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"EARLY FORD FOUNDATION INITIATIVES AND STRATEGIES
IN SUPPORT OF AFRICAN-BRAZILIAN STUDIES"

INTRODUCTION.

The pioneering effort of the Ford Foundation to support sustained quality research on Afro-Brazilian Studies, train Afro-Brazilian researchers in the social sciences, and fund selected social action programs to redress problems facing the Afro-Brazilian community, was initiated in 1979.(1) That historical moment in Brazil, allowed a gradual and cautious exploration of the position of Afro-Brazilians within national society, provided that research was linked to less controversial social concerns. The logical choice in 1979 was to study Brazil's Black community in relation to the country's foreign policy and economic initiatives towards the continent of Africa.

Brazil's Africa initiative was founded on a pragmatic strategy to sell Brazilian technology and manufacturing to an untapped African market--including petrol-rich countries such as Nigeria, Gabon and Angola--a technology that had been refined by Brazilian scientists to function in tropical environments, at significantly less cost than comparable goods manufactured in North America, or Europe.(2) This international economic objective also corresponded to a Brazilian foreign policy strategy, of the late-1970s and early 1980s, to project the country into a position of strategic and diplomatic importance, if not primacy, within the sub-region of the South Atlantic.

Brazil was willing to provide leadership for the South in its confrontational dialogue with the more developed nations of the North. It would sound the alarm for disparities in the real transference of technology between the North and the South, lead the way in demanding greater development assistance for the poorer nations, and call for more equitable terms for debt repayment by the countries of the South to their Northern creditors. As an integral part of its selling strategy to Africa, Itamaraty, the Brazilian Ministry of Foreign Relations, talked about the racial democracy that existed among Brazil's multi-ethnic population, contrasting that democracy with the well known racial problems of the United States. Africans were told to buy Brazilian, out of racial solidarity, and upon one occasion, Pele was sent to Nigeria to represent Brazilian manufacturing interests.(3)

The Brazilian Africa initiative provided a valid and useful international relations perspective, around which a domestic Afro-Brazilian Studies program could be launched. If the Brazilian government proclaimed its people of African descent suffered far less discrimination than Blacks in North America, it was then intellectually appropriate and not politically dangerous, for an

North American social movement and introduce either a black power or black separatist ideology to the land of official racial democracy was of real concern to many Brazilian officials, and was also an accepted, if unspoken belief among members of the country's intellectual elite. During the mid-1970s, the advent of the cultural "Black-Soul" movement among urban Afro-Brazilian youth had engendered severe criticism from the Brazilian mass media, as it seemed to reject traditional Afro-Brazilian cultural forms--most notably samba-- and to substitute national tradition with cultural manifestations lifted directly from the United States.(6)

Ironically, a dominant elite who sought its own cultural validation in Paris and New York, criticized young Afro-Brazilians for accepting music and dance forms that originated in Detroit and Los Angeles, and for turning their backs on true national Brazilian culture. Charges of U.S. cultural imperialism were made by the Brazilian press, and there was some serious discussion that North America was mischevously trying to destabilize Brazilian society, by using Black Americans to 'stir up' the local Afro-Brazilian youth, already disaffected because of the economic, social and political marginalization endemic to Brazilian race relations.(7)

International attention and analysis of the state of race relations in Brazil were not welcomed by the Brazilian government during the mid and late-1970s, in large part because of the Africa Initiative, but also because of the near sanctity of the ideology of a racial democracy. During the second international festival of Black African cultures, FESPAC, held in Lagos, Nigeria in 1976, the Brazilian government compelled the Nigerian government to prohibit the veteran Afro-Brazilian social activist Abdias do Nascimento from giving a paper at the official academic forum, a paper which severely attacked the Brazilian racial democracy ideology.(8) Solidarity among Black peoples gave way to political and economic expediency (oil-rich Nigeria was a major trading partner of Brazil during the late 1970s), as the Nigerian hosts acceded to Brazilian government demands and barred the controversial Afro-Brazilian professor from presenting his paper at the official conference.

In 1978, there was significant publicity within Afro-Brazilian intellectual and cultural circles concerning an international Black festival and dialogue to be held in Rio de Janeiro and Salvador, Bahia. The proposed meeting envisioned as many as two hundred African-American artists and intellectuals who would come to Brazil to meet and 'dialogue' with their Black Brazilian counterparts, to analyze and strategize on the contemporary state of African-Americans and Afro-Brazilians.(9) Planning for the conference presented a series of problems for conference administrators in Brazil and in the United States; while lack of financing was always a serious constraint, in retrospect, the absence of a short-term or even medium-term administrative plan for the event limited its

international organization to fund the research of social scientists studying the officially declared racial democracy. The political question of an acceptable and not overly controversial program was not an abstract theoretical or academic issue. In 1978-9, the Inter-American Foundation (IAF) was compelled to suspend its Brazilian program, because of official government displeasure with an IAF publication advocating an affirmative action-style program to redress inequalities faced by Black Brazilians.(4) While the 1979 decision to suspend activities in Brazil was made by the North American foundation, that action was taken after the Brazilian government demanded that all IAF grant actions, of any amount, be co-signed by the Ministry of the Interior in Brasilia.

BACKGROUND TO THE INTER-AMERICAN FOUNDATION CONFLICT.

By 1978, the Inter-American Foundation had made several grants to Afro-Brazilian social activist and cultural groups, as well as providing support for organizations with a large Black Brazilian membership, such as the Domestic Household Workers Association of Sao Paulo, APEDSP.(5) Among the groups receiving IAF support was the Rio-based Institute for Research on Black Cultures (IPCN). The Institute was also supported by western European Church groups and Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs). IPCN had been vocal in its statements and declarations concerning racial prejudice in Brazil.

Given that the military government was still very much in control during the 1970s, continued to portray the country as a racial democracy, and considered those who denied the existence of that democracy to be potential subversives; some kind of confrontation was inevitable. The rhetoric of IPCN was seen by some members of the Brazilian Ministry of Foreign Relations and other officials to be objectionable, to the extent that the Institute criticized government agencies (including Itamaraty), and the absence of Afro-Brazilians in positions of importance within those institutions and within national society. IPCN's relationship to the IAF was scrutinized, in part because of a growing relationship between the Black Brazilian organization and Black American activists and groups in the United States.

The communication with African-American social and cultural activists was especially upsetting to the Brazilian government, as it seemed to open the door for unwanted racial polarization and radicalization of the historic, but relatively pacific contemporary Afro-Brazilian social movement.(5) The fear that Black Brazilians would uncritically accept the ideology and methodology of a foreign

potential effectiveness, and ability to reach a wide audience among Afro-Brazilians. However, for the Brazilian government, seemingly unaware of the myriad organizational difficulties, the spectre of hundreds of Black Americans, 'on the loose' in Brazil, was simply unacceptable. While the Inter-American Foundation and the United States Information Agency(USIA) had been approached both by Brazilian and North American conference organizers to provide partial subsidies for the event, the clear signal from the Brazilian Ministry of Foreign Relations to all prospective donors was that the activity did not meet with official favor, and should not seriously be considered for funding.(10) The fact, that because of its Afro-Brazilian program, the Inter-American Foundation had been approached to support the Black Dialogue, would later be seen as another good reason for that organization to cease its activities in Brazil, as it was associating with possible national racial separatists and potential foreign troublemakers.

Itamaraty did not limit its damage control activities to discouraging donors from funding the dialogue; when it became clear that some African-American scholars would use their own funds to come to Brazil to meet with Afro-Brazilians, the Brazilian government directly contacted the Afro-Brazilian organizers and 'advised' them not to meet with the North Americans.(11) Those Afro-Brazilians who refused to submit themselves to what amounted to official harassment, took considerable risks in attending the now transformed "informal" meetings and encounters, which actually did take place in Bahia and in Rio, with the twenty or so African-American tourists, who persisted in making the trip.

AN OFFICIAL POLICY TO PROMOTE AFRICAN STUDIES.

The official Brazilian climate was essentially negative concerning Afro-Brazilian social and cultural programs during the mid and late-1970s. On the other hand, African Studies programs, research that focused on Brazil's historic or contemporary relationship with the African continent were not only acceptable, but officially encouraged. In 1976, the Fundacao Universidade de Brasilia (UnB), a federal institution of higher learning, inaugurated African history as an integral part of its M.A. course in History. The Office for Graduate Study Programs in the Ministry of Education and Culture(CAPES) indicated that in time it would provide additional funds to support an African Studies Program at UnB, the capital's prestige university.(12) African Studies in the abstract, or African religious and cultural traditions in Brazil--seen and classified as folklore-- were valued by the government, as further theoretical and ideological underpinning for the more strategic and commercial Africa Initiative.

As the Africa Initiative resulted in increasing numbers of African diplomats being assigned to Brazil, more official African delegations visiting the country, African university students enrolling in Brazilian universities, even as special students at the country's elite diplomatic training school the Rio Branco Institute, unwittingly, these Africans would come to serve as witnesses to the daily occurrences of racial problems and conflicts within the country. Many would speak out on an individual basis, and in the case of some African diplomats who were involved in incidents which were racial in nature, the displeasure was directed formally to the Brazilian Ministry of Foreign Relations.(13) While these official challenges by Africans were not all that numerous by the end of the 1970s, they added to the Foreign Ministry's sensitivity concerning questions of race and race relations in Brazil. This would be particularly true when challenges to the racial democracy ideology would come from outsiders and foreigners.

EARLY FORD FOUNDATION INITIATIVES IN AFRO-BRAZILIANA.

Apart from the awarding of a travel and study grant in the early 1970s to the late Eduardo de Oliveira and Oliveira to visit African-American Studies programs in the United States, the Ford Foundation in its social science programs of the 1970s had not formally solicited or supported research on Afro-Brazilians. An informal one-day meeting at the Foundation's Rio office in 1977 however, did put young Afro-Brazilian student activists and social science researchers together with two foreigner researchers--the present author and Dr. Carlos Hasenbalg--and Ford Foundation staff to discuss possible approaches and modalities for the Foundation to involve itself with Afro-Brazilian Studies, and the cultural and social movement that was developing as more Black Brazilians entered university.

The Federal University of Fluminense, in Niteroi, had gained a reputation for student activism in the 1970s with their promotion of annual Andre Reboucas Study Weeks, programmed around the 20th of November celebrations of the death of the Palmares hero, Zumbi.(14) Several members of the Niteroi Reboucas group were present at that initial Ford Foundation meeting; they provided a useful student perspective on areas which they believed Foundation support could make a difference. Translation of seminal African-American writings on race relations in the United States, and Pan-African authors were seen to be important, as language too often was a barrier separating Afro-Brazilians from other Black movements within the African diaspora. It was also suggested that the Foundation might support courses of Afro-Brazilian history, or literature in universities and colleges that had indicated some receptivity or encouragement in studying the reality of Black Brazilians. While the meeting also discussed the political sensitivity of a foreign organization supporting research on Brazilian Blacks--this meeting

antedated the problems of the Inter-American Foundation--the general consensus at the end of the day was that the Foundation would continue to search for appropriate institutions and opportunities to initiate such a program.

THE SINGULAR INSTITUTIONAL HISTORY OF THE CANDIDO MENDES FACULTIES

Apart from Fluminense University, the Center for African and Oriental Studies at the Federal University of Bahia(CEAO), and various small cultural nuclei within the Afro-Brazilian community, the one formal institution that consistently offered a public forum for the discussion of Afro-Brazilian issues was the Conjunto Universitario Candido Mendes, and its Center for Afro-Asian Studies(CEAA). During the 1970s, CEAA existed as a small and very cluttered one-room clearing house for information on Africa, Asia and Afro-Brazilian Affairs, located on the Ipanema Campus of the Candido Mendes Faculties. It was supported financially, if precariously, by Professor Candido Mendes, president of the Faculties, and attracted rather eclectic, if enthusiastic part-time researchers and adjunct professors who were remunerated essentially by the number of students they were able to attract to their outreach courses concerning Africa, Asia and Latin America.

From the early 1970s CEAA, with the approval of Candido Mendes, had hosted seminars, panel discussions and meetings on Brazilian race relations, Afro-Brazilian culture and religion, as well as serving as an institutional commentator on Brazil's developing African Initiative.(15) Afro-Brazilian university groups like Andre Reboucas, cultural activist organizations, such as SINBA, found institutional acceptance and ideological tolerance at the Candido Mendes center. While their views and stands on issues would often be debated and intellectually challenged by staff at CEAA, there was always the important assumption at the Center, that the Brazilian national problem of racial prejudice and discrimination desperately required public discussion and analysis, in order to address the issues of economic, social and political marginalization of the Afro-Brazilian community.(16)

The fact that CEAA had the institutional history of linking together the liberation movements in Lusophone Africa, the Brazilian foreign policy initiative for Africa and the Afro-Brazilian social and cultural movement made it a logical choice for a Ford Foundation program action in Afro-Brazilian Affairs. CEAA published a respected academic journal, Cadernos Candido Mendes Estudos Afro-Asiaticos, devoted to research on Africa, Asia and Afro-Brazilians. CEAA had gained an academic reputation, as well as a national (and international) reputation as a progressive and socially activist institution.(17) While the African Studies Center at the Universidade de Sao Paulo(USP) had closer ties to the Brazilian Ministry of Foreign Relations, and had served as intellectual advisor to diplomats mapping out the Africa Initiative, the USP academicians did not encourage Afro-Brazilian

studies at their center, having decided that Africa research was a separate and distinct field to be studied in isolation from Brazilian domestic social problems. In the case of the Bahian center, CEA0, the preferred research focus, historically, was on Afro-Brazilian religion and culture; there was scant institutional interest in writing on Afro-Brazilian political and social problems, despite the Bahian reality that the largest Black Brazilian population was to be found in that region.(18)

In discussions with Ford Foundation staff during 1979-80, the Candido Mendes Center for African and Asian Studies emphasized not only their willingness to undertake a major program in Afro-Brazilian research and study, but an institutional commitment to withstand any official criticism that this new academic initiative might engender.(19) One reason CEAA believed it could launch a research project on the controversial ideology of the Brazilian racial democracy was that the Center had institutional legitimacy and friends in the highest political circles in Lusophone Africa, and elsewhere on the continent. These African friends, who were chiefs-of-state, prime ministers and cabinet officials were major participants in the Brazilian African Initiative and Dialogue; they could have become concerned (and possibly obstructionist), if the Candido Mendes center had been subject to any strict censure by the Brazilian government for promoting a research program on Afro-Brazilian studies.

CEAA also had a reasonably good professional relationship with Itamaraty, because of its institutional image in Africa, respected academic journal on African affairs, and close friendships with African political leaders and intellectuals. The Center was an obligatory stop for all official African delegations visiting Rio, while its then director often would be contacted by Brazilian diplomats needing political, social and economic data on the African continent.(20) These activities and institutional accomplishments provided CEAA with a certain coverage and margin to withstand public criticism, and Brazilian academic indifference to the subject of race relations, conceived and studied as a national problem.

The indifference and/or hostility of Brazilian academia to the subject of race has been widely discussed by scholars of Brazilian race relations(21), so that for the Ford Foundation, as well as CEAA, to undertake such a program constituted some risk of opposition with the Foundation's traditional grantees in the social sciences. This problem was compounded for the Foundation, as the Afro-Brazilian program coincided with a new Foundation-wide emphasis on providing support for community development and social action programs, in conjunction with its more traditional support for research. The attempt to enter the realm of social activism and work directly with grassroots organizations would provide the Ford Foundation with a new image and direction, that was welcomed by

some within the developing country societies in which the Foundation worked, but criticized by others, mainly academicians, as diverting scarce funds from academic institutions of excellence (often started with Ford Foundation support), during a time of decreasing national economic support for the social sciences. (22) In Brazil, such criticism was levelled at the Foundation and for many Brazilian social scientists, the new institutional interest in race relations was seen to be a rather curious diversion or detour from more mainstream research interests: labor and social class issues, anthropology, rural sociology, peasant studies, urbanization, indigenous peoples, Brazilian international relations within the hemisphere, human rights and censorship issues related to the military dictatorship, disarmament policies and geopolitical strategic relations. As the Foundation was also expanding its new program effort in Brazil for women's studies research and social action, a symbiosis would develop between it and the Afro-Brazilian work that was being undertaken. (23)

In 1979-80, discussion surrounding an Afro-Brazilian Studies program centered on the absence of trained Black scholars in the country, and what could be done to substantially increase that number of scholars, as well as increasing national interest among non-white and white scholars on studying Afro-Braziliana. It was felt that the institutional universe of Afro-Brazilian cultural and social groups needed to be determined, and that information made available to scholars interested in the field. This information was also seen to be important to the effort of attracting new researchers. (24) Afro-Brazilian history was little known and studied within Brazil, absent from curricula in colleges, high schools and primary schools. The new program, hopefully, would begin to fill that scholastic void, supporting the work of an historian of popular history to undertake a monograph series.

The initial program objective carefully provided for targetted support to hold two major conferences, one international meeting to join African and Brazilian specialists in a formal analysis of the Brazilian African Initiative and its impact on the Afro-Brazilian community, and a national conference of Afro-Brazilian social activist and cultural organizations to assess the state of Afro-Brazilian affairs. (25) The 1981 international conference hosted scholars from Africa, the United States and Brazil, as well as Brazilian diplomats attached to the Africa bureau of Itamaraty and African diplomats assigned to Brazil. Issues raised during that meeting, particularly those relating to the intersection of foreign policy and domestic race relations, ultimately, had the effect of causing real consternation at the Ministry of Foreign Relations. During the conference, an African diplomat posted to Brazil, stated that his personal observations were of a society in which people of African descent were marginalized severely in economic, political

and social terms. The statements, while not subject to an immediate public rebuttal or response from the Itamaraty delegates attending the conference, would engender a response when the Brazilian diplomats returned to Brasilia. It was felt by them that a potential international incident had been avoided, only because there were no journalists (national or international) present in the hall when the African ambassador made his 'undiplomatic' remarks concerning racial prejudice in Brazilian society. There was discussion within the Ministry of Foreign Relations that the conference risked compromising the Brazilian African Initiative, and questions were raised concerning the real intentions of the Ford Foundation Afro-Brazilian program, and the role being played by the present author, in stirring up potential racial conflict because of his North American 'African-American' origin and perspectives on the issue of race. (26)

The incident at Candido Mendes was considered sufficiently grave, so as to request an appearance by the then United States Ambassador at the Ministry of Foreign Relations. He was asked to respond to a series of questions concerning the Ford Foundation, its objectives and programs for Brazil, as well as the character and professional competency of the present author, to serve as program officer in charge of the new Afro-Brazilian program. The Ambassador gave a strong endorsement of the Foundation, reminding the Foreign Ministry that Ford's major aim was to support research in the social sciences. He stated that the Rio conference had been essentially academic in nature, neither polemical nor political; regarding the controversy concerning the program officer, he pointed out that the present author had been a professor of African history at the Fundacao Universidade de Brasilia, for more than two years, in the period immediately prior to his being hired by the Ford Foundation, therefore he certainly was not an unknown quantity to Itamaraty. (27)

The explanation of the ambassador seemed to mollify the Foreign Ministry, as no formal complaint or comment was directed at the Foundation. However, news of the incident, ex post facto, gave Foundation staff reason for reflection and serious consideration of the program, given a general consensus that Ford did not want a repeat of the problems encountered by the Inter-American Foundation. However, the two situations, while comparable in certain respects, were not really identical.

The Ford Foundation had a physical presence in Brazil, through the establishment of a field office in the mid-1960s. The Inter-American Foundation, by institutional choice, did not have field offices, or a fixed and permanent presence within the countries in which it worked and financed program activities. The field office was subject to tax legislation, and regulation as a national

entity, which gave it a certain institutional legitimacy, as a Brazilian office of an international organization, whose foreign professional staff all possessed permanent residency visas for Brazil. This institutional continuity and direct presence as a funder for major national institutions of education and research, and the fact the Foundation had provided scholarships for graduate study for many of the country's finest scholars and government technocrats, would have made a demand for the Ford Foundation to cease its operations in Brazil, a potentially controversial call for the government, although obviously a defensible one, if the government were to deem it necessary. (28) The lengthy Ford Foundation institutional history in Brazil was one of the arguments used as a justification for initiating the Afro-Brazilian program area; the logic being that Ford's commitment to the development of the Brazilian social sciences demonstrated a loyalty to the country, and to national development that would allow the Foundation to withstand criticism concerning a controversial or unpopular area of program activity.

DEVELOPMENT OF AFRO-BRAZILIAN INSTITUTIONS

In 1980, a diverse universe of Black Brazilian cultural and social activist groups presented themselves for consideration and possible funding under the new Foundation program initiative. As the priority area was (and would remain) institutional support for the development of social science research on the Afro-Brazilian experience, and training for Afro-Brazilian researchers, criteria for support to cultural and social activist groups was less well defined. Given the complexities, diversity and divisions within the Afro-Brazilian movement in 1980, the institutional characteristics of grassroots organizations generally, and the Foundation's understandable caution in entering an area of program activity, so politically sensitive; a go slow attitude seemed appropriate in developing criteria and defining guidelines. However, through benefit of "20/20 hindsight", this absence of well defined criteria would prove problematic in the medium-term.

What were expectations of the Foundation vis-a-vis the social activist community groups, and what were their expectations of the Foundation? The early years of the Afro-Brazilian program did require continual explanation both of the Ford Foundation-- which would give pause upon occasion-- and the reasons for Foundation interest in supporting Afro-Brazilian groups. Given the well known political sensitivity of social activism and community development, and the not readily apparent number of successful institutions working in the field of community development, a de facto decision was made to concentrate on cultural institutions. That decision also recognized the potentially social transformational nature of Afro-Brazilian culture, which during the

the needs of considerable numbers of their students who were Afro-Brazilian. Programs in cultural awareness and Afro-Brazilian history were subsequently introduced in the courses for the children, and more attention was given to the curriculum materials and the orientation which the educators provided in their teacher training courses, to public school teachers within Porto Alegre and the state of Rio Grande do Sul. (32)

In both instances, the project directors were genuinely interested and sympathetic to the idea of the promotion of Afro-Brazilian culture and history. Neither of their programs was conceived or funded under the Afro-Brazilian rubric; neither had an Afro-Brazilian ideological basis. However, ongoing discussions with Foundation staff concerning the medium-term objectives of the program to raise national consciousness concerning the exclusion of Afro-Brazilians within Brazilian society, was understood by both project directors to be a national problem, on requiring national solutions and dialogue. The feeling of the present author is that the ongoing amicable discussions with these particular grantees served to motivate them into looking within their own constituencies and communities. Again, both projects were located in geographical areas of very limited Black population.

The question of geography and ethnic composition is important, as too often regions with large Afro-Brazilian populations show themselves to be resistant to programs designed to increase Black cultural awareness. Salvador, Bahia is perhaps the prime example. Lengthy program discussions and attempts were made to locate and support a major social action and cultural effort in that northeastern state with a majority Afro-Brazilian population. Foundation staff were frustrated, generally, in their attempt, as anticipated program opportunities and groups were unable to sustain their efforts at popular mobilization. Personality conflicts and personalism impeded institutional development within other organizations, thereby making the hoped for program of social action and community development a more long-range possibility, than a short or medium-term reality.

Some insight into the institutional problems and the inauspicious climate for developing Afro-Brazilian programs in Bahia can be seen from a brief discussion of the problems encountered in attempting to establish a teacher training course in African and Afro-Brazilian Studies, within the municipal secretariat of education, in Salvador. The reasoning behind the program award was the fact of the city's overwhelmingly Afro-Brazilian population and the complete absence of material within the school curriculum that pertained either to Africa or to Afro-Brazilian history and culture. As the Federal University of Bahia was the home for an internationally respected and venerable research center on African and Oriental Studies, the Centro de

Estudos Afro-Orientais, it was agreed that Center researchers would fashion and administer a multi-disciplinary extension course for the high school teachers, most of whom were themselves of African descent. The problems started when the course idea went to the secretariat for approval. What was the intellectual justification or need for such a course, some bureaucrats queried? Why was the Ford Foundation funding extension or outreach courses for secondary school teachers, at a time when the municipal school system of Salvador was facing severe budget shortages and cutbacks? Was the emphasis on Africa and by extension, Afro-Brazilian Studies going to foster racism and exclusionism among the majority Black school children who eventually would be the recipients (or targets), of the extension course information transmitted to their teachers?

The consequence of these and other questions posed to the course organizers at the university research center was to delay implementation of the project for almost a year. Several teachers who had been contacted initially about the program and were enthusiastic, lost interest by the time the course was finally implemented; researchers were equally frustrated as they were compelled to rearrange calendars and schedules with each new delay. While the course obtained some of its objectives, its effectiveness and impact had been harmed by the prolonged delay, and dissipation of interest among the prospective teacher-students. Importantly, the momentum that had been created at the beginning of the project, which had the goal of convincing the municipal secretariat to modify the curriculum to include more information on African history, and possibly Afro-Brazilian history and culture, was another serious casualty of the late initiation of the teacher training experience. Bureaucratic inertia, or an astute action by the local educational establishment to block an initiative that was seen to be politically inconvenient; the observer is left to decide. (33)

Salvador also presented other challenges, as theoretically promising program ideas would not develop institutionally, for reasons that at the time, seemed illusive. Much program discussion and staff time, over a two to three-year period, were invested in the city's youthful and energetic 'Afro' cultural community of blocos and afoxes. (34) Having demonstrated an admirable ability to organize, annually, groups of 3-4,000 youth to celebrate the carnival festivities with African-inspired music, costumes, songs and dance forms, the movement represented the potential for significant popular mobilization and education on issues of social concern to the Black community in Salvador. Discussions with the leaders of selected groups seemed to demonstrate in-depth understanding of this transformational quality of their cultural movement, and a sincere willingness to raise the consciousness of the young poor urban youth, who came together each year to express their 'African' solidarity in an explosion of music and dance. The afoxe directors

talked about mobilizing the cultural groups for urban improvements in their slum neighborhoods, or against police brutality directed at poor black male youth. There were ideas to organize members to create community daycare centers in poor neighborhoods, which would provide working mothers the same professional mobility afforded the then-extant middle class. Proposed education programs would seek to serve a slum youth population that had dropped out of traditional schools, too often before primary school had been successfully completed. 'Afro' inspired courses would seek to recapture this lost group, providing basic education, along with some job skills and a cultural grounding process that would link the youth with their African and Afro-Brazilian heritage. Implementation of these ambitious community development objectives would always be delayed; at times the delays were the result of Brazil's redemocratization process. As the early 1980s gave the country some political choice after decades of imposed military rule, many young Black Bahian cultural leaders began experimenting with regular politics--which in Bahia always would have a cultural connection--thereby leaving the community development planning and action to go on hold. The political manipulation of the cultural community in Salvador is a well-researched topic and beyond the immediate purview of the present paper, (35) However, it would also negatively affect program development in this field, as community mobilization campaigns were diverted with offers of financial support for renovation or expansion of their organization's facilities, or a free cultural trip to Africa for selected leaders, to enable them to discover their own cultural roots. Again, these diversions from the serious long-term business of community organizing on the one hand are understandable, as national society was in transition. However, for a white elite in Bahia, potentially challenged by growing political consciousness among the non-white majority, these diversions clearly were in the interests of that dominant class. The anticipated Foundation program in Salvador did not develop during the early 1980s.

The overarching issue of culture's relationship to group economic and social transformation did not wither away; either as a national concern for the Afro-Brazilian social and political movement, or as a core interest in the Foundation's program thinking on Afro-Brazil. It was one of the motivations in starting an Afro-Brazilian Studies Research nucleus (IPEAFRO) at the Pontifical Catholic University of Sao Paulo (PUC-SP), under the direction of veteran Black Brazilian political activist, actor painter and author Abdias do Nascimento, currently Federal Senator from Rio de Janeiro on the Democratic Worker's Party (PDT). A political risk that was somewhat mitigated by Brazil's changing political climate of the 1980s and the liberal academic atmosphere provided by PUC-SP, this experiment in supporting an Afro-Brazilian Studies research center also suffered serious alterations, due to national politics. When Nascimento decided to enter politics in Rio

de Janeiro, the nascent Sao Paulo center, would eventually be moved to Rio's State University(UERJ), but it lost academic momentum, and the invaluable full time services of Nascimento as director and inspiration for the small researcher team working on monographs analyzing selected quilombos, the runaway slave communities of Brazil.(36) IPEAFRO had also proposed to initiate pilot projects in community restoration and development, sensitive to the needs of the quilombo residents; however these community development plans were also frustrated by national politics.

While this phenomenon of the early 1980s certainly was not limited to Afro-Brazilian community development groups--Brazilian civil society, as a totality, was reawakening and establishing its position within the measured political opening allowed by the military--the Black groups were more fragile, institutionally, and historically lacked large numbers of leaders with both vision and organizational experience. The temporary loss of community leaders to politics was particularly damaging to Afro-Brazilian community development, retarding that process, as group and individual efforts were directed at national, state and municipal politics, with limited electoral gains. While this is not a criticism of important efforts at political maturation, that are vital to the community's long-term advancement and development, the deflection of Black human resources and time from the social and economic priorities did leave a serious void within the larger Afro-Brazilian community.

During the early 1980s, the Foundation's community development program had to content itself with small modest institutional development. A Rio de Janeiro 'Afro' dance group proposed a cultural education program to instill self-discipline and organizational skills to children in selected favela communities, through the medium of teaching African and Afro-Brazilian dance. While the objectives and program activities were of short or medium-term duration, unexpected, but welcomed results from the program were better performance in school for some of the participants, and an interest by the Rio de Janeiro State government, then under the first administration of PDT Governor, Leonel Brizola, to expand the dance education program to other favela areas of the city of Rio. The dance group received some limited funding and technical support of the municipality to provide outreach courses and 'Afro' dance presentations to poor and working class communities within the city. Afro-Brazilian culture was being used to raise the community's consciousness about itself and its potential for change. That the dance program also 'fit' into the cultural programs and priorities of the ruling PDT political party, was understood by the dance directors, and accepted as they saw the outreach program as an opportunity to reach a wide Black audience that had never seen professional Afro-Brazilian dance, an audience that would never have the financial

resources to see the troupe perform in an elite theatre in Copacabana, which during the early 1980s was an upper middle-class neighborhood in Rio's South Zone (Zona Sul).

A not always successful attempt was made to link up Foundation grantees working in different, but complementary program areas. Grantees developing program activities to promote slum reform and provide legal assistance/community development programs for favela associations were made aware of the efforts of the Afro-Brazilian culturalists, who were developing often the same constituencies and organizations. Sometimes these arranged marriages did indeed take, and grantees might jointly sponsor a program, such as the domestic household workers association inviting Afro-Brazilian representatives to lecture the maids during the annual Afro-Brazilian Consciousness Day celebrations each November 20th. (38) The favela newspaper Favelao (Big Favela), a spinoff of the Pastoral Favela Commission's Foundation-supported community development/legal assistance program, did meet regularly with members of the Afro-Brazilian movement, to target issues and problems within the Rio favela community that intersected with the question of race.

In Sao Paulo, a community development program of popular education, mental health and preventive health care, centered in the suburban city of Osasco, was directed by an Afro-Brazilian Catholic priest, who was also professor of psychology at PUC-SP. Politically adept at both church and academic politics, the priest was a part of the Black Catholic movement, working to raise consciousness within the Church for promotion of a more effective ministry to address Afro-Brazilian problems and needs. This singular priest had also written a doctoral dissertation, in Rome, that was based upon a psychological interpretation of candomble. By temperament, training and life experience, he was a natural link to several Foundation program areas; with his natural exuberance and extroverted personality, Padre Mauro Batista was able to make connections with programs in Afro-Brazilian Studies, popular participation and education and urban poverty. He thereby enriched his own community development work, while providing informed opinion and practical experiences for some of the Foundation's other grantees and programs. (39)

The synergism described above did not happen as regularly as Foundation staff would have hoped. Also the difficulty of locating and expeditiously promoting a more large scale Afro-Brazilian community development project, ultimately became costly in staff time and justification for increased financial resources from Foundation headquarters in New York. While this can be understood in retrospect as a consequence of a program and a social movement at early stages of maturation, a degree of frustration was

experienced by staff, both in the field and at headquarters, as expected programs inevitably would require more time and patience to mature into solid institutions with track records to merit Foundation assistance. Development agencies too often promote the concept and provide the literature analyzing the evolutionary nature of sustainable development; however for a variety of circumstances and constraints and pressures from boards of trustees, the public and peers within the development community, an institutional climate exists in which grants or loans are to be moved ahead and processed as expeditiously as possible. If the institution is in the business of lending or giving away funds, that business ethic, logically is to be respected and rigorously pursued. When a program area resists the general institutional timetable, it becomes problematic. I would argue that this became the reality for the early Foundation Afro-Brazilian community development program, which through 1985, had not identified a major successful program action, in part for reasons already discussed.