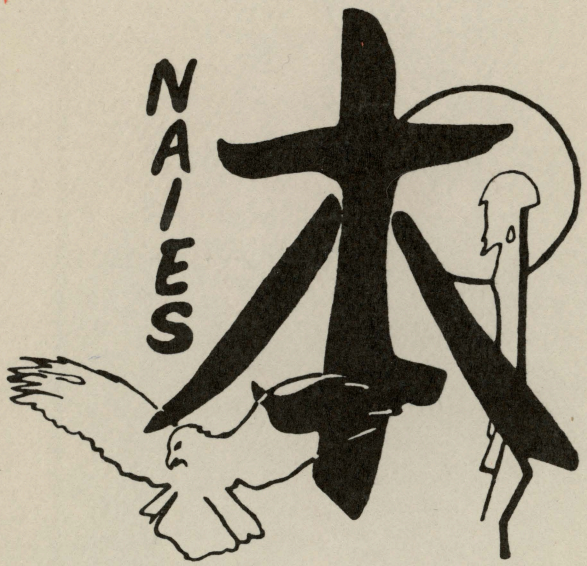
EXPLORATIONS IN ETHNIC STUDIES



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EXPLORATIONS IN ETHNIC STUDIES

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INTRODUCTION

This issue of *Explorations in Ethnic Studies* brings into focus the vision NAIES has had from the onset, i.e., the pursuit of "explorations and solutions" to problems within the context of oppression as they relate to the coloured ethnic minority experience in the U.S. and other places. In two separate essays, Jack Forbes and Vine Deloria present issues which ethnic studies proponents must address if such study is to be viable. These writers recognize ethnic studies as being about the business of empowering individuals to be creatively involved in their futures. Forbes and Deloria present varying perspectives, recognizing the history and implications of fascism and institutional racism on a global scale as well as the more immediate policies such as affirmative action and ethnic minority preference.

In his essay, Forbes traces the history of fascism from its roots to its current manifestations in the Americas. He points out the oppression of Indians in the Americas and, by extension, the oppression of indigenous peoples everywhere. Forbes makes clear, however, that oppression is by no means limited to indigenous populations; particularly by looking at historical and contemporary politics in the United States, he shows how fascism has been allowed to flourish, albeit in disguised forms, in this country.

Deloria continues where Forbes leaves off by discussing some specific examples of institutional racism in this country. He too points out how accustomed we have all become to the policies which foster and indeed encourage racism and sexism. We are all guilty—corporations, the government, those who do the hiring, and even the ethnic minorities who aspire to positions within the corporate structure. The recognition of the tangled webs we weave between and among the parties who perpetuate racist policies is what is important and what can lead us to liberation of ourselves and freedom from the power of the corporate state.

The accompanying critiques of the essays are designed to strengthen and focus the issues by presenting a number of specific ideas which give credence to the more general topics of fascism and institutional racism. In particular, Shirley Vining Brown's response to Forbes's essay serves as a bridge for linking the topics. She focuses on contemporary political issues as they affect ethnic minorities today and forces us to visualize what the future will be without active intercessions on the part of knowledgeable persons.

Charles C. Irby

Facism: A Review of Its History and Its Present Cultural Reality in the Americas

Jack D. Forbes

The Italians may have given us the word "fascismo," but whether we use that word or the Spanish "falangismo" or the German "National Socialism" (Naziism) we are talking about a form of social organization which has a complex history. Indeed, many persons wrongly believe that fascism as a political system first achieved state power in Italy in the 1920s. However, *fascism in modern times first achieved independent (sovereign) power in the Americas*—in the Argentina of Juan Manuel de Rosas (1830s) and in the Confederate States of America (1860-1865).

The position developed here is that there is an extremely close relationship existing between fascism and colonialism (or conquest) and that it is in conquered regions and especially overseas colonies that fascism as a cultural system is most often nurtured historically. Fascism is commonly thought of as a dictatorship of the "right" and more precisely as a totalitarian autocracy in which the wealthy classes and commercial corporations are protected in their property by the state and exercise an influential and privileged position. As an historically evolving ideology and culture, fascism contains many elements borrowed from other systems. None of its characteristics are unique *per se*; it is rather the combination and use of these characteristics which comprises the distinctive character of fascism.

Certain key elements must be present before a system can be called fascist. Key characteristics include: (1) authoritarian government; (2) a one-party or one-ideology system; (3) wealthy-class dominance; (4) militarism and a military tradition where warfare is exalted; (5) a close interlock between powerful commercial interests and the state, with generous profits for the former; (6) an object of hate (an "anti" ideology) used to galvanize the masses such as anti-Communist or Socialist, anti-black, anti-Indian, anti-labor unions, anti-Jewish, anti-Protestant, and anti-Catholic; (7) an exalted sense of "mission," "destiny," and "superiority," such as super-race ideas, "manifest destiny," and crusading

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zeal; and (8) the mobilization of the masses in such a manner as to control their thinking and to use mass-support to crush "enemies" where the masses are "pursuaded" to act against their own class interests. In addition to the key elements, there are certain secondary characteristics which are usually present to one degree or another.

These secondary characteristics include: (1) religious bigotry, racism, and conformity-uniformity; (2) a distrust of outsiders and "foreign" ideas, i.e., a cultivated hyper-nationalism; (3) imperialism and colonialism; (4) the use of secret organizations and right-wing terrorist groups to silence opposition or to control the "enemy"; (5) brutal assassinations and terror, to immobilize the "enemy" and the "neutral"; (6) systematic spying on citizens and thought-control; (7) control of media; (8) "ghettoization" or imprisonment or even elimination of "undesirables"; (9) the use of an established church or state-dictator cults to create loyalty; and (10) the use of pageantry, ceremonies, and other evocative tools to control the masses.

It should be understood that we are not always talking about "one-man" dictatorships. More often than not the dictator-leader, although appearing to the public as a decisive individual possessing total power, is financed by, and must share power with, a less well-known grouping of wealthy people such as military officers and clerics. In the Confederate States of America or in modern South Africa, the leader might be elected (selected is a better word) by a one-party society which allows no other ideological choice.

It should also be clear that not all authoritarian societies are fascist. To put it simply, traditional oligarchical or autocratic systems can allow for great ethnic diversity, religious tolerance, justice for peasants, and freedom of speech, depending upon the circumstances. It might be added, too, that in fascist states leaders normally lack any hereditary or traditional right to rule, which might be one explanation for the tactics often employed to guarantee the retention of power. But "newness" to power is not an absolute condition.

Fascism often arises when the wealthy classes or some other privileged group (including in some cases, the middle or working class) feels threatened with a loss of wealth or

position. The wealthy class typically supports a dictator or a military junta in order to crush the opposition. *On the other hand, fascism can also develop because of the fear of not being able to grab enough "loot" or wealth.* Such a condition emerges in the developmental stages of colonialism and under slavery systems when an avaricious colonial-settler population insists upon enslaving Indians or blacks in spite of the lack of any legal basis for doing so and the lack of any fear of attack or opposition.

These are elements usually present in more modern forms of fascism: preventing the loss of wealth and privilege, and enhancing opportunities for acquiring new wealth—usually at the expense of lands to be conquered, workers to be exploited, slaves to be seized, or property to be confiscated. The prospect of gaining more wealth helps, of course, to enlist the support of avaricious sectors of the lower-class.

The Origins of Fascism

Fascism is not merely political in the narrow sense. It is more correctly cultural phenomena, crossing into virtually all spheres of behavior. It may be well said that a fascist movement and a fascist state arise only in a culture which already has fascist tendencies. The tendencies or elements seem to arise in different times and places but gradually come to be part of the cultural baggage of a great many peoples.

Fascism, or at the very least its key elements, originates in colonies or in outlying areas being raided or conquered. In fact, many such situations, and especially where settler-populations are involved, are almost inherently fascistic due to the very nature of conquest and exploitation. *When fascism occurs in the metropolis (the center of the empire) it is essentially the bringing into that center of the politics and values of the colony or the periphery. In short, the colonial system conquers the metropolis.*

It is probably out of conquest and colonialism that rigid systems of social stratification first arise. This happens because the original natives (the conquered) are reduced in status or because slaves and workers are introduced from conquered areas, or both. Such a situation appears to have

developed in ancient Egypt as well as in other early empires. Systems of control must be developed to prevent the lower classes and slaves from rebelling or acting as free persons.

In this context concepts of cultural superiority, messianic destiny, and religious bigotry seemed to arise quite early in the Middle Eastern area. The oppression of the Hebrews as slaves during the "captivity" period and the alleged plan to virtually exterminate them would seem to mark such a development. Once the Hebrews escaped, however, they invaded Canaan as a "chosen people" and proceeded to inflict an analagous system upon the Canaanites. The attempt to suppress the worship of Baal and other Canaanite deities would seem to mark an especially serious turning point in human history since it indicates the appearance of religious exclusiveness and bigotry, a characteristic not generally common to earlier empires.

The theocratic Hebrew state, with a close interlock between the priesthood and the government (in fact, with the denial of any government but the priesthood during certain periods), creates the basis for the more modern ideologically-exclusive state. *Intolerance and bigotry become virtues, signs of piety as it were, in a society geared to the ideal of total and massive obedience to a "divine" law.*

Quite clearly, when "law" is "god-made" rather than man-made, one enters into a seriously circumscribed political-ideological game. Christianity and Islam, at a later date, tend to inherit this orientation and "the one true faith" idea with an elaborate set of "sacred" rules (the Bible, the Koran) contributes to the rise of the monolithic ideological cult. Judaism, Christianity, Islam, and Marxist-Leninism are all similar cultural manifestations featuring the "true believer" with "true doctrine" written down in some book. The frequent intolerance and inflexibility characteristic of the Judaeo-Christian-Islamic-Marxist-Leninist tradition is a potent factor also in the rise of fascism. It should be noted, however, that the sacred books of the Jews, Christians, Muslims, and Marxists all possess enough ambiguity to provide for multiple interpretations, once literacy is widespread. Also, some of the "rules" therein may limit certain kinds of arbitrary abuse of human beings, while other "rules" foster oppression.

It is worth noting that all of the early "messianic" religions used mobs to destroy their enemies (it was a mob that condemned Yoshua-Jesus to be crucified). Christian and Islamic mobs have been used for almost 1500 years, off and on, to destroy rival temples, libraries, schools, sects, et cetera, and to liquidate or intimidate "enemies." *The use of the religious mob as a political-religious tool must be considered to be a key "invention" in the rise of proto-fascism.*

"Mob" means more than just the masses throwing rocks or burning; it also means "frenzied" armies of true believers as in the Islamic conquests and Christian "crusades." Mobs can be armed with "serious" weapons and can be induced to die and kill for "God" or ideology (even though some of the leaders of such armies may be more interested in profit than in death).

Between 400 C.E. and 1700 C.E. proto-fascism comes very close to being fascism, *per se*, as a part of the creation of Christian and Islamic societies allowing for little or no dissent from orthodoxy. Fascism largely waxes and wanes according to the fervor of the "faithful" and perhaps it is best merely to say that, in general, a fascist spirit is often offset by kingly or governmental desires to create stable, rational states with widespread trade and consequently some tolerance of religious minorities, e.g., Islamic fervor subsides in favor of allowing Jews and Christians to exist so long as the latter pay taxes and keep out of sight.

The Roman State also had a role in the evolution of fascism or proto-fascism, especially after the fall of the republic. The military rulers who often dominated Rome from Julius Caesar onward had frequent recourse to the use of mobs, private armies, terrorism, spying, assassination, circuses for the masses, and slave labor. (Christians and Jews both became "enemies" during the late days of the empire.) This tendency continued with the Byzantine State, of course. Reference is also made to "state cults," dictator worship, and the like.

With the Roman and other empires of that era, we really see the politics of the colony "coming home" to the metropolis with a vengeance so that Rome acquired the characteristics of a colony itself—so did Athens and

Constanitnople. The metropolis came to be filled with non-citizens, many as slaves, who became a foreign and colonialized mass threatening stability. The non-citizens, of course, had to be controlled by force and other comparable means. External "enemies" were also created by means of imperialism. For example, Carthaginians, Germans, Gauls, Turks, and others, and the constant threat posed by them, helped to justify the development of a warfare-state with internal controls becoming more rigid as time passed.

After the triumph of Christianity in Europe it was religious bigotry and war-lord desires to crush the peasantry which created quasi-fascist conditions in many areas, especially during the 1500s and 1600s. John Calvin's theocracy in Geneva, the Catholic "reconquest" state in Spain, and many Lutheran areas in Germany, to mention but a few, serve as examples of fascist or nearly fascist situations.

Spain presents an interesting example, because it was a case where Jewish, Protestant, and Moorish "threats" were used to justify rampant militarism, terrorism, thought-control, ideological conformity, and the destruction of traditions of popular participation (as in Aragon). The expulsion of the Jews, and later of the Moors, the Inquisition, the expropriation of Jewish and Moorish property, aggressive military adventurism, and the wars against Granada, Morocco, and the Native Americans all remind us very much of a colonialist-fascist society.

Mobs were certainly used against the Jews in Spain and spying was widespread to discover "relapsed" converts or Protestants. The Spanish masses, too, were allowed to participate to a degree in the "looting" of the Americas. The wealthy classes, mercantile as well as landlord, participated fully in the profit-taking of the "reconquest" and of the empire overseas. The Spain of Phillip II was a fascist state. Phillip II's state was more violent and more genocidal than the falangist Spain of Francisco Franco (1935-1970s). Franco at least allowed Jews and Protestants to meet behind closed doors in buildings with no signs or symbols on them, even if communists, socialists, and anarchists were hunted down.

Fascism in the Americas

Whatever we may think about post-Ferdinand Spain, it is clear that the Spanish colonial areas overseas received a "heavy dose" of fascism and developed their own variations thereof. It is important to look briefly at a Spanish colony such as California or New Mexico to analyze the fascist characteristics present even in frontier areas of the empire.

Like most of the Christian and Islamic empires after about 400 C.E., the Spanish State was an "ideological empire" as well as a profit-seeking one. Thus, in California, New Mexico, and elsewhere, no ideological deviations were tolerated whatsoever. Indians might merely be lashed or imprisoned for non-Catholic practices but Spanish-speaking persons could be executed for heresy or "relapse" into Judaism or Islam. Unorthodox books were burned, although, in fact few people were literate enough to read them. We are focusing on an almost completely closed society, and a very bigoted one indeed.

The outlying Spanish colonies were all organized along military lines and all decisions originated at higher levels. The wealthier Spanish-speakers were rewarded with generous grants of Indian land and labor and everywhere the Spaniards and their mixed-racial descendents clearly comprehended the social and economic benefits to be derived from the exploitation of the Indian (and African) masses. The rule came to be clearly developed and remains true today in much of the Americas: to be Indian is to be exploitable; to be a *civilizado* (mestizo, ladino, white) person is to be able to do the exploiting.

At the bottom of society in California and New Mexico were the ninety to ninety-five percent of the population: the Native People. They were denied virtually all civil, political, human, and religious rights and were regarded legally as children. Tens of thousands died in the so-called "missions," especially in California, while many others perished in warfare or from disease and loss of resources. All had to work for the Spaniards, either in the "missions," as *peones*, or as tributaries obliged to pay taxes to a feudal overseer.

Nothing is lacking for making this fascist system: bigotry, crusading zeal, racial superiority ideas, spying, terror, protection of the wealthy classes, autocracy, an "enemy" (the Indian, and especially the "untamed" or "unconverted" Indian)—all these characteristics were present, along with the spectacle provided by Catholic ceremonialism and profit-taking by the wealthy classes. We can even say that mobs were present, since the *gente de razon* (the "civilized") always conspired to keep the Indian under control (and, of course, colonial mobs actually rebelled against Spanish imperial reforms in both Mexico and Peru).

Apologists for the Spanish Empire may write lengthy books about the "rule of law" which attempted to view the Indian as a "human being" with certain basic rights, but this "rule of law" failed to operate in the overseas areas of the empire. Still further, even if Indians could not in theory be enslaved (except in "just" wars) or totally deprived of usufructary land rights they still could hardly ever be other than a brainwashed proletarian in a fascist culture. And they certainly were going to stay near the bottom, law or no law.

It is, of course, significant to point out that the Native People's worst enemies usually were the Spanish colonial settlers in the post-conquest periods. For example, colonial settlers caused the Indian University of Tlatelolco to be suppressed out of fear that a capable Native Mexican intelligentsia would survive the conquest and challenge European privilege. In general, *the attitude of settlers in colonial regions tends always to be more fascist, racist, and exploitive than are attitudes in the metropolis.* Although, in the case of Spain, it should be pointed out that Indian slaves were sent to Spain to join the blacks and Moors already in that country, but there is no indication that a "University of Tlatelolco" for such persons would have been tolerated in the metropolis either. But, of course, we must remember that southern Spain itself was a colony which was only conquered in 1492.

In spite of the rhetoric of the wars of independence, the fascist tradition of Spanish colonialism has often triumphed in much of Latin America. However, before discussing the post-independence era, let us look at the British colonies to see where fascist characteristics also appear.

There are areas where fascism emerged in the Anglo-Saxon empire, always in connection with settler-colonialism. The first is in Ireland (and especially Ulster and "the Pale"). The second is in Puritan New England. The third is in Virginia, South Carolina, and the slave colonies of Barbados, Jamaica, and elsewhere. Three patterns emerge—all are comparable in that conquered or "enemy" populations such as Irish, Indians, and Africans are to be controlled, removed, reduced to cheap labor, or enslaved.

In Ireland every effort is made to suppress the native Irish religion, language, and social structure. Large areas are cleared of Irish inhabitants and loyal settlers are introduced. The settlers, in turn, become partisans against the Irish, helping the empire to retain control. A fascist system develops in which "mobs" of the Orangemen ("Scotch-Irish") are used to help suppress the "wild" Irish. Religious bigotry, inter-ethnic hate, the popish "enemy," authoritarian government, and so on, all help to give a fascistic character to the Irish conquest. And it is significant to note that the Orange elements, when they migrated to Pennsylvania, Virginia, Tennessee, and Kentucky took their fascist tendencies with them, willing to treat the Native Americans as they had the Irish.

In Massachusetts the Puritans were carriers of John Calvin's religious bigotry and theocratic-capitalist politics. The structure of government was nominally republican but actually was a one-party, one-ideology oligarchy. Dissent was not tolerated. Quakers, Baptists, Unitarians, Catholics, and others were banned. Native Americans and blacks were enslaved, while the Indian "enemy" and the French served to justify the use of military mobs. The Puritan oligarchy became wealthier as the years went by while the Indian and black people were caused to lose property steadily or were precluded from gaining any.

Fascist tendencies, nonetheless, declined in New England after 1700 or so probably because the internal "enemy" (the non-whites) were reduced in numbers and the external "enemies" were no longer an immediate threat. Many other factors mitigated against fascism also: a high literacy rate, soil conditions favoring small farmers, and others which are beyond the scope of this presentation.

In the slave colonies from Maryland southwards to Barbados truly fascist systems evolved which are especially significant because they continued to thrive for many decades; the continental ones evolved eventually into the Confederate States of America. It is to be understood that many white readers will balk at picturing the society of Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, William Byrd, George Washington, and Robert E. Lee as being fascist. The romantic pictures we have of gentility, cultivated minds, elite liberalism, beautiful homes, and fine manners often do not allow us to see the slave cabins, the whips, the armed patrols, the lynchings and tortures, and the other mechanisms of terror and exploitation. Nor are we usually able to see the extreme avariciousness of the planter aristocracy and their constant seizure of Indian lands and black bodies.

Let us bear in mind that fascism, although a brutal system, often erects spendid palaces, monuments, and public works. And certainly the ruling fascists, whether capitalists, landed aristocracy, generals, or political leaders, can exhibit, at the proper time, cultivated tastes in wine and music, in art, and luxurious living.

We must not imagine fascists to always look like wild-eyed brutes with sharpened teeth! Since fascism is always interlocked with wealthy class interests, we must expect to find the wealthy class culture of leisure very much present in any fascist society. The brutality of fascism is almost always directed at the "enemy," not at the ruling classes. One's impressions of a fascist or quasi-fascist society can easily vary according to whether one contacts it at the upper levels or at the slave camp-prison camp levels, whether one visits wealthy friends or is forced to dwell in proletarian slums, whether one flies on jet planes or travels on second-class buses.

We see what we want to see when visiting places in South Africa or Latin America today, and we see what we want to see when romanticizing about the South of Jefferson and Lee. The reality is that the economic system of Virginia and the rest of the South was based on: (1) the naked seizure of Native land and resources, (2) constant aggression against Indians, (3) cheap labor (Indian, Scots, Irish, black), (4) the awarding of land to those whites wealthy enough to import slaves or servants, i.e., land was awarded on the basis of the

number of laborers brought in, and (5) a government absolutely controlled by and dedicated to the interests of the wealthy landed class and their merchant partners.

From about 1607 until the 1690s Virginia can be characterized as an authoritarian-wealthy class dominated society engaged in constant imperialism. It was not yet a fascist colony although the establishment of the Episcopal church as the only legal religion and the gradual appearance of Indian and black slavery need to be noted, along with the development of a racist-avaricious mob mentality on the part of middle-economic level white settlers. This latter tendency is clearly to be seen in the 1676-1677 "rebellion" of many white settlers led by Nathaniel Bacon.

The Bacon Rebellion was a fascist or quasi-fascist uprising. Basically it arose from the fact that although the royal government had allowed steady encroachment on Indian lands, especially on the part of individual planters; much territory, virtually all of Panunkey Neck and everything above the "fall line" of the rivers, was still in Native hands. Many Indian groups had achieved a certain "equilibrium," hunting for white planters or trading furs. The royal governor was allegedly involved in the fur trade and was accused of being "sympathetic" to the Indians.

In 1676 Andaste (Susquehana) and Doeg Indians from Maryland were driven into Virginia by the Iroquois and Maryland militia. A few whites were killed in northern Virginia; this was used by Bacon and his followers as an excuse for organizing a rebel army which attacked, in every case, peaceful tributary Native villages located along the Appomattox, Roanoke, James, and Panunkey rivers. Many hundreds were slaughtered and over a hundred Natives were enslaved.

In brief, a colonial settler mob cleared much land of Indian occupancy, acquired new slaves, and broke Native power in the tidewater region and beyond, all in illegal acts against peaceful Indians. Bacon was subsequently hung, but not for his killing of Indians.

This mob-like attack upon the Indians for economic purposes must be seen as the predecessor of many similar

actions later carried out by white settlers from Pennsylvania to the Deep South and in the West. These locally-organized mobs (militia units, irregular or regular) of white males are seemingly an immediate predecessor to the Ku Klux Klan of later years.

In the 1690s Virginia began to solidify the system of perpetual slavery for blacks and Indians. Thereafter, the system was strengthened by various statutes which permanently subjugated the slaves and also restricted the rights of free persons of color—Indian, African, or mixed. For example, colored persons were not allowed to bear arms or to testify against whites or hold any offices. During the 1700s, the system of slavery developed fully, Virginia presented this picture: a society in which almost half the population (or more in certain counties) was totally deprived of the most basic of human rights; a society utilizing terror and armed force to prevent escape or insurrection; a society wholly dominated by the wealthy planters and merchants; an aggressive society, seeking new lands beyond the Blue Ridge and even towards the Ohio River as well as southwards to Tennessee and west to Kentucky; an oligarchical political system; one legal church, the Episcopal; and the use of the poorer whites as overseers, patrolers, and militia men.

South Carolina after 1670 presents a similar picture, except that it was much more militaristic and vicious, carrying out constant raids upon various Indian tribes and Spanish Florida. Many thousands of Native slaves were kept in South Carolina or sold to New England or Barbados. The white settlers had to be constantly alert to control a very large slave population as well as to wage war periodically, especially towards Florida where Spanish-speaking Christian Indians could be captured.

During the Revolutionary era (1770s to 1790s) the condition of slaves and free colored people improved, especially in Virginia. The rhetoric of anti-colonialism perhaps served to make slavery seem incongruous. But by 1800 a reaction had set in, and between that date and 1860 an extremely rigid and fascist system gradually entrenched itself once more.

Free people of color were especially a target for abuse. Law after law restricted the rights of such people, including a

requirement that all free coloreds had to register in each county and had to re-register immediately if they traveled to a new county. Additionally, they could not have meetings, could not preach, could not teach, could not send children to school in the north, could not drive a carriage, and, of course, could not testify against a white, hold any offices, or vote.

In county after county white settlers attempted to force the removal of free colored people and the abolishment of any Indian reservations. This latter was accomplished in all but one case.

A completely fascist culture appeared in Virginia in the 1800s, especially from the 1830s to 1860. The slaves and free non-whites were the "enemies" and after the 1830s the "abolitionists" joined their ranks, becoming that era's equivalent of the "communist agitator" of our own century. Virginia had a one-ideology society and abolitionist or pro-black literature was outlawed and destroyed. Lynchings, armed patrols, spying, and distrust of outsiders were all part of the culture. All of this terror existed, of course, to allow the plantation owners and other whites to profit economically from slave labor.

The balance of the South was similar, except that armed aggression against Indians continued in many areas during the 1830s and 1840s and into the 1850s in Texas. In the latter area Mexicans were also a target for white mobs and terrorists.

White historians, by making reference to "Jacksonian democracy" and such similar terms, often give us a basic misconception about the politics of the South before 1869. However, no "democracy" can exist where Native People are being driven away or denied citizenship and where virtually half of the balance of the population is not even free to obtain wages for their labor, let alone vote. Illiteracy and poll taxes further limited the franchise and both parties, the Whig and the Democratic, were in agreement on the basic issues of slavery, status of free coloreds, and "removal" of Indians. Whites who were dissenters, as was the case with many Quakers and Mennonites, left the South during the period. It may be that the Whig party favored the white elite while the

Democratic Party favored the less wealthy white farmers, but neither party could challenge the issues fundamental to fascism, i.e., imperialism against Indians and Mexicans, slavery, the total denial of rights to free people of color, and the total denial of free speech on any of these issues.

What has been called "Jeffersonian" and "Jacksonian" democracy is, in many regions, nothing but "Frontier Fascism." The North, having abolished slavery and having absorbed many democratically-oriented immigrant groups, came to serve as a threat to the slavocratic system. Therefore, in the 1860s, the South attempted to establish an independent fascist state, one dedicated not only to the maintenance of tyranny but also to its expansion into Mexican and Spanish territory, as well as to the far Southwest and Oklahoma.

The Confederate States of America was the first independent fascist society in North America. It was a state founded in militarism and one taking great pride in its "macho" culture of dueling and the cultivation of warlike skills. Moreover, it was a society where non-whites were to be forever excluded from basic human rights by means of sheer terror. What fascist character is lacking? Certainly it was a one-ideology state where the interests of the wealthy classes were protected above all else.

After the Confederate States of America fell, the ex-rebels attempted to maintain fascism during "confederate reconstruction" (1865-1869). Thereafter, for a pitifully brief period of time (1869-1877) the U.S. Government sought to democratize the South politically *but not economically.* Northern capitalists could not bring themselves to seize the property of rebels for division among the ex-slaves, nor could they adopt the policy of colonizing blacks in the West.

Understandably, a racist-fascist system does not disappear overnight. Fascism is a form of culture and the culture survived the Union's conquest. Thus, during the 1870s, and especially from 1877 through the 1920s, one sees the concerted efforts of many whites to restore fascist rule and then to maintain it against all challenges by non-whites. The Ku Klux Klan and similar white terrorist groups were the "storm troopers" and "brown shirts" of the era, but they

were aided and even at times exceeded by the wealthy classes, planters as well as businessmen. The bi-racial reformist Populist Party posed a threat for a time but in typical fascist style it was neutralized and destroyed. The Republican Party never really took hold, because of its irreconcilable make-up of Northern capitalists and poor black southerners. Therefore, a one-party South came into being by the 1880s and by 1900 non-white representation and participation had all but ended. Jim Crow fascism triumphed and the methods utilized—terror, lynching, intimidation—are well-known.

It should also be noted that in the process of achieving a fascist victory the white wealthy classes succeeded in using the anti-black fear as an effective tool for persuading lower-class whites to support oligarchical rule. Typically, again, we see the effective fascist method of using hate and fear (anti-communist, anti-Jew) to get the masses to go against their own fundamental economic interests. What was happening, after the Civil War, was that corporate industrial capitalism and allied interests such as large cattle-ranchers, land-developers, and Southern planters were moving rapidly to control the wealth of the United States. The fascist tradition in the South proved to be a "natural" for achieving this objective, because it could be used to keep the lower-classes, white and colored, so divided that labor unions and reform parties could be prevented from developing.

It should also be noted that "Frontier Fascism" was widespread in areas such as California (where eighty percent of the Indian population was liquidated between 1850 and 1880 and where Indians and coloreds were prohibited from voting or testifying against whites until after the Civil War), and Colorado (where mobs were used to kill Indians—as at Sand Creek), Arizona (where an anti-Apache hate campaign led to the Camp Grant Massacre and where anti-Indian and Mexican laws were rapidly adopted), Oklahoma, and elsewhere. This "Frontier Fascism," often carried by settlers of Southern origin, helped to facilitate the establishment of corporation-dominated political systems in many states, as well as to lend cultural support to anti-foreign campaigns (anti-Chinese, anti-Japanese) and to the use of armed militia to break labor unions.

From the 1850s onward, and especially after 1870, the Native American survivors in the West were brought under the control of a completely totalitarian government agency, the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Each reservation became a fascist or quasi-fascist state in miniature, with the "agent" or "superintendent" having absolute authority over everything from the length of hair of adult males to the assignment of lands, to the issuing of passes to leave the reservation. *The significance of the creation of such a totalitarian agency should not be underestimated,* because it was sustained with a cultural predisposition for autocracy and totalitarianism.

The BIA reservation officials were backed up by white mobs ready to attack any rebellious Indians or to seize any "vacant" land. The invasion of the Black Hills in the 1870s and the invasion of Oklahoma in the 1880s and 1890s by hundreds of thousands of land-hungry "Sooners" should illustrate the magnitude of the threat posed by white settlers. The U.S. Army was, of course, used as the principal instrument of coercion but most Indians feared the settlers far more than they feared the regular army, because the settlers, like locusts, could not be stopped. Behind the ghettoization of the Native People was corporate capitalism and large land developers such as railroad companies which wanted lands and resources to be opened for economic exploitation.

On a national scale, then, the collusion between the wealthy classes and the federal government, vis-a-vis Indians, can be seen as a species of fascism since the government was closely interlocked with the wealthy as it took from the "enemy," i.e., Indians. Of course, the white lower-class were allowed to share in the dividing up of Native resources.

The opening up of Oklahoma is a classic study in the triumph of fascism, with Southern fascism and Frontier fascism mixing together to create a unique situation; a few examples will provide insight. Between the 1890s and the 1920s white settlers and corporate interests sought to seize the resources of Oklahoma for themselves. White mobs and terrorists such as the KKK used guns to drive blacks away from their homesteads, forced Indians to sell or lease oil-rich allotments, destroyed the colored section of Tulsa in 1921 (even using bombs dropped from airplanes), and intimidated all non-whites. Laws were passed in several towns prohibiting

colored people from staying while the State of Oklahoma established a Jim Crow segregated system which clearly violated federal law. The federal government (even under Republican presidents) did not intervene. Marriages between Indians and Indians who were part-African were outlawed along with all Indian-black and white-black marriages; and an extreme color-graded racist system was established.

During the 1920s the KKK virtually ran Oklahoma politically and crosses were burned frequently in rural areas to frighten colored people into selling their land or giving up their oil leases. Non-whites who were too successful were physically attacked and a great exodus began, with many Indians and coloreds fleeing to Kansas, California, and other states. Oklahoma, after 1907, was a one-party, one-religion (Bible Belt Protestant), racist state where terror and law were both used to maintain white supremacy over coloreds and Indians and where wealthy whites soon came to control most of the oil and almost all of the good agricultural land.

The spirit of fascism, so widespread in the U.S. by the 1890s, probably played a significant part in the war against the first Filipino republic, 1898-1902. "The spirit of the people," it was said, demanded an overseas empire—but it should be noted that congressional debates of the time made constant reference to the Filipinos being like Indians and, in a real sense, the war was "just another" Indian war—falling between the Sioux massacre of 1890 and the Ute-Paiute war of 1915.

With the election of Woodrow Wilson as president, fascism was triumphant in the South and in Oklahoma, and fascist tendencies could be found in many areas of U.S. life outside of that region. Wilson, a racist Virginian, brought fascism into the federal government in so far as blacks were concerned and maintained the fascist orientation of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The treatment of black soldiers during World War I and the failure of the federal government to stem the post-war riots against colored people all illustrated that "Wilsonian democracy" was "democracy" for only the white majority.

During the period of the 1920s to 1940s fascism continued

to dominate the South. Virginia can serve to illustrate this state of affairs, because it was during this period that the most severe racial segregation laws were adopted since the Civil War. Virginia was a one-party, one-ideology state in which non-whites were systematically intimidated. In 1924 a South African-style racial registration system was initiated, with a colored person being defined as any person with any trace of African ancestry, except that an Indian could have up to 1/32 African descent and still be an Indian so long as he remained on one of the state's two reservations. A system of virtual apartheid was established, although residential segregation, especially in rural areas, could not be enforced because of the need for cheap labor. However, "social apartheid" usually made "spatial apartheid" unnecessary.

That this system was maintained by terror in Virginia can be easily documented. When the anthropologist Frank Speck visited the Indians of Caroline and King and Queen counties in the 1920s he found that they were afraid that the whites would kill them if they organized a tribal association. With Speck's help this fear was partly overcome, but it is significant, nonetheless, as an illustration of psychological oppression. Many Virginia Indians are still, to this day, very reluctant to confront white authority.

As recently as the 1960s one local sheriff threatened to arrest any Indian males whose driver's licenses read "Indian" instead of "colored." This phenomenon was probably closely connected with a long campaign waged by a Virginia state official, from the 1920s, to force all Indians to be categorized as coloreds. This official apparently made it his life's major passion to protect white racial purity by "proving" that all Virginia Indians were really "mulattoes." However, a person of 1/16 Indian blood or less could marry a white during part of the period. Fascism remained triumphant throughout the balance of the South until the mid-1960s, even though the Depression years of the 1930s and the World War II period brought about some contrary trends nationally and even regionally.

Fascism in Latin America

Fascist tendencies in Latin America are briefly reviewed below, illustrating their close relationship to racism and

colonialism. The initial fascist regime was that of J.M. de Rosas, in Argentina. Rosas represented the wealthy cattle ranchers and the allied meat and hide processing industry. His major programs were (1) to crush the independent Indian nations, thus opening up new lands for cattle-grazing, (2) to crush the "unitarians" who desired to create a central government, thereby weakening the "feudal" domains controlled by the wealthy landowners, and (3) to oust all "foreign" cultural influences.

Rosas was a very clever demogogue who, by posing as a gaucho, was able to use the poorer classes (mostly part-Indian and part-African) to spy on and terrorize the "savage unitarian" enemies. In particular, secret societies, largely derived from the slaughter-house workers, were used to assassinate, torture, and intimidate thousands of opponents. A complete one-party dictatorship was ruthlessly maintained with absolute thought control, public ceremonies, a cult of the dictator, and extreme support of Catholicism and cultural orthodoxy. Most of the intellectuals of Argentina were killed or driven into exile.

In essence, Rosas maintained the policies of Spanish colonialism, oppressing the Native People and supporting the Catholic Church. Fascist methods were utilized to crush the urban bourgeois liberalism which had developed in Buenos Aires as a part of the struggles against Spain. The "mob" was persuaded to support the interests of the rural wealthy classes. The Rosas style of reaction was to be duplicated in many other countries, such as Paraguay, Colombia, and Mexico, and later in the Dominican Republic, Nicaragua, Guatemala, and throughout Latin America.

Since most Latin American countries were and are typified by a very large Indian or red-black lower-class and a very small white or part-white ruling elite, the situation is always ripe for fascism. In fact, the general state of affairs is always fascist in so far as the non-white masses are concerned. Nonetheless, *so long as the Indians or Afroamericans are illiterate and passive, the ruling classes do not have to resort to open fascism. It is only when the exploitative system is threatened that fascism or near-fascism surfaces as an open tool to neutralize the danger* (as in modern Chile and Brazil).

The history of much of Latin America since the 1820s is, then, a consistent story, a predictable one. *The wealthy classes, inheritors of Spanish or Portuguese values,* are absolutely dedicated to maintaining a perpetual advantage over the brown and black masses. They are under no illusions about "democracy." They want fine homes, fine cars, leisure time, house servants, and a life free of material denial. They see the lower-classes as posing a constant, eternal threat to their wealth and position. Thus the task of *any* government is to maintain the status quo of rigid social stratification. If the latter is threatened the wealthy classes will support any regime, no matter how brutal, which will protect their standard of living. We have, then, what might be called "permanent fascism" in most of Latin America.

Thus, as in the U.S. South before 1965, we can visualize *an essentially fascist culture which has two stages of existence.* (1) When the exploited internal "enemy" is quiescent open terror need not be used and a superficially rational form of oligarchical government pervails. (2) When the masses become restive or when "agitators" (civil rights, communist, and socialist) appear to be making progress then the fascist culture produces an active and openly oppressive stage. The veneer of "constitutional" government is cast aside in favor of military dictatorship, terrorism, executions, and imprisonment.

Wherever fascism appears, we must remember, it will tend to assume these two stages: a virulent, violent stage while the "enemies" are being crushed and a more quiescent stage while the status quo of conquest is being maintained. Thus the Franco regime in Spain was somewhat different in the 1950s-1970s from what it had been in the 1930s-1940s. Once the enemy is largely killed or imprisoned then one can use only enough force or terror to keep all potential dissidents intimidated and passive.

The Present Situation

Fascism is, of course, very much alive throughout the Americas. It is the ruling ideology in many Latin American countries (Chile, Argentina, Uruguay, Brazil, and Guatemala) and it is a more latent force in many others. In the United

States the fascist cultural tradition still persists, although it often assumes disguised forms. In general, fascism was set back by the civil rights and anti-Vietnam war movements; however, the Nixon-Agnew administration took a number of steps for reviving it as a weapon against the students, blacks, and other "dissidents." Spiro Agnew's speeches often appealed (especially) to "redneck" groups and openly attacked intellectuals. In general, though, the Nixon strategy was to use the CIA, the FBI, and other police-security agencies as the tools for destroying the threat posed by internal "enemies." Illegal spying, assassinations, and payoffs were used to destroy or neutralize many "left" groups as well as the Black Panther Party, the Raza Unida Party, and the American Indian Movement.

The internal situation of the United States has to be understood within the context of the post-1948 ("Cold War") revolution, under the pretext of meeting the "menace" of the Soviet Union (and China, until recently), has accelerated the creation of centralized state apparatus in place of a federal union. This new super-government is immensely powerful and has, as a major component, a huge military—"intelligence"—police power sector. This is not fascistic *per se* but it may well be that powerful governmental police agencies with infiltrators and agitators can well do what "mobs" used to do for authoritarian governments. This happened to a degree in the 1960s and early 1970s and is perhaps a great danger for the future. (In other words, mobs may no longer be needed for terrorism if you have enough hired "goons.")

Since 1948, also, the tide has generally turned against basic economic reforms, in that the wealthy classes (largely through military-related programs including energy) have greatly increased their share of ownership of the country's wealth. The wealthy classes have also achieved virtually complete control over all forms of media, including so-called "non-commercial" television, so that "left" ideas are all but excluded. Simultaneously, both political parties have become strikingly similar and offer no more choice than did the Southern Whigs and Southern Democrats in 1854. The Congress, not surprisingly, caters to the wealthy classes and accepts, by and large, "Dixiecrat"- Republican economic theory modified only by enough welfare-state practice to prevent mass discontent.

The Civil Rights struggle (1955-ca. 1968) and the Vietnam War era demonstrated large residues of fascism, racism, and militaristic-patriotism in the U.S. population. The white South, in particular, developed mass movements to resist democratization and also tended to support the military effort in Southeast Asia. These tendencies do not disappear overnight. The attitude toward Iran and Iranians during the "Hostage Crisis" coupled with the fact that President Jimmy Carter's popularity seemed to rise when he threatened military action, suggests that residues of "hate" and militarism are strong.

Armed white fascist groups, such as those which arose to oppose the unionization of farmworkers, have now become very much bolder. The American Nazi Party, the Ku Klux Klan, and various secret groups (allegedly with immense arsenals) have recently increased their influence and one KKK leader in 1980 won the nomination of the Democratic Party in a conservative southern California district. The "hate" of such groups seems now to be focused upon Mexican and other immigrants as well as upon such traditional targets as blacks, Jews, and Indians.

It is clear that there is a substantial number of persons in government agencies (especially those of a police-power character) who are quite willing to use fascist tactics to achieve whatever ends they deem "desirable." Nixon had many such persons around him and one, at least, received fantastic press coverage for writing a book justifying such a way of behaving.

Fascist cultural tendencies are very much alive in the United States, while at the same time a virtually one-party, one-ideology political system (with a centralized, powerful government) has emerged. Such a situation is difficult to categorize, since much of the "constitutional" system *still* survives, if one has the financial wherewithal to utilize it.

It remains to be seen if the wealthy classes, large corporations, and government agencies (who, at present, share power) will choose to allow the present constitutional system to survive. The test will come when overseas events

threaten their economic profits and political power, or if the "left" is ever able to develop an opposition movement within the United States. Until either event occurs it seems likely that the veneer of democracy and the reality of plutocracy will be allowed to persist but with increasing contradictions as economic conditions deteriorate.

Fascism, like racism, colonialism, and imperialism, is much more than politics. It is a set of mutually-supportive values which go to make up a culture. Cultures do not change radically from one day to the next, although they may appear to do so under certain conditions (such as after a decisive military or political defeat). A sufficient breathing spell usually will allow the old cultural values to surface once more, perhaps ironically to be even encouraged by the former enemy who now finds such behavior useful.

Tragically, fascist tendencies are deeply imbedded in many of the cultures of the world. We must be alert to these tendencies in our own part of the Earth and not try to naively regard fascism as a now-departed localized European disease which can safely be relegated to the history books. Fascism has dominated much of American soil for four or five centuries and it is a reality for the nineteen-eighties as well.

Critique

Totalitarianism, whether from the left or from the right, in modern society has posed a serious threat to free men and women. In a provocative study Jack D. Forbes has focused on the cultural and historical implication of the major anti-democratic doctrine of fascism. He has accurately stated the conditions of fascism: society and government are organized along totalitarian lines, intensely racist, nationalist, militarist, terrorist, and imperialist. In fact, fascism has traditionally been considered to develop in nations that are materially wealthy and more "advanced." On the one hand, communism has been associated with poor and "underdeveloped" societies; on the other hand, fascism has

been regarded as post-industrial and post-democratic. (Forbes would question whether the United States, for example, has reached the democratic stage of development.) And fear plays a major role in the success of fascism.

Forbes' analysis does not really concern itself with the economic aspects of fascism such as the corporate state that seeks to resolve conflict by creating worker syndicates, employer syndicates, and government syndicates. In Italy in the 1920s under Mussolini the political doctrine of the fascists was the "all-inclusive omnipotence of the state," and the economic doctrine was "the fusion of all classes into a single ethical and economic reality." Work stoppages were outlawed and conflict had to be resolved to achieve the goal of enhancing the power and glory of the state. Emanating from the modern urban industrial society is the condition of alienation, the feeling of being alone, unwanted and unloved. An economic depression will shatter the stasbility in society and serve as a catalyst for a pre-condition to fascism's success.

The style of fascist leaders is to promise to resotre traditional values and seek to destroy those persons responsible for the unprecendented changes which cast men and women adrift in a dangerious, unchartered sea. Discipline is necessary. Moreover, fascism cuts across all economic and social groups attempting to settle the material and psychological insecurities of large populations. Fascism has been defined as the "revolution of the classes of order." Totalitarianism, with all the tools of industrial society at the disposal of the leaders, becomes a reality, paving the way for the state masses.

Forbes' analysis is more profound than the traditional interpretations of fascism. He has traced the development of fascism back to earlier times, overlaying significant events to his thesis. He challenges the Euro-Anglo interpretation of history and links up major historical developments. His view, for example, of Spanish control of the Emerican colonies represented a "heavy dose" of fascism. One may ask, however, is the Spanish control, exploitation and, yes, even paternalism, examples of ethnocentrism in its more violent form? Should the humaneness of Spanish influence also be considered? He repsonds that the characteristics of fascism were present: "bigotry, crusading zeal, racial superiority ideas, spying, treason, protection of the wealthy classes, autocracy . . ."

Writing from the vantage point of the 1980s, white historians have questioned the earlier simplistic interpretations of Jeffersonian and Jacksonian Democracy. Certainly that "democracy" excluded blacks, Indians, women, and the poor, since it was modeled on the ancient Athenian system. It is clear that these and other evils were compromised and were not resolved to the complete satisfaction of the masses. For example, though the Civil War produced the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth amendments white Americans devised other systems to keep blacks in an inferior position. This newer arrangement was accepted by the north after 1877. Racism persisted. Government policies continued to represent the interests of the powerful. The upheavals of the 1960s, however, caused white historians and their students to challenge the earlier one-dimensional view of American history. One senses a growing unease among historians that they have mistreated minorities in their earlier writings.

Forbes is justified in asserting that fascism is "very much alive throughout the Americas," and he effectively documents the charge. Yet to what degree is American society fascist today? Can the United States be compared with Latin American countries of today or colonial Spain of the past? Is there any quantitative evidence of minority gains to sustain the assertion? Have reformer-radicals been completely silenced and ineffective? And is social class preempted by membership in an ethnic group? American society has generally been flexible enough to prevent violent upheavals by "allowing" its deprived members a certain degree of access to the "corporate mainstream." Relative economic abundance has made the United States an affluent and middle-class nation in comparison to other nations, has provided a high standard of living, and has produced a favorable economic and social environment for American political development. This duality of the American liberal-reform tradition (which should be explored) and fascist tendencies poses one of the great enigmas in modern history.

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Professor Forbes' article represents a timely and important contribution. It should, if need be, serve as a means of raising the readers' historical consciousnesses during a period in which dramatic changes in U.S. economic and social policies are under way, in a time when unabashed power politics seem to be imposed on half the globe by the ruling classes of both great imperial powers.

Theories on the nature of fascism have been in existence for over sixty years and vary according to the respective author's ideology and interest. This is due in part to the invariably rather mushy ideology of the different brands of fascism with which the human race has so far been afflicted. European democratic socialists were first in publishing critical works on fascism, and among them Italians such as Giovanni Zibordi and Torquato Nanni made the most noteworthy contributions.[1] They defined in the early 1920s the essentials of fascism as a union of capitalists, the big landholding class and forms of exalted patriotsism. Communist theoreticians suffered in their analyses from their rigid doctrine and forced righteousness after having hoped to carry the rest of Europe once the triumph of the *bolsheviki* had been achieved in Russia. Early pro-fascist theoreticians were again Italians, especially Luigi Salvatorelli, with Giovanni Gentile, a former liberal and a man of remarkable intellect, and Alfredo Rocco, whose "Political Doctrine of Fascism," a speech given on August 30, 1925, became something like the official dogma in fascist circles. What his doctrine amounts to is nothing more than a political theory of hyper-nationalism.[2] The German Social Democrat Herman Heller wrote one of the best analyses in *Europa und der Faschismus*, 1925, four years before the publication of Adolf Hitler's *Mein Kampf (My Battle)* and the installation of Nazi power in his country. He sees fascism as a system of dictatorship without a system of beliefs, without a value system except the drive to power and violence sanctioned by the state. Heller analyzes fascism as totally cynical, propagating a type of irrational voluntarism that is used to justify the immorality of a caste of masters and a mass of servants and slaves. The Marxist philosopher Ernst Bloch stresses in his transpolitical interpretation of fascism age-old, atavistic, savior-hungry yearnings in the Europe of his time.[3]

Forbes tries to show the existence of fascism on the American continent both in the past and at present. He is certainly correct in what he believes are fascist elements in imperial Western history. The brutalizing influence of a frontier or colonialist mentality by the dominant groups is also definitely worth mentioning. The scope of his work—it reaches back to pre-Christian times—is admirable and his allusion to the Messianic strand one of his most interesting finds. But in using "fascism" he is using a term that is historically and ideologically more than "loaded," and even after his excellent list of "key" and "secondary characteristics" one hesitates to agree in all the instances he is giving us. The term tends to become too vague, too general to be precise and applicable. Characterizing the New England of the 1600s or the Spain of Philip II as periods of fascism may be, despite their repressive, genocidal or imperialistic aspects, too drastic a reduction and may amount to an ahistoric simplification of highly complex matters. The reader runs the risk of being confused by a host of qualifiers such as "nearly fascist," "proto-fascist," and "truly fascist." In many examples the terminology traditionally found like "imperialism" or "colonialism" would probably be at least as useful and easier to define. Forbes, who is not giving us his bibliographical sources, sees evidently fascism as did the American Robert A. Brady and the German Max Horkheimer as an essential, conscious form of capitalism.[4] One might, for solid reasons, argue the same for Stalinism.

Most of North American history is, alas, not part of God's gift to humanity and appears to be based less on the benign aspects of Christanity but rather on its least savory traditions, on an extension of European imperialism, on greed. Most Founding Fathers were, sadly enough, slave holders. For Thomas Jefferson, who is a good case in point since he represents the typical child of his age as well as a member of the power elite of his country, economic advantages (i.e., chattel slavery) possessed absolute priority over ideals and morals qualms.[5]

History has, as a rule, been written by the victors. Forbes' essay touches on that very important aspect of perspective and partiality in historiography. We should bear in mind that no such thing as an objective or neutral writing of history exists. The mere selection of facts, let alone their presentation, already means interpretation. Referring to the

dominant layers of society in the respective continents, James Baldwin said:

> History in Europe is now meant as an enormous cloak to cover past crimes and errors and present anger and despair . . . And . . . Americans are even more abject than Europeans. [American history] was poisoned from the beginning, and no one has been able to admit it.[6]

The real rub lies in economic dominance, in self-interest and the denial of power sharing. American historians like Charles Austin Beard realized this as early as 1913.[7] Most of the rhetoric rests in the history of culture clash in the Americas.

In dealing with Spanish expansionism, Forbes follows the centuries old historiographic tradition of the "leyenda negra." However, the Catholic Church granted a soul to African slaves—in part as a result of the efforts of Bartolomé de Las Casas—a fact which was hard for the Protestants to concede in the British colonies and the later United States of America.[8] The "peculiar institution" with its establishment of chattel slavery on the soil of the U.S. remains unique in world history. One should also mention that the Aztecs, like many other powerful Indian tribes, were themselves an imperialistic nation, whose tributary or enslaved tribes enabled, along with many other factors, Hernán Cortéz to conquer what became New Spain.

Forbes refers to a highly relevant issue (and in sufficiently flexible terms to avoid the danger of over-simplification) when he states that fascist elements can merge into a repressive "cultural system" which does not necessarily have to show menacing aspects as long as the group in power does not feel challenged. The existence of "daily fascism" (which implies in more or less overt forms socio-economic and psychological oppression, institutionalized racism, stereotyping, deliberate falsification of history, and a negation of "unsanctioned" cultural values) in virtually every Western society has to be acknowledged and deserves close observation.

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NOTES

[1]Giovanni Zibordi, "Critica socialista del fascismo," in R. Mondolfo, ed., *Il fascismo e i partiti politici* (1922). Torguato Nanni, *Bolscevismo e fascismo al lune della critica marxista, Benito Mussolini* (1925).

[2]Luigi Salvatorelli, *Nacionalfascismo* (1923). Alfredo Rosso, "La dottrina politica des fascismo" (August 30, 1925). Giovanni Gentile, *Origini e dottrina del fascismo* (1929).

[3]Ernst Bloch, *Erbschaft dieser Zeit* (1935, 1962). For a theory of Germanic racism see Alfred Rosenberg, *Das Wesenhafte des Nationalsozialismus* (1932) and the British fascist Oswald Mosley, *Fascism: 100 Questions Asked and Answered* (1936). From the enormously large literature on Spanish fascism the following have become classics: Generalissimo Franco, *Palabras del Caudillo, 19 de abril 1937—19 abril 1938* (1938); Bravo Martínez, *Historia de la Flange Espanola y de las JONS* (1943); Gerald Brenan, *The Spanish Labyrinth: An Account of the Social and Political Background of the Spanish Civil War* (1943, 1962); Stanley G. Payne, *A History of Spanish Fascism* (1961); and Gabriel Jackson, *The Spanish Republic and the Civil War* (1965).

[4]Robert A. Brady, *The Spirit and Structure of German Fascism* (1937), and Max Horkheimer, *Die Juden und Europa* (1939). See also Talcott Parsons, "Some Sociological Aspects of the Fascist Movement," *Social Forces*, 21 (1942) 138-147, and Hannah Arendt, *Elemente und Ursprünge totaler Herrschaft* (1955) American edition as *Imperialism* (1968), especially parts One and Two.

[5]Thomas Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia* (1787) reprinted in M.D. Peterson, ed., *The Portable Jefferson* (1975). Lester J. Cappon, ed., *The Adams-Jefferson Letters . . .* (1959). Daniel Boorstin, *The Lost World of Thomas Jefferson (1948). Winthrop D. Jordon, White Over Black: Attitudes Toward the Negro 1550-1812* (1969). David Brion Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution 1770-1823* (1975). One of the best books on ideology, economics, and race issues in the early history of the key state Virginia is Edmund S. Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia* (1975).

[6]"James Baldwin: An Interview by Wolfgang Binder," in Press, *Revista/Review Interamericana* (1981-82).

[7]Charles Austin Beard, *An Economic Interpretation of the American Constitution* (1913).

[8]Bartolomé de Las Casas, Brevísima *relación de las destrucción de las Indias occidentales* (1552). Lewis Hanke, *Bartolomé de las Casas: An Interpretation of His Life and Writings* (1951). One of the most important Spanish historians of our century, Ramón Menendez Pidal, published at the ripe age of ninety-three a vicious attack on Las Casas and on what he sees as a tradition of conscious slandering of Spanish honor in the "leyenda negra" with *Bartolomé de Las Casas: Su Doble Personalidad* (1963).

Critique

To quote the cartoon character Pogo: "We have met the enemy and he is us." The key strength in Forbes' analysis of fascism is his wide-ranging historical sweep and the way he shows that many elements in American character, such as prejudice against immigrants and eagerness for the spread of American ideas overseas, are related to fascistic tendencies throughout American history.

Forbes reinterprets some of the important events and social movements in western history and shows how the tendencies buried in many cultural systems lead to fascist states when the conditions are right. He argues that we cannot dismiss fascism as a momentary aberration of a few fanatic states but must consider how we and our current politico-economic systems are all involved in fascist behaviors. The high points of Forbes' discussion include his comments on "Jeffersonian democracy," the Confederate States of America, and the Bureau of Indian Affairs. In each case, he shows how the high-blown rhetoric of their proponents, who, following the model of Jeffersonian democracy, promised liberty and equality for everyone but masked the repression and terror visited on subordinate groups, such as slaves.

Even though his discussion is exciting, the broad coverage and large number of situations Forbes examines and finds to be fascist or to have "fascist tendencies" lead to two related weaknesses. One is the lack of precision that results from the

mixing of levels of analysis and the other is the erratic shifting from one level of analysis to another. For example, Forbes goes from nation-states (as Italy and Argentina) to theocracies (as Puritan New England) to bureaucratic agencies (as Bureau of Indian Affairs) to units within nations (as Oklahoma, Virginia). He also has "proto-fascist" states, "open" fascism (as presumably different from "closed" fascism), as well as "fascist tendencies," all without clear specification of how the reader is to tell one from the other. Related to this mixing of levels is his definition of fascism, which has at least eight "key" elements and ten "secondary" characteristics, ranging from the type of government to the use of pageantry.

Forbes' interpretation is basically economic, for he emphasizes the monetary aspects of fascist behavior. For him, fascistic tendencies develop to "prevent the loss of wealth and privilege" and to enhance the "opportunities for acquiring new wealth" by groups or classes which already have wealth and privilege. Thus, for Forbes, fascism often arises when powerful groups, such as the whites in nineteenth century Virginia, are threatened with loss of wealth or fear an inability to gain more wealth. In this way he ties together two motivations, one psychological (greed) and the other socio-structural (inequalities in power between groups). The "greed" motivation also seems to have a corollary, which is that no wealthy or powerful group ever seems to be satisfied with what it has but is always in search of more wealth, regardless of who gets trampled or killed in the search. It may be that some groups have shown restraint, but such behaviors by those groups have not made the history books.

A third key element for Forbes, and a corollary of his structural motivation, is the presence of colonies, for according to him that is where fascism originates. Colonies by definition have different groups present, with some more powerful and wealthy than others and with the more powerful searching for ways to keep their domination. An examination of Forbes' list of fascist attributes indicates that most of the other attributes beyond "greed" and systematic inequalities are refinements on the theme of the terror and repression needed to keep subordinates in line and wealth flowing to the dominant group(s).

Although Forbes subordinates ideology to material interests, he does indicate that beliefs are often used to reinforce the power of the dominant group. This implies that dominant groups need to justify their position and do so by means of the ideas and beliefs they perpetuate. Examples include the labeling of subordinates as "heathens" who need to be "civilized" or converted to the true religion, as well as the outright denial of human status to the members of such groups. This labeling justifies the repression to both the dominant group ("After all, we're only helping them run things because they really don't have the skills.") as well as to the subordinate groups ("If they don't help us run things, it will all fall apart."). In other words, both need to be convinced of the correctness of their respective positions. Also, the force behind the commands of the dominant group needs to be masked whenever possible so that the subordinates will feel and believe that they are doing things of their own free will.

Fascism for Forbes is basically a creation of the colonial situation and the wide applicability of his definition to western history results largely from the repeated growth of empires which characterizes this history and from the repeated re-using of the forms of terror and repression that such empires engender. These forms of repression (such as religious bigotry, terrorist groups, assassinations, spying, control of the media, imprisonment of dissenters, and loyalty cults) have been common enough that they are both available and widely known as well as legitimized by their widespread and continued use.

The idea that corporate capitalism was behind some fascist movements (such as the Bureau of Indian Affairs' treatment of Native Americans) needs strengthening beyond pointing out that the corporations were basically co-opting the fascist organization for their own benefit. The relationships between fascism and corporate capitalism, and especially multinational corporate capitalism, need to be examined in more detail. The support of the U.S. government for the fascist regimes in Latin America, for instance, suggests that such regimes provide favorable conditions for the flourishing of such corporations, perhaps in some kind of symbiotic relationship. In such an interpretation, the fascist states provide the repression of the masses and supply cheap

labor for the corporations, for they can be looked upon as saviors of the masses since these corporations provide jobs and income, a situation existing in Taiwan and South Africa. In this way, the corporations do not directly repress but benefit from the repression perpetrated by others.

Forbes is basically pointing out that, given a chance, any in-group will persecute any out-group, especially when the reward is more wealth and power, or a continuation of current power. This observation suggests that fascism is part of and similar to all the other "isms" that plague the world today. These "isms" include racism (the oppression of groups supposedly on the basis of so-called "racial characteristics" and sexism (the oppression of females by males). These "isms," including colonialism, imperialism, and fascism, all relate to the systematic oppression of some groups by others, and their presence and practice is almost universal. One reason that Forbes finds "fascist tendencies" everywhere is due both to the wide spread of empires and to the overlap between the "isms," such that it is often hard to tell which particular "ism" brings about which particular kind of repression.

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Critique*

Forbes's analysis of fascism reveals that fascist tendencies are dormant seeds of exploitation that resurface and flourish under conditions of greed or when exploitive systems are threatened and opposed by those they oppress. Because fascism is more than politics and shares a symbiotic relationship with supportive and enduring cultural values, he is correct in directing our attention to those historical and cultural antecedents that give rise to omnifarious forms of fascism in this country and elsewhere. Cultural values and their symbiotic connectedness with political decisions are perhaps the single-most important feature of fascism considered in this timely and cogently discussed issue.

Using culture as a point for departure, some compelling issues can be raised with respect to the current rise and resurgence of fascist tendencies in our society. For instance, is there a relation between the traditional American values of laissez-faire capitalism, States Rights, the protestant ethic and racism, and current pronouncements for "supply-side economics," the "new federalism," volunteerism, and anti-social welfare initiatives to get America back on its feet? Do opinions emerging as salient represent certain segments, certain regions, and certain institutional sectors of society or is there growing unanimity around these values? Are we in a quiescent stage of fascism where a "superficially rational form of oligarchical government" is slowly disenfranchising the poor and minorities in this country?

The implications are profound, if not foretelling. For notwithstanding the fact that much of our constitutional form of democracy still survives and countervails full-blown fascism, it is obvious that these same constitutional guarantees were in place, yet usurped, when past *de jure* and *de facto* discrimination disenfranchised racial minorities in this country. The implications of some of the more obvious fascist-like tendencies are discussed below.

Emerging Trends with Historical Referents: Implications for Racial Minorities

It cannot escape the attention of even minor scholars of history that the Compromise of 1877 which ended Reconstruction and ushered in Jim Crow segregation and fascist rule over southern black Americans bears a close resemblance to the current policy of "new federalism." Like the former, "new federalism," seeks to return power and governance to the states in exchange for political control of the presidency and one house of Congress to the Republican party. For example, what difference is there in deferring to the quest for "States Rights" in 1877 and promising "to give government back to the people" in 1980? Is there any difference in 1874 newspapers that carried slogans such as "emancipate the whites" and the growing charges of "reverse discrimination" in the news media of the 1970s and 1980s? Coupled with the president's supportive war on federal regulations, it is clear that there is now a similar move to dismantle civil rights and affirmative action legislation that

benefit minorities just as there was over a century ago in this country.

Take, for example, the administration's claim that the consolidation of health and social service programs into block grants to states will reduce federal fiscal responsibility for social programs; however, because of budget cuts, the same initiative also shifts funding responsibility to state governments which means that accountability for federal funds is reduced along with the assurance that these funds will be used to support national goals. The National Association of Social Workers has warned that "turning the distribution of funds over to states multiplies by at least fifty the risk of discrimination and political influence" over which programs, which areas of the states and which population groups will benefit from federal funds. Accordingly, the conservative Republican governor from Vermont agrees that "some populations will be seen to be abandoned" by budget cuts that fall heavily on social programs.

In the guise of returning power to the states, key support has been sought for an economic program that benefits the wealthy at the expense of the poor. To obtain this support, the more affluent are offered tax cuts, new stock options, and other benefits by the Congress and the administration that are not available to less privileged groups.

Moreover, in a period of economic decline, one might ask how congressmen who earn $60,662.50 per year can pass a bill to take restrictions off their earnings and reduce the burden of dual home ownership by making them tax-deductible? Does the average American support these actions?

Poll and election data show that the working and middle classes perceive themselves in fundamental competition with the poor over benefits from a stagnant economy. This perception permitted Republicans to siphon off significant votes in the last election. The dynamics of fascist tendencies were at work in this process: Did not the powers of media persuade Mr. and Mrs. Average American that the exhorbitant waste in tax revenues was due to "welfare fraud" and "welfare chiselers" who could work but would not work as long as they could live at the expense of hardworking taxpayers? Is there not support from right-wing conservative groups who abhor "liberal" social programs and whose

opposition has clear racial implications? Even right-wing academicians have been involved in this public propaganda educational process. For example, the whole notion that "liberal" social programs do not work is partly tied to the biological racist notions of academicians such as Arthur Jensen and William Shockley who for over a decade have tried to promote a pseudo-scientific argument that IQ heritability is racially linked and that the lower achievement test scores of blacks are due to their inferior intelligence. Shockley, in particular, has captured a wide media audience by appearing frequently on national television and espousing this view. However, in addition to his "theory," Shockley has proposed a "voluntary sterilization bonus plan" which would save the unfortunates from a life of misery and *reduce their numbers on the welfare roll.*

Hegemony at home, furthermore, suggests hegemony abroad, i.e., the geopolitical concerns of the world are closely connected with domestic issues. Budget cuts that fall heavily on social programs but inflate defense spending are not overlooked by Europeans who view themselves as pawns caught between an ever expanding conflict between U.S. and Soviet power. Increasing American military strength is not viewed by Europeans as a defensive move to protect the integrity of democracy. Instead, an increasing number of Western Europeans "regard President Reagan as a bigger threat to world peace than President Breshnev."

In examining reality and resolution, history tells us that the intentions of current policy non sequiturs are not only to re-institute wealthy-class dominance and further disenfranchisement of powerless groups, but also to silence those whose ideas work against powerful commercial-class interests. Among those perceived as opposing these interests are social and behavioral scientists.

Implications for Social and Behavioral Science

In the quest for conformity, those in power attempt to reduce ideological differences to countervail and contain those forces that allow for a more inclusive participation by a society and its people. For scholars in all disciplines, eradicating the competition of ideas has serious implications for producing and communicating essential information for

social and political egalitarianism. For instance, social and behavioral scientists are seen as the prime movers behind Lyndon Johnson's "Great Society" policies that are said to have brought us to a calamitous point in our history. Current anti-intellectual forces in Washington no longer welcome their contributions as solutions to contemporary problems. Thus, there are severe budget cuts in federal funds for behavioral and social research which not only reduces support for research pointing to social change, but in many cases discontinuance of funding ignores the import of projects that are longitudinal in nature.

It is clear that the poor and racial minorities are not the sole targets of fascist tendencies but all groups that support egalitarian interests that are at variance with the interests of those in control. This issue is raised with the distinct conviction that growing intolerance for diversity is a momentous problem and its resolution will best be served by scholars who speak out with intellectual clarity against policies that disenfranchise all but those who support exclusionary cultural and corporate interests.

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*The Original title for Dr. Brown's critique is "Forbes on Fascism: Current Implications."

INSTITUTIONAL RACISM

Vine Deloria, Jr.

Much of the activity in the 1960s revolving about civil rights reflected the belief that racism was a personal flaw which could be corrected by the proper adjustment of federal laws to give substance to the promises of citizenship. George Wallace, Lester Maddox, and Bull Connor all personified racism with their determined efforts to prevent blacks from achieving full citizenship rights and their excesses spurred them to action when it was believed that with the power of the federal government curbing the activities of a few die-hard racists discrimination would finally be conquered. The emphasis on personal attitudes obscured the deeply-ingrained institutional views of race which had systematically discriminated against minority groups for decades. Correcting individual patterns of behavior, people believed, would also cure institutional practices since it was apparent to everyone that institutions were ultimately composed of people.

The social organizations of human society, however, are more than a conglomerate of individuals and their beliefs and values systems. Particularly in western civilization organizations rapidly assume a personality of their own and this personality substantially affects how individual members of the group respond to external phenomena. We see the **personalification** of institutions most clearly in patriotism with the most pronounced, and possibly the most dangerous in our lifetime, the adoration of the "Fatherland" by the National Socialists which produced the Second World War. Before that, however, "Mother Church" inspired many an atrocity and crusade against non-believers and today "Ma Bell" extracts her pound of flesh from us with a cheery smile and a soothing commercial. Strangely, and perhaps because the deity of western civilization is so thoroughly masculine, most institutions of which we are aware assume the feminine gender and behave in fashion similar to an erratic black widow spider. Even the fraternal organizations for men, the Elks, Lions, Moose, and so forth have some feminine elements or appear in more benign masculine guise.

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Feminization of institutional image does not preclude carnivorous behavior; it only masks the aggressive posture for which western civilization is noted. Minority groups, suffering from the actions of the hovering Aryan Bird of Prey as Carl Jung once characterized the western stance, generally attribute their misfortune to deeply-held racial attitudes mistakenly believing that they can either change their pattern of behavior to conform to demands placed upon them by the majority or change the nature of western attitude by well-reasoned arguments and analogies which will bring sensible people to a more human and mature pattern of behavior. In eulogies for the late Roy Wilkins, mourners went to great pains to emphasize the rational basis upon which Wilkins approached racial problems and the steadfast determination with which he constructed arguments designed to demonstrate the humanity of blacks to those members of the white majority who would listen. Racial minorities, therefore, in the face of discriminatory practices and attitudes which are grounded in psychic and philosophical irrationalities, are expected to counter with rigorously logical arguments and irrefutable empirical data to prove their claim to humanity.

If western attitudes focused exclusively on racial minorities there would be some justification in maintaining that racial differences alone constituted the basis for discrimination. However, the western attitude is encompassing and includes a hostile or malevolent posture toward nature, toward dissident sub-groupings within its own relatively homogenous body, toward economically distinct classes, and most of all is hostile and arrogant with respect to the feminine within its midst. The unknown, the unusual, or the identifiably different are the brunt of western anger and disdain; derogatory opinions and images are indiscriminately projected upon anything lacking familiarity within the restricted worldview of the holders of power within the western sphere of influence. Institutional racism, like institutional exclusion and institutional sexism, are merely the external manifestations of beliefs held so tenaciously that they guide behavior spontaneously by excluding any process which would call them into question.

Western political and economic institutions claim to ground themselves on principles of logic which correlate

commonly observed phenomena and bring natural processes to a standard and uniform statement of understanding. The "social contract" of the English and French political philosophers posits the existence of rational, property owning and infinitely profound male citizens who agree to establish legal and political principles which will maximize the well-being of all members of society. Emotion, intuition, and even self-interest of a socially acidic nature are all thrust aside by these founding fathers in favor of abstract principles and procedures which will guarantee equality and justice for every succeeding citizen of the social contract. Economists are even less coherent in their articulation of principles, believing that the uncontrolled pursuit of self-interest works through the hidden cosmic structures to provide the maximum benefits to all members of society, relying on simple supply and demand to eliminate injustice and treachery.

Grounded in supposedly rational, and generally cosmic natural principles, western institutions project and expound simple and apparently reasonable goals and purposes. Educational institutions are designed to promote the accumulation of knowledge and transmit this increasing body of information and insight to subsequent generations. Political institutions are designed to ensure equal and just treatment to all citizens and to guarantee access to all avenues of participation and redress. Religious institutions claim immediate access to the deity and special knowledge of His Will at any particular crisis or occasion. Social institutions hold out the promise of lofty and respected status within both local communities and the national arena. At every turn the institutions of western civilization purport to open to the individual, irrespective of race, gender or age, the ultimate benefits which western logic sees as the product of its connection with natural and cosmic processes.

Although institutions advocate certain specific goals and formulate their public image in the most favorable terms in which these goals can be symbolized, the primary purpose of institutional life is not to fulfill the goals but to ensure the perpetual life of the organization. Corporations by law have perpetual life, religious institutions claim such longevity by divine decree, and the other organizations ground their right to life in the justice or relevance of their goals. Thus the

corporate manager, knowing full well that the stockholders are helpless before his stack of proxies at the annual meeting, justifies his actions on the argument that were he to do otherwise the company could not remain in business or, more often, could not remain "competitive." Religious leaders of every persuasion admonish their followers in the most fearful terms to continue and increase their contributions "that the Lord's work may continue and grow." Membership drives of voluntary organizations go to extravagent lengths to record the progress of the group against a mythical goal or supposed enemies as a means of bolstering a faltering institution or expanding an already successful operation. It is thus in the nature of western institutions to spurn stability in favor of continued growth and expanded social status.

Adherence to the founding principles and expansion of institutional capability require a homogenous constituency and demand as obedient a constituency as can be reasonably gathered together. If status is conferred by the institution, its price is almost always unquestioning loyalty to the institutional leadership and significant sacrifices by the members. Homogeneity requires that all members, constituents or clients have relatively common interests or adhere to restricted intellectual perspectives so that they find agreement or commonality in their relationships with one another. The history of desegregation of American institutions eloquently illustrates the fact that the threatened destruction of organizational homogeneity posed a far greater perceived danger than the possibility of expanding the institutional outreach and influence to a greater horizon. So homogeneity within existing institutions becomes a more important aspect of institutional life than the avowed goals of the organization and becomes the life blood which forms the emotional guarantee of continued existence of the group.

In the United States, unfortunately, institutional homogeneity assumed a racist-sexist posture on both a practical and philosophical level. Those groups initially excluded from the social contract purview by inadequate analysis became identifiable threats to continued institutional existence by their approach, seeking the benefits of organizational life which were promised in symbol and creed by the public existence of the institution.

Early case law recording the threshhold arrival of blacks, Indians, women, Asians, and even those lacking property qualifications demonstrates the narrow grounds for rejection as grounded in incomplete and sometimes severely restricted considerations regarding the scope of natural law and common sense. The Cherokee Nation, for example, although enjoying all the political attributes of sovereignty and international existence, is characterized by the U.S. Supreme Court as a "domestic dependent nation" and thereby is excluded from the family of nations. Mrs. Bradwell, applying for admission to the Illinois bar, is informed that her gender cannot withstand the rigorous physical and emotional demands of the profession—although drudgery of a less satisfying nature seems to be within her capabilities. Dred Scott may be a person in fact but certainly is not one in law, and Asians, severely restricted in their movements in the western United States, are characterized by the Supreme Court as "clannish" and incapable of assimilating with other members of society. In these and other examples the primary factor linking all exclusionary practices and doctrines is the inadequacy of the initial conception of the social contract and the determined allegiance to this inadequacy for fear of the destruction of the institution itself.

Given the nature of western institutions and their propensity to exist in defiance of their avowed goals and their frenzied quest for eternal life, reform assumes a peculiar costume. Internal institutional consistency is primarily a function of adherence to publicly declared goals and principles and reform makes an immediate challenge to the obvious gap between credal statements and actual performance. Why is the institution failing to achieve its goals? How can it blithely proclaim one thing and blatantly practice its polar opposite? What are the responsibilities of membership to ensure the consumation of goals and the promulgation of the qualities of justice, mercy, and equity? As these questions are thrust at institutions they mark the direct challenge of the natural world according to whose principles of inherent logic the institution claims to abide, and they trigger a process of internal critique which generally consists of rearranging words, concepts, and interpretations within the institutional statement of purpose which would produce a new statement of goals that purports to explain

how present behavior is in fact a fulfillment of previously articulated values and goals.

The accusation of racial minorities during the 1960s and 1970s that American response to their pleas and demands was primarily a matter of rhetoric was well-founded. Credal statements were rearranged to escape any ultimate location of wrongdoing within the institution. The most popular response was not that the institution was doing wrong but that it could do more. In securing this admission militants believed they had achieved a great victory but in fact they had only forced organizations to increase the rate at which they performed their traditional duties and responsibilities. The rhetoric consisted in the reordering of familiar concepts to cover data and phenomena previously excluded from consideration without undertaking the onerous task of rethinking the basis upon which operating principles and the conception of the world had been adopted. No redefinition of any fundamental tenet of belief ever occurred and the assumptions concerning the nature of cosmic process were never given a rigorous critique to ensure their applicability to what was perceived as a new situation. Thus jobs were seen as an economic solution in a rapidly changing technological period in which sophisticated computers were replacing even majority members in their comfortable employment niches.

A failure to examine familiar beliefs which would, of course, call into question the avowed goals of institutional existence has immediate implications in the sphere of institutional racism. Not only are institutions oriented toward particular and favored clientele and constituencies, fulfillment of their goals requires that the general statement of purpose and any temporary aberrational interpretation of the purpose demanded by the times and their confusion be used by institutional managers as the guideline for action and response. At this point personal racism can become the determining factor in establishing the scope of activity of the institution. When law schools were frantically attempting to recruit members of minority groups, ludicrous instances of individual racism occurred. The director of admissions of Yale Law School, informed on the telephone that an Indian law student was available, responded that "we already have one" with the implied message that were a kangaroo

available he or she might be more acceptable since Yale obviously did not have one of these as yet. When the churches and federal agencies adopted the policy of self-determination for racial minorities, equally frantic and demeaning searches were carried out to get at least one Indian, black, Chicano or woman who would become an immediately visible manifestation of the institutional commitment to change. This human insurance policy, dressed up in organizational status, was virtually without power or prestige but was pushed forward on every occasion when the visible presence was required.

The opportunity in this instance for the exercise of personal racism was golden and involved the accumulation of proper profile samples of racial minorities without the slightest intent of making them anything more than a buffer symbol against continued pressure from outside. Individual talents and accomplishments of minority representatives chosen in this scramble for respectability were rarely considered since the task was to symbolize commitment—"we haven't done enough"—and not to undertake it. Like the "best friend in high school" syndrome-slogan, institutional managers deeply believed that the individuals chosen to represent the organization could only function as public relations images and whatever powers were vested in these new institutional tokens were carefully circumscribed at higher levels to prevent any straying from institutional corrals. Eligibility standards depended almost wholly on the personal experiences and knowledge of institutional managers and with qualifications in a state of transition because of the need for symbols of involvment, hardly any rational criteria for institutional acceptance existed. White managers became patrons to minority personnel and a strange institutional feudalism emerged to co-exist with continuing organizational goals and purposes.

The original social contracts which undergirded institutions depended on the recognition of a certain "citizenship" status of individual members whether it was the congregation of the saved, the mutual respect of property holders for each other, or the happy grin and slight smile which professionals in a field accord to one another. Admission of the token racial minority involved the recognition of a previously unserved clientele and the

recruitment of a sample as symbolic reassurance that the danger posed by the group was not ultimate. If, after all, a tame one were allowed to run freely on the premises, there was a good chance that the remainder of the herd could be brought to domesticity before any harm was done. Racial minorities therefore never entered into the status of citizen in the same way that their white predecessors had once become accepted by the institution. If they were no longer subjects of an aggressive institutional mission they were now clients in a larger institutional responsibility but they were never full participants in the internal processes of the institution.

In selecting the symbolic sample for inclusion in the institutional group, extreme care is generally exercised to choose an "acceptable" minority representative. Acceptable in this context means possessing a social profile which corresponds as closely as possible to the idealized image of the minority groups held by the managers making the selection. Here personal racism and stereotypes are critical factors. Indians are chosen who "look like Indians" which is to say the fortunate individual picked to become an institutional token is immediately identifiable as an Indian so that happenstance meetings will produce instantaneous affirmative results. A variance of this selection is to choose individuals obviously incompetent who can be easily intimidated or directed so that the symbolic function of leadership remains purely symbolic and any novel contribution which the individual might be capable of making is nullified from the beginning. Racial minorities, faced with these hurdles in obtaining entrance to institutions must choose between becoming display pieces in the institutional public relations program or insecure inhabitants of the institutional reservation willing to accommodate almost any set of values in order to remain within the security of institutional confines.

Although much of this activity in selecting individuals of minority background and in placing them within institutional structures is not consciously intellectually directed, occasional emotional incidents manifest the underlying intent of the organizational managers. Like Middle Age feudalism which sought out court jesters and carefully cultivated unusual physical specimens such as dwarfs to

please the sovereign, institutional managers seek to guarantee the acceptability of individuals of racial minority background by emphasizing the exotic characteristics which might serve to affirm the institutional tie. Accusations of racism fall flat before this institutional selection process because the motivation for including racial minorities at least on the surface is regarded as purely benevolent. Faced with the initial benign acceptance by the institution the token minority individual becomes virtually helpless when confronted with the necessity to rebel or protest on behalf of her or his group when institutional goals and programs take on a harmful or malevolent aspect. It is then that the western institutional ethic asserts itself and token representatives become willing to accept "a little evil" in order to accomplish a greater good. Once the symbolic representative accepts the institutional program and participates in its promulgation, the final link with the minority community is severed and the co-optation is complete.

All of these processes operate in institutions controlled completely by the majority. In the last two decades we have experienced an alternative form of institutional life which is as corrosive of racial minority communities as token participation in majority dominated organizations. This alternative is the establishment of minority institutions which are chartered to perform the same functions as majority entities and are funded almost wholly from the coffers of public institutions. The vaunted Community Action Programs among the poor supported by private foundations and government agencies are the most prominent groups in this category. Among American Indians the tribal governments created under the Indian Reorganization Act which have been in existence nearly half a century represent this category of institutional existence. Proclaimed as instruments of self-government, their every move is subject to the final approval of the Secretary of the Interior or his authorized delegate. With no ultimate decision-making powers, these governments are reduced to mere charades of political freedom and whenever a tribal government has rigorously opposed the wishes of federal bureaucrats it has found itself declared an unauthorized government by the superior powers and has been speedily replaced by a new set

of officers more compliant with government policies. The recent removal of supporting funds by government and private foundations indicates that this alternative institutional stalking horse is seen as irrelevant to contemporary needs of the majority.

Institutional processes work properly because of their restricted worldview and because racial minorities accept the western version of natural law. Majority rule is uncritically welcomed by minorities to replace their older use of community consensus in decision-making. Ownership of tangible property assets is accepted as an empirical indicator of personal worth and social success in lieu of community service and personal charisma. Uncontrolled competition is believed to be the path to prominence rather than personal integrity. The horizontal dimension of folk culture is eliminated in favor of construction of the urban-feudal pyramidal structure favored by western peoples. Hierarchy replaces the community council and conformity routs individual achievement. Eventually, with complete acceptance of the restricted logics and doctrines inherent in the institutional setting, even relationships with nature are terminated in favor of a wholly artificial existence. Racial minorities come to exist within the narrow confines of western philosophy and without realizing it become the subjects of investigation of western science and its malevolent reductionism.

In attempting to break out of this cultural straightjacket minorities have rarely attempted to forge a new philosophical base which would align them with heretical elements of the western worldview and lay the groundwork for a transformation of western values and institutions. Believing that they can master the inherent difficulties which face them within the western milieu, they have generally attempted to work their way through the value system of the majority to emerge transcendent above its seats of power believing that they have reached a safer and higher ground. At the highest levels of western institutional achievement they discover hollow men and hollow structures held together by the frenzied affirmation of unexamined historical myths. Supply side economics with its fictional capital investor is an example of the falsity of western political

and economic mythology and the contemporary impasse should be a sufficient empirical demonstration of the inherent error in the western analysis of human social life. Transcendance is not possible because the final term in the equation is wholly without substance.

Perhaps only the demagogues within racial minorities have grasped the essential problem of relating to western culture. Intuitively rather than analytically they proclaimed that ultimate freedom was either withdrawl or participation, as contemporary barbarians, in the final destruction of the political-economic system. But they saw as their ultimate enemies the present holders of power and made an essentially philosophical revolution into merely a political-economic exchange of personalities. Instead of demanding that national institutions, and particularly educational institutions, expand to accommodate their interests, they should have advocated an aggressive confrontational dialogue on a philosophical-ideological plane with the goal of subverting western philosophical beliefs. The complex of concepts which western peoples use to process data and make decisions are the ultimate enemy of minorities, not the robots who grasp them when faced with unexpected situations which demand immediate response.

Unfortunately racial minorities have also adopted the American propensity to rush about being concerned with symptoms rather than rooting out basic causes. It is virtually impossible to discuss abstract notions with leaders of racial minority communities who focus exclusively on bringing immediate if expedient relief to their communities. Expediency brings exceedingly short-term benefits and precludes the opportunity to focus on continuing problems with any degree of sophistication and insight. Constructing a well-conceived plan for altering institutional directions, goals and opportunities must necessarily involve the analysis of underlying philosophies and establishing tactical approaches to institutional change that will bear fruit. Racial minorities have been the hunter-gatherers of western industrialism instead of the planters and builders and until they come to understand the secondary nature of this role, little of lasting significance can be accomplished. Institutional racism, therefore, is a phenomenon created by the western cultural relationship with the natural world,

albeit incomplete, coupled with the inability or unwillingness of its constituents and subjects to see and pursue alternative explanations of the world and the place of human beings in it. By thoughtless actions and ill-considered responses we aid and abet our oppressors and become the last bastion behind which they can retreat and attempt to survive.

Critique

For those who see institutional racism as a problem which can be solved, the points of focus by Deloria are these: An institution is a "person" with a personality shaped by western-culture; and institutional racism is a phenomenon created by western culture. The idea that an institution is a "person" with a personality of its own is not new; the legal profession has held that a corporation, and therefore, an institution, is a "person" protected by the fourth amendment of the Constitution. But humanists, most of whom are found on college campuses, reject the idea that the institution for which they work is a "person." Their rejection is unfortunate, since it leads to the belief that racism can be eradicated by correcting individual patterns of behavior. An institution, they would argue, is made up of individuals. It is. But once an institution takes on a personality of its own, Deloria points out, that "personality substantially affects how individual members of the institution respond to external phenomena," and not the other way around.

Efforts, therefore, to eradicate institutional racism by correcting individual patterns of behavior have generally failed. The signs and symbols of racism are gone. Most institutions are integrated, and most people would say that we have made progress toward an open society. Nevertheless, opportunities for blacks, women, and other minorities are yet rather limited. Of 660 faculty members of the University of New Orleans, fewer than eighteen are black. Yet of its 15,000 students, 4,000 are black. Percentages for women are better than those for blacks, but they too are bad. The failure to include blacks, women, and other minorities in significant number in the administration and on

the staff spells out in every possible way, "blacks and women are worthless human beings." Our instincts tell us that something is wrong. There is. But there are no signs; there are no symbols of the evil. There is no individual to whom we can point and say, "racism!" Many students, minorities, develop an intolerable bitterness of spirit without ever knowing why. Blacks tend to develop a hatred and fear of whites; women tend to develop a hatred and fear of men; neither group seems to know why it develops the attitudes it does. The idea that blacks and other minorities are worthless human beings grows out of the culture. It is fostered by the culture: those on the bottom must be there because of their own natural inability. So, Deloria would have us redirect our efforts. Instead of demanding that national institutions simply expand to accommodate our interests as we have in the past, we, blacks, women, and other minorities, must force institutions to confront the philosophical-ideological basis of their own goals and subvert western philosophical beliefs into holding that blacks, women, and other minorities are indeed human beings whose value western culture must accept as infinitely worthwhile. It is a difficult task, largely because there are so few blacks and minorities prepared to undertake the confrontation. With its analysis of the causes of racism, Deloria lays the ground work. But we must all do our homework if we are going to ease the intolerable bitterness of spirit of minorities in this society.

James A. Perry
University of New Orleans

Critique

"The complex of concepts which western peoples use to process data and make decisions are the ultimate enemy of minorities. . . ." As an educator, and especially as one involved in educating journalists, I found myself drawn to Deloria's statement. My perspective on institutional racism stems primarily from direct participation in both the traditional institution of socialization—education—and what I consider to be the most significant agent of socialization

today—mass media. The challenge inherent in that position is this: If we do not educate non-WASP communicators, if we *do not* sensitize communicators to non-WASP concerns, there is little chance that the messages communicated will be any less racist (or sexist) than they have been historically. Moreover, and ultimately more important, if such communicators never attain positions of real power within the media (that is, if they do not control the money or content), the institution likely will remain essentially as it is. Considering the industry has revenues exceeding $30 billion anually and has staunchly resisted change of all sorts, there is little to suggest that these changes will come either quickly or easily.

The ubiquitousness of the media in our everyday lives is a fact. The impact the media have on our lives, both directly and indirectly, takes many shapes. What Walter Lippmann called the "pictures in our heads," that is our view of reality, today are shaped largely by the media. The media reinforce our stereotypes; the media create stereotypes. Television, especially, because of the way it is used ("If I saw it, it must be real") has an insidious capacity for creating and fixing images.

Who creates the images we receive from the media? A survey of reporters, photographers, copy editors and news executives on newspapers found:

—Sixty-three percent of the nation's 1,750 newspapers employ no minority journalists, up from sixty percent the year before.

—About 2,400 minority journalists are underutilized in positions where decisions are made about how the news is selected, edited and displayed.[1] A 1979 study by the U.S. Civil Rights Commission of women and minorities in television found:

—Television drama fails to reflect gender and racial/ethnic composition of the population.

—Stereotyping of minorities in television drama continues.

—Eighty-two percent of television news correspondents are white males.

—White males continue to hold the vast majority of official and manager positions in television news.[2]

Who will create the media images in the future? The latest annual survey for the Association for Education in Journalism found that minorities were 7.6 percent of the 71,337 persons studying journalism at 166 schools. The breakdown was: 5.7 percent black; 1.4 percent hispanic; and 0.4 percent "other," mainly Asian.[3]

The question might be asked: Too little too late? The answer: Let's hope not. But, with apologies to Susan B. Anthony: As long as the media are controlled by white men, every non-white, non-male communicator must continue to produce messages that reflect white male ideas. And, as long as that continues, the ideas and deepest convictions of others will never get before the public.

Another question must be asked: Can the mass media be changed? The answer: Let's hope so. Racism in the news (and in entertainment) reflects racism in the mind. Contemporary racism is more subtle than in the days when, for example, newspapers required racial identification or when certain stories were not reported because the participants were blacks. Today, it is the photograph of a free breakfast program that pictures only black youngsters or the caption under a photo of drowned Haitian refugees that says "Free at Last." As has been noted about sexist language: "Language is all too efficient at revealing ideas we don't even admit we have."[4] So if non-racist media is a goal, then the underlying (and often **unrealized**) racist assumptions must be eliminated—both in the "sender" and the "receiver" of the message. And that is infinitely more difficult than hiring and promoting.

So, in the end, the challenge becomes one of education in the broadest sense of the word. The basic assumptions certainly must be challenged. The old rules are not the only or necessarily the best rules. It is one thing, however, to advocate "an aggressive confrontational dialogue on a philosophical-ideological plane . . . ." That is necessary; it is essential that media practitioners and media users not be passive. But dialogue means an exchange of ideas and

opinions. So it is quite another thing when one begins with a goal of "subverting western philosophical beliefs," because such a stance stifles dialogue. And that is neither necessary nor useful.

Barbara F. Luebke
University of Missouri

NOTES

[1]"Minority Employment in Daily Newspapers: A Statistical Analysis." Prepared by Jay T. Harris for the American Society of Newspaper Editors. 1981.
[2]"Window Dressing on the Set: An Update." A Report of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. 1979.
[3]3Annual Survey by Paul Peterson. *Journalism Educator.* January, 1981.
[4]4Jean Ward. "Check Out Your Sexism." *Columbia Journalism Review.* (May/June, 1980) 38-39.

Critique

Vine Deloria's incisive analysis of institutional racism in western culture applies equally well to the related problem of institutional sexism. Both women and minorities--especially individual members of minority racial groups who are immediately recognizable by members of the dominant white culture—belong to a caste rather than a class in western society. As such, we are all subjected by the traditions of white male philosophical and intellectual processes as much as by existing socio-political institutions to the different varieties of exclusion, co-optation and disempowerment that Deloria outlines. In the past decade particularly, women's situation in American political and institutional life has replicated the stasis and frustration experienced by racial minorities for many years preceding.

For example, women continue to attribute our secondary status in American society to irrational sexist beliefs held by

individual persons in power in our culture. Consequently, we characteristically adopt one of the two strategies Deloria cites: changing our own behavior to conform to societal demands or attempting to reason with our oppressors, so that they will see the light and grant us equal status with them as human beings. There is a popular saying in the Women's Movement, to the effect that "A woman must be twice as good as a man if she is to succeed." After a pause to let this fact sink in, the speaker concludes, "Fortunately, this is not difficult." Seemingly inspired by this bit of bravado, many women attempt to fulfill all of the traditional demands placed upon us just because we are women *and* all of the requirements of success in male-defined institutions. The irony is that even this extraordinary effort has not brought women the recognition and rewards we have earned. The alternate strategy, rational persuasion, has been equally ineffective. Even when individual attitudes change, and they sometimes do, the structural modifications we anticipate as a result do not occur. The Equal Rights Amendment has still not been ratified in this country, not because most Americans do not support it—overwhelmingly they do—but because white males in power inside the institution of government are committed to homogeneity, rather than pluralism, for all the reasons Deloria explains. Therefore, both of these strategies are ineffectual, because sexism is every bit as firmly entrenched in our culture as racism; indeed, some people believe it is even more so.

The only solution that would be far-reaching and immediate would be a radical re-analysis and re-organization of society and culture. Unfortunately, this is unlikely at the present time, not only because of established institutions' resistance, but also because of liberal reform-oriented lobby and action groups' failure to recognize the necessity for it. The National Organization for Women, the largest and some would argue the most powerful feminist organization in the United States, with over 150,000 members, has itself become a self-perpetuating institution, manifesting all the characteristics that Deloria describes. Membership drives stress the accomplishments of the organization, and N.O.W. leaders insist upon their members adhering to established policies and participating in mandated projects. Another example of institutional consolidation is academic feminism. At the 1981 National Women's Studies Association

convention, Adrienne Rich exhorted the group to be "disobedient" to patriarchy, including to those academic institutions which pay the salaries of most of those in attendance. Many academic feminists are still striving to succeed in patriarchal terms. To the extent that we accomplish this goal, we often find that we have been co-opted by the very system we began by criticizing, or even rejecting outright. We risk becoming less, not more, likely to advocate a radical restructuring of our own institution.

Since I am an officer in both of the women's organizations I have just named, I must accept responsibility for participating in this dynamic, and I can clearly see several important reasons behind it. The immediate and visible short-term achievements of the Women's Movement and of Women's Studies are nonetheless real, and they are genuinely rewarding to anyone who cares deeply about women. Furthermore, those of us who have only recently gained access to a modicum of power and economic security—however tenuous—are pleased to have these resources and hopeful that we can use them wisely and for the benefit of women in general. Still, we walk a narrow line between activism and co-optation; and we must not forget that co-optation works just as well as exclusion as an institutional strategy for diluting protest.

A review of the past decade reveals, incontestably, that the attempt to "reform" American institutions is not accomplishing very much. Women's salaries, proportional to men's, have actually declined. Institutional statements of "affirmative action" have in most cases proven to be just that—statements, not action; small and meaningless concessions, not genuine reforms. The institutional coping mechanism of "lip service" has served more to mollify protesters than to alleviate inequities. President Carter's endorsement of the Equal Rights Amendment is a good case in point. Had he exerted the same kind of Presidential pressure towards ratification of the E.R.A. that President Reagan exerted towards approval of the AWACS sale, the Equal Rights Amendment might be in effect by now. Carter's tokenistic stance with regard to women was clearly revealed when he fired Bella Abzug for her outspoken insistence upon women's economic needs and replaced her with Lynda

Johnson Robb, who could be counted upon to be ladylike and compliant in her dealings with the Oval Office.

So if, as Deloria says, American institutions are well defended against internal reform, then what **can** oppressed groups in the culture do to bring about significant change? Is anybody doing it? With what success? The goal of Women's Studies is to offer students a feminist critique of contemporary male-defined culture and an awareness of our female heritage of struggle against it. To the extent that Women's Studies classrooms are feminist in content, outlook, and methodology, then Women's Studies as a discipline is part of the solution, not part of the problem, of patriarchal society. Those who seek to change a system radically must have a clear understanding of that system's roots, a clear vision of an alternative, and a responsible strategy for moving towards that new system. Radical feminists envision a just and humane future and are currently formulating strategies for attaining it. Yet radical feminists are often separatist, thus narrowing their vision and limiting their general effectiveness. If we are to succeed, the many different groups who are oppressed by white male culture must join together, to formulate and work towards a radical re-organization of society. In the meantime, we should all individually examine whether by unwitting cooperation in institutional racism and sexism we may be delaying, rather than hastening, the day when truly revolutionary change can occur.

Kathleen Hickok
Iowa State University

*The original title for Dr. Hickok's critique is "Racism, Sexism, and Revolution."

Critique*

As Deloria indicates in the opening lines of his essay, the dominant paradigm of racism in the 1960s reflected the popularly held belief that racism was an individual

phenomena. Consequently, if racist individuals were confronted and curtailed or converted, the argument concluded, then discrimination would come to an end. However, history has shown us that we can have racist institutions without having racist individuals. For instance, our education institutions perpetuate racial, as well as sex, inequality. Yet it is possible for every member of such an institution to be non-racist, as well as non-sexist.

The discussions on the nature and causes of racism involve explanations which emerge, peak, and regress as alternative theories compete for credence. Clearly there are few of us today, either as trained social scientists or as members of an educated public, who feel comfortable with an account of racism as a personal flaw. In fact, in retrospect the view appears noticeably naive. Rather we tend to focus on macro units of analysis instead of micro ones, on sociological factors instead of individual ones. The pattern of shifting from individually centered explanations to broader sociological ones is illustrated in the following examples of ballet and sports.

A *Los Angeles Times* article posed the question of why blacks continue to be underrepresented in the world of classical ballet.[1] In 1975, the most typical explanation from key figures in American Ballet was that the black's physique makes their presence in ballet inappropriate: "Black people didn't belong in ballet because their feet were too flat for the classic line required in ballet, that black people's bone structure was too large and their buttocks protruded too unattractively."[2] Presently, however, "We far more readily accept an explanation in accounting for black underrepresentation in 'high culture' that concentrates either on cultural differences between blacks and non-blacks, or one that stresses the socio-economic differences between blacks and whites."[3] For example, Arthur Miller, the founder of the Dance Theater of Harlem and the first black male to receive a contract in a professional Anglo company, opines that "fewer blacks study ballet not only because they are fewer in number but also because black parents have priorities other than dance lessons for their kids who first have to be fed and clothed."

Black participation in professional sports is another arena

where explanations concerning physical or biological features have preceded historical and sociological arguments. "Blacks comprise about 12 percent of the United States population, yet over 20 percent of the professional baseball players, more than 30 percent of professional football players, and almost 80 percent of professional basketball players are black."[4] Martin Kane attempted, in a Darwinistic tone, to explain black dominance of certain sports in terms of race-linked physical characteristics.[5] He based the case for black athletic superiority in part on the theory of natural selection. That is, black athletes were the descendants of Africans who were tough enough to survive slavery. But in praising the physical supremacy of blacks over Anglos there is at least the latent tendency to flip the coin and say Anglos are mentally superior to blacks. Coaches especially seem to have bought into this stereotypical attitude. There is evidence to support this notion. Jonathon Browner found that there are "constellations" or stackings of positions for Anglos and blacks in professional football, with the former getting those which require leadership or intelligence (such as quarterback and punter) and the latter being placed in those which require instinctual reactions (such as cornerback and punt returner).[6]

Kane's highly speculative conclusion does not hold water. Black slaves were also subject to malnourishment, poor living conditions, and inadequate medical treatment which would appear to more than compensate for any possible "survival of the fittest" advantage. Harry Edwards pointed out that historical records of life on plantations indicate that the survival of slaves was due as much to their shrewdness and their ability to think as to their physical prowess.[7] Moreover, Edwards criticized Kane's sampling method and concluded that the domination of the black athlete is not biological. Walt Frazier, a professional basketball player, views the issue thus:

> There is no physical difference between the races. If there are more blacks in sports, it's because we're hungrier than whites. Sports isn't an escape, it's a necessity for black kids. Guys from the ghetto want it more. White middleclass kids have more options. My father had no money. I had to make it.[8]

Besides emphasizing personal attitudes and physical characteristics, institutional perspectives stress commonalities for all people which only obscure discrimination against minorities and women. If we must assign a gender to our institutions' personalities, then, unlike Deloria who suggests that most institutions of which we are aware assume the feminine gender, I choose the masculine one (specifically Anglo masculinity) for several reasons. First, institutions are representative of an Anglo male system which believes it is all that exists. The attitude is based on the myth that Anglo males know and understand everything. The unquestionable assumptions parallel the automatic birth-right given to all Anglo males. For racial minorities and women, survival demands knowing and functioning in two separate systems: the Anglo male culture and the culture of the minority individual. On the other hand, the Anglo male culture needs only to know itself. This results in a blind spot precluding the awareness of other systems.

Second, institutional images are supported by the scientific approach to life. This approach is based on such masculine characteristics as logical, objective, controlling, rational, and measurable. Like Anglo males, institutional strategies reflect *allocentrism*, an analytical cognitive style in which one detaches oneself from the problem under consideration. The process facilitates abstract, goal-oriented thinking. Conversely, minorities and women depict *autocentrism*, a personalized cognitive style in which the individual remains centrally immersed in the problem; this leads to personal and emotional problem-solving rather than to an analytic mode of thought.

Finally, institutional personalities are portrayed by an absolute rather than a negotiable system. This seems to be more masculine than feminine, because it is rooted on hierarchical codification vis-á-vis an open system. For example, institutional regulations are rigidly linear instead of flexible and multivariate.

In sum, institutional personalities and the Anglo male system both emphasize commonalities, e.g., we are all human beings, we all need love, we are all equals, we all need laws and regulations to "maintain" equal treatment. The danger of this view is that it enhances racial and sexual

inequality and ignores the unique experiences of ethnic minorities and women. A parallel example of this in academia can be found in Lawrence Kohlberg's six-stage model of moral development.[9]

Kohlberg maintains that in every cultural setting all children can be expected to display the same fixed order of moral stages as they grow older. As the individual moves from the lower stages to the higher ones, the criteria for making moral judgments shifts from rules to principles and from a concrete base to an increasingly abstract one. The assumption that a principle-oriented morality is higher than a law or utilitarian morality is laden with value judgments, and for this reason Kohlberg has received his share of criticism.

Carol Gilligan raises the issue that some people, particularly women (although equivalently applicable to ethnic minorities), do not define morality in terms of justice, universality, fairness or logical comprehensiveness as in the works of Kant, Rawls, and Kohlberg.[10] Rather, she posits, moral reasoning includes a dimension often overlooked by standard form interview scoring procedures. Such protocols tend to reflect the areas of responsibility, concern for others, practicality and are based on the correct assumption that moral judgments do not occur in a temporary or social void. Rather, moral inferences and choices are made in the context of everyday life circumstances which confront an individual. While the principled orientation of stage six reasoning is objective, responsibility perspectives are action oriented and subjective. That is, Kohlberg's highest and most adequate stage centers on logical comprehensiveness which promotes autonomy and sets up moral problems as a mathematical equation. Conversely, Gilligan maintains that such logic is not relevant to the individual in real life dilemmas. Instead, moral solutions emphasize the interdependence of people's lives.

In conclusion, institutional racism lies behind the guise of equality, consistency and especially logic. But equality rests on rhetoric and not in application. Concerning consistent treatment of dissident subgroupings and culturally or economically distinct classes within its own relatively homogeneous body, there are only two things wrong with the western attitude: its face. Finally, logic, that non-

negotiable virtue of the Anglo male system, is tautological. As a closed system, it does not refer to anything in the real world. Yet, as Deloria reveals, racial minorities in the face of irrational practices and attitudes, are expected to counter with logically valid arguments and conclusive "objectified" data to establish their rights as humans. The function of the human rights movement is not only to hasten the demise of institutional racism but also to develop a political consciousness that ensures movement in a progressive revolutionary direction rather than a fascist counterrevolutionary one.

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Notes

*The original title for Dr. Cortese's critique is "Racism: A Concept of Alternating Paradigms."

[1]Jack Slater. "Where Are the Blacks in Ballet?" *Los Angeles Times.* (June 8, 1980).

[2]Jack Slater. "They Told Us Our Bodies Were Wrong for Ballet?" New York Times. (April 22, 1975).

[3]Jeffrey Prager. "American Racial Ideology as Collective Representation." Paper presented at the Society for the Study of Social Problems Meetings. (Toronto, 1981).

[4]Donald Sabo and Ross Runfola. *Jock.* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1980) 81.

[5]Martin Kane. "An Assessment of Black Is Best." *Sports Illustrated.* Vol. 34, No. 3 (1971) 72-83.

[6]Jonathon J. Browner. "The Racial Basis of the Division of Labor Among Players in the National Football League as a Function of Racial Stereotypes." Paper presented at the Pacific Sociological Meetings. (Portland, Oregon, 1972).

[7]Harry Edwards. *Sociology of Sports.* (Homewood, IL: Dorsey Press, 1973) 193-202.

[8]Sabo and Runfola, 81-82.

[9]9Lawrence Kohlberg. "Stage and Sequence: The Cognitive-Developmental Approach to Socialization." *Handbook of Socialization.* D. Goslin, ed. (New York: Rand McNally, 1969) 347-580.

[10]Carol Gilligan. *In a Different Voice: Essays on Psychological Theory and Women's Development.* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press,).

To disagree with the author's central theme that institutional racism is the principal deterrent to social, economic, and political equality of the races in America would be to ignore centuries of American history in which racial minorities have been oppressed and denied equality of rights and opportunities. Even further, one must agree with the author's argument that institutional racism is merely the manifestation of "beliefs held so tenaciously that they guide behavior spontaneously by excluding any process which call them into question," while simultaneously purporting to be open to the individual, irrespective of race, gender or age.

While these characteristics of institutional racism are easily identified, identification of appropriate strategies to fight systemic discrimination is somewhat more difficult. Specifically, Deloria's contention that minorities mistakenly use "well-reasoned arguments and analogies" as a weapon against institutional racism must be challenged. When injustice visits itself upon a people their options are either to write, speak, or do. Any and all of these are legitimate weapons, and all of these have been utilized in the struggle for racial justice, even in our recent past. The protest marches, sit-ins, and the boycotts of the early sixties represent most clearly the activist, doing phase of the struggle. Yet, even during that phase "well-reasoned arguments and analogies" were used. Few can forget the "I Have A Dream" speech of the late Dr. Martin Luther King.

It would be folly, then, to ignore the importance of a well turned phrase in the continuing struggle for justice and equality, particularly in a country where the written word has been relied upon so heavily. I refer, of course, to such documents as Thomas Paine's "Common Sense," The Declaration of Independence, The Constitution, and many other writings that have altered the course of American history.

While I refer to documents such as the Declaration of Independence to support my argument that well reasoned arguments are legitimate weapons for fighting institutional racism, I realize at the same time that its existence lends

credence to the author's contention that institutional racism permits western civilization to profess adherence to one set of values and goals while failing to live up to the same. It well illustrates "the obvious gap between credal statements and actual performance." Even so, the credal statement must not be ignored in the fight against institutional racism. As stated by Judge A. Leon Higginbotham of the Third Circuit Court of Appeals *In the Matter of Color: Race and the American Legal Process:*

> If the authors of the Declaration of Independence had said "all white men are created equal" or even "all white men who own property . . ." they would have more honestly conveyed the general concensus of things. But when they declared, as they did, that "all men are created equal" without introducing any qualifications, they created a document that put moral demands on all Americans who would ever quote it.[1]

Thus, while Deloria has been perceptive in isolating characteristics of institutional racism, there was less perception in analyzing the strategies for bringing about desired change. Racial minorities are imbued with western philosophical beliefs, i.e., we are products of this civilization. Our values, beliefs, and traditions are rooted in the American experience. To propose to change this country's institutions by refusing to participate in the national life or by subverting its philosophical base is to ask that we strike at our selves. For us to achieve racial justice through unified efforts we require a more distant enemy.

Thomas Mann, Jr.
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Note

[1]A. Leon Higginbotham. *In the Matter of Color: Race and the American Legal Process.* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978).

In the sixties, the scattered attacks against various manifestations of racism briefly coalesced into a broad based movement. Some gains were made, chiefly in the areas of voting rights, consumer discrimination, and education. However, the movement failed to significantly alter the wealth distribution system through the achievement of employment equity, this could only have resulted from affirmative action in all sectors and at all levels of the economy. But in the employment struggle, the confrontation was much closer to the heart of capitalist institutions and was perceived as a greater threat to the stability of those institutions.

To win this struggle, a sustained attack was necessary. The movement of the sixties was doomed to failure. Always fragmented; based on sincere, but rarely ideological, reactions to oppression and lacking a clear understanding of institutions, the protagonists were poorly prepared to win this crucial battle. Now, in this time of retrenchment, even the meagre gains are threatened. If the movement is to re-group and ultimately win, its participants will need to be better armed this time around. One weapon must include a better understanding of the nature of institutions. They will also need an intellectual framework upon which an ideology can develop.

Deloria's essay is an important step toward an analysis of institutional factors which impede the anti-racist struggle. It also contains the beginning of an intellectual frame work for the needed ideology. This step is taken despite a shaky start in which institutions are personified as female in nature. Without more elaboration, this definition is obscure at best, and with the black widow imagery, has worse implications. Deloria quickly moves to solid ground by developing the thesis that institutions based on western rationality assume a life of their own. The primary institutional goal becomes self perpetuation of the institution and a subversion of the higher goals proclaimed by the society takes place. The goal of self perpetuation is threatened by changes of any kind.

Institutions which developed historically within a culture

of white males are severely challenged by the arrival on the scene of other races, sexes, and cultures. Since total loyalty and internal cohesion are demanded, these new elements are especially threatening if they continue to subscribe to values and goals of their subgroup. As Deloria points out, they can safely be admitted either as clients, who do not really "belong" to the organization, or they can be admitted if they drop references to their subgroup. The only other alternative is to allow "reservation" type institutions which are allowed to administer to the needs of a particular group. This "reservation" institution exists in a state of powerlessness and can be eliminated if it poses a threat to the dominant institutions.

If individual racism were completely eliminated, institutional norms and processes would dictate that inequality based on race would continue. For example, such procedures as I.Q. scores, job seniority, and business equity were largely developed within the historical white male context. The merits and demerits of these factors can be rationally debated outside of the context of racism and sexism. Even though the data are now overwhelming in demonstrating how these institutional practices reinforce inequality, they remain unchanged. Why? Because it is in the interest of stability of the institutions that the newer and more accurate data be ignored and that the debate over these practices continue within the old white male parameters.

Where do we go from here? Deloria suggests that an attack on the outward forms of racism without transforming institutions is futile. Even if one could, Deloria is saying, one should not buy into institutions whose structures and norms are so sterile. If carefully thought out, this position could be the foundation for a new ideology for change around which all oppressed people and human rights advocates can rally. Deloria and others are encouraged to elaborate this ideology.

All of this seems to imply an abandonment of affirmative action and integrative goals. To do so would be a mistake for several reasons. First, the dialectics of change are slow and uncertain at best.

To abandon past goals before the new intellectual frame work is in place would be to repeat some of the worst mistakes of the past. More important, a real affirmative action program might not be as contradictory to Deloria's aims as he seems to imply. Cooption is not the only possibility even though this has often happened. The potential for a fifth column is also there.

Cooption occurs because of the very small numbers of oppressed people who are placed in decision making levels of the institutions. If larger numbers were forced onto the institutions, the system would suffer some degree of indigestion for the reasons presented by Deloria. The result would create a climate for the conversion of the process of cooption into a process of institutional subversion. Indeed, on the world scene, the present cultural revival within the Soviet Union's Moslem borderlands demonstrates this possibility.[1] A revival is being led by the very Moslem elites who were trained to be the cadres of russification and Soviet acculturation. These Moslem leaders advise their compatriots to join the Komsomol and other institutions in order to give them a Moslem meaning.

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Note

[1]Hélene Carrere d'Encausse. "Political Socialization in the USSR With Special Reference to Non-Russian Nationalities." *Slavic and European Education Review.* Vol. 1 (1981) 1-10.

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THE EDITOR NOTES

The importance of this issue is that it provides the kind of germinal and topical issues which move the ethnic studies process in the directions which make a difference in educational institutions. We invite you to share with the membership the responses that you and your students have to the issues of fascism and institutional racism. Student critiques are particularly invited for possible inclusion in the newsletter. (Remember, student memberships are only $10.00/year.)

Slavers in Paradise

The Peruvian Slave Trade in Polynesia, 1862–1864

H. E. Maude. No event in the history of Polynesia has had a more overwhelming consequence for the islands than the devastating Peruvian slave raids of 1862–63. Communities that found their population reduced by two-thirds, whether by outright kidnapping or by disease introduced by the slavers, experienced not only a demographic catastrophe, but the destruction of their society and the impairment of their cultural heritage. This first complete history of the tragic event covers not only how and why the trade began and how it was conducted, but details the fate of slaves in Peru, the eventual abolition of the trade, and the effects of repatriation attempts. Illus. $23.50

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