone [in the U.S.] is against such discrimination, and despite all this, it still continues." (25)

The Cold War rivalry with the Communists clearly played a role in the ending of legal segregation in the U.S. (the role of international factors is now being heavily researched in United States

civil rights history). Thousands of references to the foreign impact of this dimension of North American life can be found in the records of the U.S. government's overseas representatives as they struggled with the "quandary about how to counteract worldwide knowledge of these events". (26) The emergence of Dr. Martin Luther King as an internationally recognized symbol exemplified the process through which the voices and anti-racist values of foreign peoples came to play a role in this historic struggle. The reports generated in 1964 when King received the Nobel Peace Prize offer a privileged illustration of the process of diasporic dialogue. In 1964, U.S. Consul General in São Paulo reported on an October 16<sup>th</sup> São Paulo City Council meeting to honor King. The ceremony, he noted, was attended by several hundred persons, including two federal deputies, two state deputies, and numerous "City Councilmen, one a negro". (27) Niles W. Bond had anticipated that the ceremony "might easily have become an occasion for attacks on our country because of the race conflict" so he was relieved that "eulogies of both the United States and Martin Luther King" prevailed, although this cordial tenor *vis-à-vis* the U.S. was likely shaped, at least in part, by the purge of progressive office holders in the aftermath of the U.S.-supported military coup of March 1964 (which Bond failed to mention).

Bond's remarks reflected the frustrations experienced by many U.S. diplomatic representatives who served in foreign outposts where people cared about the U.S. Black freedom struggle. An earlier U.S. Consul General in São Paulo had once reported that, while visiting the state assembly,

"...a colored [state] deputy noticing the presence of Americans in the room made an ugly face and left. This coincided with the local publicity about Governor Faubus of Arkansas." (28)

Even such a small expression of disapproval was likely to be recorded by a hyper-sensitive U.S. official who, being North American, is given to commenting about what he takes to be a person's "race". Such gestures and discourses take on new significance, however, when viewed as acts of diasporic solidarity within the African New World African diaspora. Interpreted in this light, such actions can be seen as a transnational contribution to a common fight to destroy the hemisphere's most egregious system of

racial subordination and oppression. For African-descended Brazilians, the enormous power and influence wielded by the United States further magnified the salience and import that a victory by Afro-North Americans would have for their own futures.

That this interpretation is by no means far-fetched is suggested by Bond's report on the 1964 city council ceremony which was attended by "the largest number of negroes yet seen at such a gathering". He observed that the Brazilians in attendance take

"...great pride in the extent of racial integration in Brazil, and ... had apparently adopted Martin Luther King as their own; they considered the award of the Nobel Peace Prize as an honor to Brazil as well as to the United States... The excitement aroused locally by the award of the Nobel Peace Prize to a noted American negro was quite impressive",

he concluded. Looked at in a diasporic perspective, however, it is even more revealing that the presence of African-descended Brazilians at the special session influenced the content of the speeches *vis-à-vis* Brazil. Consul General Bond was well aware that Brazilians often claimed their country to be without a racial problem, so he noted with interest that

"...many speakers, with a surprising amount of self-criticisms and considerable truthfulness, emphasized that discrimination did exist within Brazil, despite the fact that Brazilian law, like that of the United States, guaranteed civil rights."

Noting the abundant and "extravagant" praise for King, he claimed that the orators

"...dwelt at length on the common dedication of Brazil and the United States to the ideals of democracy and Christianity exemplified by Martin Luther King."

### Muffled white voices from above: Adhemar de Barros and Martin Luther King Junior

The excitement in São Paulo over King's Nobel Peace Prize was followed up, within the week, by an official invitation to Martin Luther King from the Governor of the State. As reported by U.S. Public Affairs Officer Alfred V. Boerner, the official invitation was issued on 29 October 1964 by Adhemar de Barros, the state Governor who had been heavily involved with the conspiracies leading up to the military coup of March 31st 1964. His three-paragraph invitation spoke of how Brazilians had been stirred by the campaign to award him the Nobel Peace Prize:

"Long before the Royal Swedish Academy had chosen your name for the honorable award, the opinion of all the world had already selected you. There are some courses [of action] so just and legitimate," it went on, "that they render any defense or support unnecessary. The truth defies arguments, since the truth, according to an old philosophical concept, is what it is. No more, no less".

Seemingly unaware of any underlying irony, it declared that

"...the truth is that cry that cannot be suppressed, the right that cannot be oppressed, the sovereignty that cannot be tyrannized. You are 'beloved and admired' as a champion of peace by São Paulo's fifteen million people", it insisted. (29)

The governor's invitation said not a word about King's "Blackness" or his being a "Negro". Indeed, the document went well beyond mere color blindness to suggest blindness itself: it contained not a single reference, direct or indirect, to the cause of civil rights for which King was struggling in the United States! Unlike his Brazilian compatriots at the City Council meeting five days earlier, many of them African-descended, Adhemar said not a word about racial discrimination even in the United States (and obviously not a word about Brazil). (30) Adhemar's speech writers had decided, instead, to treat a Black champion of racial equality and human dignity as a man without a race or color; instead, King

was presented as a symbol of an unspecified and entirely opaque - and thus unthreatening - truth. This gesture offers yet more evidence of the evasion of race on the part of the white, the educated, and the wealthy. For such Brazilians, the country's traditional racial *etiqueta* dictated the color or ancestry of a successful African-descended person was never to be mentioned. In doing so, this paternalistic racist discourse judged the Black to have been "raised" to the status of an "honorary white". In informal conversation, even in 1964, these educated and well-born Brazilian whites might have even offered the highest praise possible within their racist worldview: perhaps Dr. Martin Luther King was a "Black with a white soul".

Yet there was also contemporary politics at play on the part of Adhemar de Barros, who had no desire to irritate U.S. diplomatic and consular representatives who were strong supporters of the military regime that he had helped to bring to power. It was such international alignments by the U.S. government and business that would lead King, in 1967, to denounce the fact that:

"...the life and destiny of Latin America are in the hands of United States corporations. The decisions affecting the lives of South Americans are ostensibly made by their governments, but there are almost no legitimate democracies alive in the whole continent. The other governments are dominated by huge and exploitative cartels that rob Latin America of her resources, while turning over a small rebate to a few members of a corrupt aristocracy, which in turn invests not in its own country for its own people's welfare, but in the banks of Switzerland and the playgrounds of the world."

Denouncing neo-colonialism as "racism in its more sophisticated form", King noted sympathetically that "everywhere in Latin America one finds a tremendous resentment of the United States, and that resentment is always strongest", he emphasized, "among the poorer and darker peoples of the continent" rather than among the upper classes (the racialized class structure of Latin America had not escaped his vision). (31)

Yet Adhemar's speech writers were not wrong to anticipate a certain sensitivity on the part of official representatives of the United States abroad, which was virtually all white at this moment in history. The one page cover memo by the U.S. consulate's Public Affairs Officer was laced with resentment at what he called the "ignorance and emotionalism engendered by the highly publicized racial situations in the United States". (32) While predicting that King, if he did visit, "would be extremely well received by the general public, probably with impressive demonstrations", he noted skeptically that "Brazilians generally consider themselves an integrated society", which he judged not to be "altogether an accomplished fact". Asking the U.S. Department of State to forward the Governor's invitation (a "São Paulo negro organization" was also preparing one), Boerner stated his hopes about what such a São Paulo visit might contribute:

"It is assumed that the Reverend King's statements would tend in the natural course of events and in conversations to throw some corrective light on [the] exaggerated misconceptions..."

held by many Brazilians about what he referred to euphemistically as the "racial situation" in the United States. His use of the conditional suggested that he was not entirely certain that King would 'sell the United States' in such a way as to modify the Brazilian criticism of the U.S. that irritated him.

#### The challenge of forging a diasporic approach to the Black experience in the New World

In the last decade, scholars in Brazil, Cuba, and the United States have been quick to grasp how the concept of the African diaspora represents a conceptual breakthrough that highlights the shared backdrop of racial slavery and its anti-Black ideologies of white superiority without, however, reducing the subsequent history of African-descended peoples solely to their victimization by that racial subordination.

"Quite unlike the traditional paradigms of power which locate Africa and her descendants at the periphery of every discourse", Jacqueline McLeod has recently argued, the diasporic approach offers a "paradigm of empowerment (as

we would like to call it), [that] properly situates Africa and her diaspora actively within the complex of New World history". (33)

African civilization and Blackness bear upon each other,

"...notes the University of Brasília anthropologist Rita Segato, and the place of Africa and the place of race in New World nations are mutually suffused in a complex articulation [that is] extremely difficult to disentangle... [but that] varies according to national framework." (34)

Discussing the African New World Diaspora in 1998, Brazilian sociologist Denise Ferreira da Silva argued that

"...our shared Blackness has been traversed by the particular effects of specific nation[al], gender, and class conditions. Slavery and colonialism composed the historical ground (...) [but] in each case, it is constructed (...) according to historical and social conditions of a given multiracial social space." (35)

Her conclusion is echoed by Caribbeanist historian Thomas Holt who suggests that

"...it is the differences among the experiences of differently situated Black peoples that is important as well as, or perhaps, even more than, the unities or commonalities." (36)

The potential for mutual dialogue can also be seen in a 1998 book co-edited by U.S. and Cuban scholars entitled *Between Race and Empire: African-Americans and Cubans before the Cuban Revolution*, which strives to circumvent unilateral impositions and nationalist posturing in its frank recognition of difference as well as similarity among the African-descended peoples of the New World. (37)

This exciting intellectual trend of the early 21st century represents, I believe, a salutary return to the politics that characterized the pioneering students of the African diaspora in the New World in the mid-twentieth century. It was an eminently international program of research and analysis that brought foreign scholars to Brazil - such as Donald Pearson, Franklin Frazier, Lorenzo

Turner, Ruth Landes, Melville Herskovits, Roger Bastide - and that inspired a Brazilian scholarship that should not be conflated with the paternalistic posturing of Gilberto Freyre (Artur Ramos but especially, the work of Edison Carneiro). Yet these academic trends of the 1930s and 1940s were also linked to an emerging transnational political consciousness that drew inspiration from and informed the epic struggles of Black people and their allies against racism, colonialism, and fascism. When interviewed by the Jamaican *Daily Gleaner* in 1935, the Afro-North American singer Paul Robeson was emphatic in his emphasis on the diasporic dimension of the Black experience:

"We must remember that outside America [the U.S.] there are three other centers of Black population: the Caribbean Islands (Jamaica, Haiti, etc), Brazil, with the whole of South America, and Africa. In these various regions Blacks speak different languages but in spite of that Afro-North Americans feel instinctively in sympathy with their own blood, the Black men of the whole world." (38)

The anti-imperialist dimension of this emerging international Black struggle was directly linked to a new valorization of both *negritude* and Africa. For activists like Paul Robeson, the transnational commonalities between the historical trajectories of African-descended peoples were seen with striking clarity. As Paul Robeson wrote in 1949,

"Afro-North-Americans are the direct descendants of various African tribes which - from the beginning of the seventeenth century - [Portuguese], English, Dutch, Spanish, and French merchant-plunderers began transporting en masse for sale to America. Torn from their native land and national culture, thrust into the most difficult conditions of slave existence amidst an alien and hostile population, the Africans had to adapt themselves to an alien life, language, culture, and religion (...) [while] subjected to the most brutal treatment in their backbreaking labor for their masters. And yet this enslaved people, oppressed by the double yoke of cruel exploitation and racial discrimination",

was not only a victim, he insisted, but the creator of a

“...splendid, inspired, life-affirming” culture that “reflected a spiritual force, a people’s faith in itself and a faith in its great calling, . . . [a culture that expressed both] wrath and protest against the enslavers and the aspiration to freedom and happiness.” (39)

“The roots of this great outpouring we are talking about today in the cultural expression of my Afro-North American people”, Robeson observed in 1952, “is a great culture from a vast continent”, Africa. Conscious of cultural variation within the diaspora, he insisted that

“...if these [African] origins are somewhat blurred in this [North] America of ours, they are clear in Brazil where Villalobos joins Bach with African rhythms and melodies; [while] in Cuba and Haiti a whole culture, musical and poetic, is very deep in the Africa of its origins (...) [We are *all*] a proud people, rich in tradition, a people torn from its ancient homeland but who in 300 years have built anew, have enriched this new continent with its physical power, with its intellect, with its deep inexhaustible spirit and courage.” (40)

The generation of Paul Robeson had begun the struggle to overcome the limitations of a common and parochial U.S. vision of the African diaspora: Africa (certain parts), North America, the English-speaking Caribbean, and Great Britain (with Haiti accorded special symbolic importance). This truncated geographic outlook clearly did speak to *some* commonalities among the African-descended peoples of the United States, the West Indies, and some parts of West Africa: a shared colonizer (England) and language (English), as well as a similar, largely Protestant, religious background. Yet the overwhelming majority of African-descended peoples in the Americas were always to be found in the Iberian-American societies of Latin America and the Caribbean. Overwhelmingly Catholic, they speak Spanish in countries such as Cuba, the Dominican Republic, or Colombia, and Portuguese in Brazil. Each of these Latin American and Caribbean segments of

the African diaspora were shaped by colonial experiences that were quite distinct from those of the former English colonial dependencies such as the United States or the West Indies. Moreover, the location of these African-descended peoples in developing countries on the near-periphery of the North Atlantic world places them in a clearly subaltern position, even or especially in relation to their counterparts in the United States. One of the exciting contributions of thinking about the Brazilian case, along with that of Cuba, is that it helps North Americans, of all origins, to break the grip of an inherited Anglo - and Protestant - centric conception of the African New World diaspora. Such a shift also works to encourage and strengthen the emerging voices of Black protest and resistance in the Afro-Latin world marked by nationalist self-satisfaction, paternalism, and racist evasions.

The challenge ahead of us is clear. If North Atlantic scholars and activists choose to speak of a “Black Atlantic”, we should make sure that it “never” serves merely to specify, in practice, a “Black Anglo” or “Black North” Atlantic world. The task is to develop a truly hemispheric and transnational Afro-“American” hemispheric vision that places these diasporic struggles within the wider fight for social justice and the international equality of all peoples, races, ethnicities, and genders.

A luta continua!

The struggle goes on!

## Notes

1. Martin Luther King Jr., *Why We Can't Wait*. New York: New American Library, 1963: ix-x.
2. *Afro-descendentes* (African-descended) is an inclusive terminology first used among Brazilian academics and activists. It is broader than the terms “Afro-Brazilians” or “Blacks” used by many scholars and activists. Given the gap between descent in the North American sense and self-identification, the use of the term clarifies without prejudging the politics of naming within the hemispheric context.
3. Colin A. Palmer, “Defining and Studying the Modern African Diaspora.” *AHA Perspectives* [American Historical Association], Vol. 26, September (1998). Available at <http://www.theaha.org/perspectives/issues/1998/9809/VIE2.CFM>
4. *Ibid.*
5. The point was eloquently made by historian Thomas Holt in his 1999 comments on the “studied ambiguities at the heart of the diasporan concept. It is anchored in past time, but always looking to a future time. It is rooted in a particular place, but dreams of an ‘elsewhere.’ The identities that form within it are by definition Creole,

- but also simultaneously tortured and creative... Thus, as air abhors a vacuum, diaspora seems to abhor stasis or fixity. Conceptually or methodologically, fixities will never capture its deeper meanings and significance" (Thomas C. Holt, "Slavery and Freedom in the Atlantic World: Reflections on the Diasporan Framework". In: *Crossing Boundaries: Comparative History of Black History in Diaspora*, edited by Darlene Clark Hine and Jacqueline McLeod [Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999], 37).
6. In the late 19th and early 20th century, the study of African descended peoples emerged as a weapon in the fight against legal segregation and Anglo-Saxon expansionism. Anchored among Afro-North Americans, this initiative commanded the loyalty of African descended intellectuals in a number of countries including the Afro-Puerto Rican Arturo A. Schomburg, whose name graces the world's largest collection of documentation on the African diaspora. "The history of how Arturo became Arthur and yet remained Arturo is the challenge for the next generation of scholars," Earl Lewis suggested in 1999. "It will require that we combine even more sophisticated conceptions of identity formation with even more imaginative historical questions and methods, that we recognize the permeability of boundaries and the multipositional nature of most human actors." ("To Turn as on a Pivot: Writing African Americans into a History of Overlapping Diasporas." In: *Crossing Boundaries*, 22.). For Schomburg's views on the importance of Black history, see "The Negro Digs Up His Past [in Special issue on Harlem]," *Survey Graphic*, no. March (1925) (the text is available from <http://text.lib.virginia.edu/harlem/contents.html>). For a fascinating treatment of Schomburg, see Jesse Hoffnung-Garskof, "The Migrations of Arturo Schomburg: On Being Antillano, Negro, and Puerto Rican in New York 1891-1938." *Journal of American Ethnic History* 21, no. 1 (2001). Similar vindicationist efforts were also being undertaken at this time by the African-descended Bahian intellectual Manuel Raimundo Querino in his essay "O colono preto como factor da civilização brasileira" (available in English translation as *The African Contribution to Brazilian Civilization* [Tempe, Arizona: Center for Latin American Studies, Arizona State University, 1978]).
7. Manning Marable, "Introduction: Black Studies and the Racial Mountain." In: *Dispatches from the Ebony Tower: Intellectuals Confront the African American Experience* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000), 7.
8. *Ibid.*
9. *Ibid.*, 2.
10. J. Lorand Matory, "The 'New World' Surrounds an Ocean: On the Live Dialogue between African and African-American Cultures [draft of 4/23/99]". In *Afro-Atlantic Dialogues: Anthropology in the Diaspora*, edited by Kevin Yelvington (Santa Fé, New Mexico: School of American Research, forthcoming). See also his stimulating comparative piece entitled "The English Professors of Brazil: On the Diasporic Roots of the Yorubá Nation", *Comparative Studies of Society and History* 41 #1 (1999): 73-103.
11. J. Lorand Matory, "The 'New World' Surrounds an Ocean: On the Live Dialogue between African and African-American Cultures [draft of 4/23/99]". In: *Afro-Atlantic Dialogues: Anthropology in the Diaspora*, edited by Kevin Yelvington (Santa Fé, New Mexico: School of American Research, forthcoming). See also his stimulating comparative piece entitled "The English Professors of Brazil: On the Diasporic Roots
- of the Yorubá Nation", *Comparative Studies of Society and History* 41 #1 (1999): 73-103. Matory's point about the South Atlantic diasporic dialogues and linkages is well illustrated by a recent edited book that stands out for its South Atlantic focus: Kristin Mann and Ednay Bay, eds. *Rethinking the African Diaspora: The Making of a Black Atlantic World in the Bight of Benin and Brazil* (London: Frank Cass Publishers, 2001).
12. This point about the wider implications of my argument is derived from penetrating comments offered on an early draft by the Cubanist historian David Sartorius.
13. Theodore Roosevelt, "Brazil and the Negro." *Outlook*, February 21 1914, 409-11; reproduced in John D. French, *Sharing the Riches of Afro-Brazilian History: Undergraduate and Graduate Teaching Syllabi and Handouts* (Durham: The African and African-American Studies Program of Duke University and the Consortium in Latin American Studies Center at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill and Duke University, 2002), 156-160. (see <http://www.duke.edu/web/las/papers.html> to order copies). This publication also includes an up-to-date introduction to the most recent English-language bibliography on Afro-Brazilian issues as well as pedagogical material that systematically explores the Brazil/U.S. comparison.
14. On the history and cultural ramifications of the U.S. ban on inter-racial relationships, see Werner Sollors, ed. *Interracialism: Black-white Intermarriage in American History, Literature, and Law* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000).
15. The questionably "white" nature of Brazilian upper class, when judged from a European or U.S. perspective, had left its members aware that genealogical obsessions could threaten their claims to racial purity. Long before President Fernando Henrique Cardoso's condescending remark that all Brazilians "have a foot in the kitchen", the point had been well illustrated in a joke told about President Getúlio Vargas. Eager to curry favor, the Papal Nuncio informed Vargas that extensive research had proved that the Vargas family was descended from a Spanish noble family. "Nesta matéria de genealogia," Vargas respondeu, "é melhor não aprofundar muito porque, às vezes, pode-se ter a surpresa de acabar no mato ou na cozinha, entre pretos ou índios" (José Queiroz Júnior, 222 *Anedotas de Getúlio Vargas. Anedotário Popular, Irreverente e Pitorresco*. 2nd ed. [Rio de Janeiro: Companhia Brasileira de Artes Gráficas, 1955], 94).
16. "Intermarriage," by W.E.B. Du Bois, *The Crisis*, Vol. 5 (1913) as reprinted in Du Bois, *An ABC of Color* (New York: International Publishers, 1971), 54-56.
17. David L. Lewis, *W.E.B. Du Bois. Biography of a Race*. 1st ed. (New York: H. Holt, 1993).
18. Du Bois's articles are reprinted in David J. Hellwig, ed. *African-American Reflections on Brazil's Racial Paradise* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1992).
19. Interview with Caio Lima Cavalcanti [one of the leaders of the 1930 Revolution in Pernambuco], 14 June 1966 in Rio de Janeiro by Robert J. Alexander (Robert Alexander Archive, Rutgers University, New Brunswick). The Brazilian portion of the Alexander interview collection consists of almost 1400 interviews from throughout the country over fifty years (a 15 reel microfilm edition of Alexander's complete interviews is now available from IDC Publishers in the Netherlands; web address: <http://www.idc.nl>).

20. "Slaves from the other *fazendas* used to escape and come to his [father's plantation], Cavalcanti claimed, "and although he could not keep them there because this would not have been honest". (Ibid.)
21. Assis Claudino, *O Monstro Sagrado e o Amarelinho Comunista: Gilberto Freyre, Dom Hélder e a Revolução de 64* (Recife/Rio de Janeiro: Editora e Distribuidora Opção, 1985).
22. On the ramifications of the authoritarian political culture that prevailed within the dominant classes and their dependents, see John D. French, *Afogados em Leis: A CLT e a Cultura Política dos Trabalhadores Brasileiros* (São Paulo: Fundação Perseu Abramo, 2001).
23. This transition to a Populist political system was the subject of my first monograph: John D. French, *The Brazilian Workers' ABC: Class Conflicts and Alliances in Modern São Paulo* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992); *O ABC dos Operários: Lutas e Alianças de Classe em São Paulo, 1900-1950*. Translated by Lólio Lourenço de Oliveira. (São Paulo/São Caetano do Sul: Editora Hucitec/Prefeitura Municipal de São Caetano do Sul, 1995).
24. José Manuel Teixeira, "Impressões de uma viagem aos Estados Unidos da América do Norte. Relatório apresentado ao excelentíssimo senhor Ministro do Trabalho, Indústria e Comércio no dia 3 de janeiro de 1956", *Rodoviário Autônomo* (Rio de Janeiro), no. 28 January (1956), included in Foreign Service Dispatch 807 by labor attaché Irving Salert, of the U.S. Embassy in Rio de Janeiro (U.S. Department of State, National Archives and Records Service [NARS]). Teixeira was Diretor-Treasurer of the Confederação Nacional dos Trabalhadores em Transportes Terrestres at the time.
25. Foreign Service Dispatch 798 by Irving Salert, 21 December 1955 (Box 3409, Brazil, U.S. Department of State, NARS).
26. Lisa E. Davenport, "Jazz and the Cold War: Black Culture as an Instrument of American Foreign Policy." In *Crossing Boundaries*, 284.
27. Minister Consul General, São Paulo Niles W. Bond, "São Paulo City Council Honors Martin Luther King." *Airgram* A-117 of 23 October (Box 1941, Brazil, U.S. Department of State, NARS).
28. Foreign Service Dispatch #113 from American Consul General in São Paulo, 24 September 1955 (Box 4308, U.S. Department of State, NARS).
29. Translation of the Official Invitation of 29 October 1964, attached to the message 199 entitled "Martin Luther King Invited to São Paulo", Public Affairs Officer Alfred V. Boerner to the U.S. Information Service, 10 December 1964 (Box 1941, Brazil, U.S. Department of State, NARS).
30. Public Affairs Officer Alfred V. Boerner, "Martin Luther King Invited to São Paulo", message 119 of 10 December 1964 to U.S. Information Service." (Box 1941, Brazil, U.S. Department of State, NARS).
31. Martin Luther King Jr., *Where Do We Go From Here: Chaos or Community?* (New York: Bantam, 1968): 204.
32. Public Affairs Officer Alfred V. Boerner, "Martin Luther King Invited to São Paulo", message 119 of 10 December 1964 to U.S. Information Service" (Box 1941, Brazil, U.S. Department of State, NARS).
33. Jacqueline McLeod, "Introduction". In *Crossing Boundaries*, xix.
34. Rita L. Segato, "The Color-Blind Subject of Myth; Or, Where to Find Africa in the Nation." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 27 (1998): 130.

35. Denise Ferreira da Silva, "Facts of Blackness: Brazil is not (Quite) the United States...and Racial Politics in Brazil?" *Social Identities* 4, no. 2 (1998): 230.
36. Thomas C. Holt, "Slavery and Freedom in the Atlantic World: Reflections on the Diasporan Framework". In *Crossing Boundaries*, 36.
37. Lisa Brock and Digna Castañeda Fuentes, ed. *Between Race and Empire: African-Americans and Cubans before the Cuban Revolution* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1998).
38. Phillip S. Foner, ed. *Paul Robeson Speaks. Writings, Speeches, Interviews 1918-1974* [New York: Citadel Press, 1978], p. 100) To ease comprehension, I have adapted Robeson's language to reflect contemporary usage (Black instead of "Negro", for example). Since all those who reside in the Western Hemisphere are Americans, however, I have changed "American Negroes" to "Afro-North Americans" rather than "African-Americans" (a term that should rightly apply to all African-descended peoples in the New World).
39. Foner, *Robeson Speaks*, p. 212-3.
40. Foner, *Robeson Speaks*, p. 300.