

Second draft

DC 3

ON THE FUTURE OF SOUTH AMERICA

Some Notes on the Role of Iberic Cosmology*

by Johan Galtung,

Goals, Processes and Indicators of
Development Project, UN University,
Institut universitaire d'études du
développement, Geneva.

1. Introduction

The peoples of South America have been the victims of many imperialisms. There were Inca, Maya and Aztec empires before the arrival of the Europeans, and after that iberic imperialism (hispanic and lusitanian) gave the continent an indelible shape, with a scattering of French, British, Dutch and even Danish elements.⁽¹⁾ The Iberic, however, was of course the dominant one in what is here referred to as South America: the part of the western hemisphere south of Rio Grande, in other words including Mexico, Central America and the Caribbean.⁽²⁾ I apologize for this somewhat unusual way of using the terms, but there are advantages that will be clear later.

The Iberic conquistadores, as a part of their imperialistic activities, brought large segments of the population of Africa across the Atlantic to work as slaves in their conquered territories.⁽³⁾ For that reason great parts of the region became a meeting place of three civilizations: Amerindian, African and the Iberic civilizations, all of them sub-divided into numerous cultures, for instance, Spanish and Portuguese cultures, with their sub-cultures.⁽⁴⁾ It would seem very misleading to give to a meeting place between three civilizations the name of only one of them and refer to the region as "Latin America", the reason why that term will not be used in the present paper.⁽⁵⁾ And the reason why "South America" is used in such a comprehensive way is, of course, to indicate clearly the contradiction with North America, primarily the United States, but also to some extent Canada.

Third, el imperialismo yanqui, is an overlayer sedimented on top of the other two, reflected in the present composition of the typical South American society: an economic/political/military upper class heavily linked to North America by its training and organizational affiliations (but with a cultural upper class more Latin in its orientation); a vast iberic middle class penetrated by yankee values and serving as a recruiting ground for the upper classes; an even vaster Amerindian and African and often also mestizo (and sambo) under class, penetrated by iberic and also to some extent yankee values and serving as a recruiting ground for the lower ranges of the middle classes.

There are important variations of this theme, particularly in the countries in South America that have almost no Amerindians or Africans (Argentina, Uruguay, perhaps to some extent Chile, Costa Rica) and the countries that have vast Amerindian and/or African populations (Brazil, Bolivia, Perú, Ecuador, Colombia, Guatemala and to some extent México). The composition of South America, country by country, in these terms, is given in Table 1; probably this table holds much of the key to the future of South America.

It goes without saying that liberation from yankee imperialism is a necessary condition for the development of South America. The structure of that type of imperialism has to be done away with, and the process is no doubt already on the way, although it is slow in coming. Moreover, there is also the danger that the possible successor to a US-European Community-Japan dominated economic system,⁽⁶⁾ a China-Japan-Southeast Asia dominated world system,⁽⁷⁾ might in its softer way play some of the same role in the future as the US had in the past (if it does so it would to a large extent be due to the failure of South American intellectuals to detect dangers from other parts of the world than North America). But the basic problem is what comes next? A class society with three layers is always problematic: the struggle of the middle classes against the upper classes may be in favour of themselves, not on behalf of the lower classes.⁽⁸⁾ This has happened before in South American history: the many wars of liberation against the Spanish (1810 to 1848) and against the Portuguese (in the 1880s) certainly did not improve much the conditions of the Amerindians and the Africans on the continent; nor were these wars on behalf of them. They were wars of bourgeois liberation, wars of a class which did not want to share the spoils of exploitation denied the European center with whom they had to share before.

Today we do not see clearly what a country liberated from yankee imperialism with its economic, political and indeed military bridgeheads, with all the elites it is able to steer and manipulate, with its capacity for destabilization of whatever alternative is emerging,⁽⁹⁾ would imply. But it is important to make some educated guesses, and one approach to that guess would be through exploration of iberic cosmology, to try to get at some of the deeper aspects of most social formations of South America.

2. Iberic Cosmology: an effort at characterization

Let it first be stated at the very beginning that by "cosmology"⁽¹⁰⁾ I mean something more basic than culture. It is deep culture and deep structure, the code or program of a civilization, showing up not only in cultural patterns, but also in structural elements. Thus, what is being said in this section is not culturalism although it also has culturalist expressions; it is just as much structuralism with its structural expressions.⁽¹¹⁾

Further, no effort is made to draw a distinction between hispanic and lusitanian cultures; differences are here glossed over, they are seen as expressions of the underlying iberic civilization. What is done is an effort to characterize that civilization, as a set of hypotheses. And this will be done according to a general scheme of cosmological analysis focussing on 6 aspects: Space, Time, Knowledge, Person-Nature relations, Person-Person relations and Person-Trans-personal relations.

Space. Iberic space cosmology is perhaps best seen from the general pattern of their aménagement du territoire, found both in Portugal and in Spain. It is heavily centralized on the capital where the country is concerned, and inside the capital, and cities in general, heavily centralized on the plaza, with the cathedral, the alcaldía, the police, and so on. Major streets and avenues radiating out from the center and major roads radiating out from the capital give rise to very impressive, but also heavily centralized, socio-geographical structures.⁽¹²⁾

Most important in this connection, however, is how these people see the world. Given that particular space cosmology the tendency would be to see the world in unicentric terms. There is certainly no assumption that they themselves constitute that center. There is a high consciousness of periphery status, even of loss of

status, of atimia (Gustavo Lagos)⁽¹³⁾ although Mexico on the hispanic side and Brazil on the lusitanian side seem sometimes to see themselves more as centers, or at least coming centers, if not of the world, at least of South America. Argentina also had such propensities (la raza blanca de América Latina), Mexico might develop even further in this direction (por mi raza habla el espíritu) and Brazil often expresses a lusitanian complex (ex occidente lux). But by and large it is clear that the center is outside South America,⁽¹⁴⁾ and particularly so for the lesser South American countries that hardly would recognize a fellow South American country formally as a center. The structure is not entirely unicentric, however: as mentioned above New York/Washington might be the economic/political/military center and Paris (rather than Madrid/Lisboa) the cultural center, el capital de la raza latina. But, one may ask, is this not simply a reflection of the dominant reality, the nature of the upper classes being shaped by the structure of imperialism of various kinds and in turn contributing to shaping it, and the ruling ideology being the ideology of the ruling class?

Of course this is true. What is important, however, is to explore some of the implications that are less obvious. And the major implication is in South America in general, not the least among intellectuals, the high level of ignorance of the rest of the world, and an equally high level of unawareness of the possibility of other centers.⁽¹⁵⁾ I have mentioned above the lack of attention paid to what happens in the Southeastern corner of the world, and another example might be the significance of the Soviet Union and "social imperialism" in general. The world Southeast will tend to be seen as being a subsidiary of the US and the Soviet Union to be insignificant,⁽¹⁶⁾ except as a threat to the US and hence as something that should be supported or at least not attacked according to the "the enemy of my enemy is my friend"-principle. By means of these two cognitive mechanisms a picture of the world as essentially unicentric is retained. Causal chains of any significance are seen as essentially rooted in the New York/Washington axis, and whatever else

is seen in its relation to that center, steered by it either as a periphery or as its contradiction.⁽¹⁷⁾

It goes without saying that protected by a cognitive filter of this type the Japanese and their affiliates can move into South America with their products almost undetected;⁽¹⁸⁾ there will be no basic cognitive filter detecting them, not only because they move considerably less obtrusively than the Yankees, but also because they are seen as the (much) lesser evil. There is the story of the Mexican marxist oriented foreign ministry official who conceived of the world this way till he gained some suspicions while negotiating trade agreements with the Japanese and discovered that the Japanese side negotiated in shifts, some of them sleeping while the others were negotiating so that they always appeared fresh and awake at the negotiation table with considerably more stamina than the poor Mexican side. He had the feeling that something strange was going on - a feeling that perhaps should be reinforced by redrawing the world economic map in a more multi-centric fashion. And a similar feeling might spread when the Soviet Union Aeroflot network not only extends to Nicaragua but also to other countries, bringing with it the usual entourage of agents and spies of various kinds.

There is another aspect to this monolithic perception of the world that is almost equally important and that is the ignorance about other peoples in the Third world.⁽¹⁹⁾ About African countries, in spite of the fact that so many inhabitants of South America are of African origin, knowledge is generally very low and the same applies indeed to Asia. The great religions of the East, Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism and the great civilizations - Hindu, Chinese and Japanese civilizations - are relatively unknown, except to the extremely few, and there is the tendency, so pronounced in occidental secular ideologies such as liberalism and marxism, to regard them as vernaculars, something that will wither away once modernity arrives fully, either in the shape of economic growth or in the shape of structural change, ie. revolution.⁽²⁰⁾

As a consequence of this intellectuals in general, and ideologues in particular, in South America will tend to see the world as the western hemisphere writ large, with the center already mentioned and the rest of the world relating to that center the same way as South American countries do. It is then forgotten that both Africa and even more so Asia have a cultural heritage very different from that of the North American/western European center and for that reason a staying power, a type of stamina not so easily found in a South America which is also a part of the Christian culture and occidental civilization in general.⁽²¹⁾ In other words, it is forgotten how much less South America has to put up against the pressure from the North than the Asian countries have. The South Americans, except for Amerindian and African fringes, are profoundly occidental.

Time. The iberic time perspective is occidental, but possibly more typical of an earlier period in occidental history than the contemporary period. Elsewhere a distinction has been made between western time perspectives in the Middle Ages and in the modern period,⁽²²⁾ seeing the former as more even, from eternity to eternity oriented, and the latter as much more dramatic, as seeing history in terms of an imminent crisis and after that the catharsis, the final state where human society has liberated itself and real history can start.

Maybe the present iberic time perspective could be seen as a mixture of the two? On the one hand there is the craving, to the point of really believing in a basic change as imminent and social salvation as around the corner; on the other hand, perhaps deeper down, there is the feeling that things are probably not going to change very much, that tomorrow and the day after tomorrow will be pretty much like today, yesterday and the day before yesterday. The former time perspective can find its expression in flamboyant rhetoric, the latter in telling in-action. In a sense the two converge in the iberic conception of mañana which, incidentally, does not mean that things will never be done, but that there is aversion to being pinned down to a precise point in time for delivery of the

goods; whether these are the goods and services of everyday work activity, or major socio-political changes. In this, as opposed to yankee/nordic/protestant preciseness about time there is certainly a heavy element of the defense of the underdog against being predictable to the topdog and also an element of basic social experience: if nobody else does what they should do on time why should I be the only one to do it ,laboring in vain and being a fool to everybody!

The net consequence of this is something vague about the relation to time, although not necessarily so vague to others in the iberic civilization who know how to read small hints and indicators and organize themselves accordingly. This also finds its expression in two of the greatest institutions iberic civilization has given to humanity: the fiesta and the siesta. The important point about these two institutions is not only that they are reserved for expressive activity rather than instrumental activity (although that distinction should never too sharply be drawn), but that they constitute territories in time under by and large private as opposed to public control. By "private" then is not meant "individual"; both of them are largely organized by such collectivities as the family and the village. But social levels outside these, for instance, work organizations and state authorities are not supposed to penetrate and invade these liberated time zones. One of the major attractions of not only the iberic peninsula but the whole mediterranean region for the Northerner in Europe (and the Caribbean and many other parts of South America for the Northerner in the western hemisphere) lies precisely in this reservoir of unoccupied time relative to the North.⁽²³⁾

However, it should also be pointed out that like for everything else in social affairs there is a price to be paid. A solid four hours'siesta means a chopping up of the time dimension, an interruption of task performance into smaller time segments often incompatible with work routines that stem from the North and now are, through various structures being imposed upon the South, both in America and in Europe, mainly through the mechanisms of the transnational corporations.⁽²⁴⁾ A perception of history along liberal/marxist

lines holds promises of all kinds of progress, given certain objective circumstances may not be fulfilled if the time dimension is not activated more for instrumental pursuits. The result will be endless frustration: neither the fruits of precise timing, nor those of a more relaxed time perspective.⁽²⁵⁾

Epistemology: occidental, even extremely much so. Under the influence of dialectical and somewhat holistic marxism rigid, deductive structures found in scholastic thinking and in Roman law have been loosened up somewhat and the epistemological atomism known from Aristoteles and Descartes is perhaps no longer so prominent. But these two features still dominate and the marxism that has meant so much to South American intellectuals has a tendency to be very axiomatic, very deductive and very much based on a segment of social reality with heavy emphasis on formal economic relations, meaning essentially ownership patterns.⁽²⁶⁾

One consequence of this is that alternative thought systems, to be believed in, have to be presented fairly much in the same way as the message is in the structure of the thinking more than in the concrete thought itself. And another consequence is that this type of epistemology does not render itself easily to eclectic thinking.⁽²⁷⁾ The correct form of thought is the single-peaked mountain, not a cordillera of mountains. It should perhaps be added that the intellectual style is gallic rather than teutonic; it is not the rigour of deduction so much as the elegance with which the whole deductive framework is woven that counts. Maybe it could also be added that the iberian languages render themselves magnificently to eloquence, oral and written, for hours and pages, giving the impression that there is a hard content somewhere, whereas what is actually communicated is a form rather than content. Translated into terser English it tends to become much shorter.

Person-Nature relations. Nature is an esthetic object in iberic cosmology, best to be enjoyed at a distance, through verbal descriptions, paintings, photos, rather than at close encounters. La naturaleza pica, there is something disagreeable about it. Most South Americans are living very close to nature, most of them seem to want to live away from it, in cities, and particularly in big cities. Nature is at her best as seen from restaurant and car windows.

South American civilization seems to be an urban civilization. The concept of tourism is from city to city or to resorts well protected against close encounters with nature; only rarely does one find people who seek that closeness, hiking or hitch-hiking, camping and so on, even though this objectively speaking is often not more problematic than in Europe. All of this actually adds up to something that makes one admire even more South American city born intellectuals who choose guerilla as their form of political expression and struggle against imperialism, suffering considerably.⁽²⁸⁾

There are some implications of this that are relatively serious. First, ecological thinking does not come easily to a civilization with considerable distance to nature. Nature in South America seems to be utterly desouled, and this also applies to animals. South Americans are highly carnivorous, meat eaters; in Argentina and Uruguay this habit extends almost to the bottom of society. Ecologically more sane policies would come through scientific rationality unaided by a deeper type of compassion with nature and non-human beings, and hence be of a weaker variety.⁽²⁹⁾

Second, there is in this also a certain depreciation of rural life, the countryside, the raw (as opposed to the cooked, to use Lévi-Strauss' famous expression). Partly for these reasons South America seems to be very poor in rural utopias.⁽³⁰⁾ The underlying assumption seems to be either that people will somehow live in cities and agricultural production will take care of itself one way or the other, or that those who will have to be engaged in agricultural production will do so after a suitable land reform and continue being marginalized.⁽³¹⁾ It is difficult to find the "utopias" typical of other parts of the world: Tanzania's Ujamaa, the Sarvodaya village of India and Sri Lanka, the People's Commune, of the People's Republic of China, all the farming communities so prevalent in the anarchist tradition of North America and Europe, often also practised in one way or the other, particularly in recent years.⁽³²⁾ South America is here on the side of the main stream of ideological and practical politics, and this is probably deeply rooted in ideologies and structures of the Continent.

Everybody complains about the ever growing big cities of South America, but for these cities to stop growing a viable alternative has to exist and even has to be practised by people likely to be imitated by others. The alternative is to send people back to the latifundo/minifundo existence tormenting the peoples for centuries.

Person-Person relations. There is little doubt that they are vertical and individualistic in extremis, and in addition there are elements of machismo and racismo. The verticality finds authoritarian forms in the proverbial figure of the patrón and the search so many people engage in to find a patrón (Italian padrone). The function of the patrón is to absolve others from responsibility; at higher levels of social formation it takes the form of the caudillo. It combines with machismo to the elevation of the father to a status of high authority to which the children are exposed already in the parental home, also witnessing the mother being humiliated. Through family patterns of socialization these structure is transmitted from generation to generation and in the absence of other strong collective organizations is hard to break. Individualism is a revolt against the family of origin, but not the basis for building strong collectivities. It may lead to excessive competitiveness, to the point that the sum of two Latin Americans becomes close to zero.⁽³³⁾

It is difficult to describe the neglect of Amerindian and African identities as anything much different from racism. It is probably true that patterns of prejudice and discrimination are not so pronounced as in the southern part of the United States,⁽³⁴⁾ nor are they so much weakened as in certain parts (professional, particularly) of the United States' North. Of course, this ties very well in with the depreciation of nature: nature is where the Amerindians and the Africans mainly live, in addition to the slums of the cities: if there is a distance to nature and to them they could well be together in the same place and continue providing the iberic people with their daily bread. It goes without saying that given the big proportion these peoples make of South America's population there is bound to be a change here sooner or later. The extreme verticality of the iberic tradition has been entirely compatible both with the oligarchic/corporate/military societies that have taken form under the protection of yankee imperialism ,

and the oligarchic/partocratic/militia formation found in Cuba under the protection of Soviet imperialism.⁽³⁵⁾ It would not be strange if both Amerindians and Africans exposed to this choice would draw the conclusion that this is a poor offering and if that is all the western civilization has to offer they cannot possibly do worse themselves.⁽³⁶⁾ In other words : the nucleus of a contradiction that may very quickly develop into a major confrontation. It is not obvious that the future of South America is written in terms of those two western options, it could also be that something else would come up of equal or higher significance although it may perhaps be coopted, like the ejido in Mexico and the aprista movement in Peru. Nevertheless it is felt that precisely because they have been so ignored the non-whites may be a major source of dynamism for the future of South America.⁽³⁷⁾

Person-Transpersonal relations. It is well known that the dominant religion in South America is catholicism, an expression of occidental civilization. It combines belief in a personal god who is exclusive in the sense of permitting no other gods beside him and inclusive in the sense of being universal for all of humanity, with the belief in a personal soul, immortal, with an after-life, after this one. The catholic faith is embodied in a church with a well known hierarchical structure. As this has lasted for centuries it is difficult to believe that it has not set a pattern for any alternative system of belief. Thus, it has been pointed out that communist parties tend to have some of the same structures as the catholic church, male and seniority dominated,⁽³⁸⁾ and it has been indicated above that the structure of ideological thought tends to be the same as the structure of, for instance, catholic thinking. There is space for change within this, for a much more communitarian communism and a much more egalitarian catholicism both at the international and national levels, as expressed in the teología de la liberación.⁽³⁹⁾ But in either case there seems to be this need for a faith in something outside of a self, something beyond the persons who populate this earth, even beyond the collectivity of them: be that God, History. Something absolute.

That something has to satisfy the same characteristics: it has to be exclusive in the sense of permitting no other faith besides it, and inclusive in the sense of applying to all of humanity. It is easily seen that both liberal faith in economic growth and marxist faith in revolution satisfy these two requirements.⁽⁴⁰⁾ Moreover, it has to

guarantee some kind of immortality or after-life, if not for this generation, at least for coming generations. In short, it has to be a secular religion endowed with the same structure as the religion from which it springs. And there should even be important continuities as in the famous saying by Fidel Castro, summer 1980 in a Jesuite college in Nicaragua: "To be a good communist one has to have a marxist training and a christian heart".⁽⁴¹⁾ Needless to say all of this goes very well together with a search for the patrón, the authoritarianism in personal relations, legitimized by corresponding vertically directed faith; built into equally vertical structures. And it also goes well together with the tendency to build vertical, deductive thought structures.

3. Some very tentative conclusions

Let us go back now, for a moment, to the archaeological image of South American imperialisms given above: the yankee on top of the iberic, itself on top of some indigenous structures that probably remain as artefacts only.⁽⁴²⁾ What has been done in this paper is essentially one thing: pointing out that there are problems inherent in the iberic middle layer and that they do not disappear automatically if yankee imperialism is lifted, and/or the iberically run formation moves from feudal/capitalist to capitalist/socialist.⁽⁴³⁾

Is this not a rather fatalistic image, more or less saying that there is an enemy within in addition to the one without; moreover, the enemy within is extremely resilient to the point of being unbeatable? The former statement is right, the latter not. All this analysis calls for is to take the deeper aspects of structure and culture seriously, as something existing sui generis, not expecting that they will wither away automatically with a change in dominant mode of production. They have to be attacked sui generis, probably even consciously, through a conscious attitude to the structures of space, time, knowledge, person-nature, person-person and person-transpersonal relations. There are already signs of change, although possibly from iberic to saxon/yankee varieties of occidental civilization - hence, possibly, reducing the iberic element at the expense of internalization of yankee perspectives.⁽⁴⁴⁾

But let us contemplate the opposite scenario. A state of non-consciousness about the less fortunate aspects of iberic cosmology prevails, making Latin Americans prisoners of that program. If it now should happen that the necessary condition for development of South America obtained, that South America is liberated from yankee imperialism - what kind of society would then most likely emerge? We know that it is rich enough⁽⁴⁵⁾, it has all natural resources needed, particularly if the countries are able to cooperate, even establish some kind of federal structure. It is underdeveloped in the sense that there is something to develop, it is probably even underpopulated in the sense that the population could grow with no harm, provided the social structure were reasonably right. But what kind of structure would it be?

It follows from what has been said above that it is most likely to be highly doctrinaire, and unidoctrinaire. Moreover, the dominance of the cities over the countryside is likely to continue unless very fundamentally counteracted, and unless rural people play the basic role in the liberation, not the city people⁽⁴⁶⁾. This was an important point in connection with the Cuban revolution⁽⁴⁷⁾. If somehow marxist it is likely to be run in an authoritarian fashion, from above, and in most cases would be as male dominated as before and white- or mestizo- marginalizing Amerindians and Africans. It will probably not be very efficient measured in northern terms, nor very good at enjoying the softer sides of life, but oscillating in between⁽⁴⁸⁾. The relation to nature would be one of exploitation, and the cities will continue to grow unless this is drastically counteracted by refusing to support them, a policy that worked to some extent in the case of Havana.

And, finally: it is likely to lose much of its time in the search for one new center, and the bigger countries will suggest themselves as candidates - one reason why the smaller countries will stay away from them and South American federal structures will become impossible⁽⁴⁹⁾. Sub-regionalism is likely to continue, CARICOM and Grupo Andino, perhaps ALALC, but not for rational reasons, simply because of the difficulty in finding a non-centralist solution with several center candidates available. But at the weaker level of intergovernmental organizations much may still happen, particularly when OAS becomes the Organization of South American States (OSAS), or better: the Organization of American Southern Indigenous States (OASIS), with "indigenous" standing for all three civilizations in the area: Western, Amerindian, African⁽⁵⁰⁾.

NOTES

- * Paper prepared for the fourth meeting of the Expansion/Exploitation, Autonomy/Liberation subproject of the Goals, Processes and Indicators of Development Project of the UN University, Port-of-Spain, Trinidad-Tobago, January 16-19, 1981. I am indebted to the group of South American students at the Institut universitaire d'études du développement who were first exposed to these views spring 1980, in Geneva for their stimulating disagreements, and to Heraldo Muñoz, Santiago de Chile, and José-Maria Tortosa, Alicante, for helpful comments. The present version is the second draft of the paper.
1. In his important book Slave and Citizen, New York, 1947 the late Frank Tannenbaum (a great source of inspiration when I had the occasion to work with him as organizer of one of the many post-doctoral seminars of which he was the super-organizer, 1958-60 Columbia University) makes a sharp, perhaps too sharp, distinction between slavery in the Northern and the Southern part of the arch stretching from Washington DC through the Caribbean area down to Rio de Janeiro, a distinction, roughly speaking, between the Protestant (British, Danish, Dutch) and Catholic (Portuguese, Spanish) domains, with France somewhere in-between. By far the most severe were the Protestants headed by the Dutch (then the Danes, then the British); least severe were the Iberic forms, with France in-between. The basic differences derived from the way slaves were seen: as cattle, from a Protestant point of view, as unfortunate humans who could work themselves free from the Catholic angle. This is developed in detail in H. Hoetink, Caribbean Race Relations: A Study of Two Variants, Oxford University Press, London 1967.
 2. The number of polities in this area is, of course, a matter of dispute. I would certainly include Puerto Rico, Virgin Islands and Belize, not to mention Guadeloupe and Martinique and all other areas under administration from elsewhere and not of their own free choice. The situation is far from clarified, yet.
 3. Columbus was optimistic about the possibilities of using Amerindians. "They ought to be good servants and of good skill", Columbus wrote of them. And he describes them (the Arawaks):
"... they are so artless and so free with all they possess, that one would not believe it without having seen it. Of anything they have, if you ask them for it they never say no; rather they invite the person to share it, and show as much love as if they were given their hearts" (quoted from R.M. Walters, "The Pre-Columbian Caribbean Societies", Working Papers on Caribbean Society, Dept. of Sociology, UWI, St Augustine, July 1978, p.47).
For an excellent historical analysis involving Amerindians conquered and killed, Africans brought as slaves, a variety of European colonizers up to independence, with a very interesting conclusion, see Eric Williams, History of the People of Trinidad and Tobago, Andre Deutsch, London, 1964.
 4. Thus, the Andalucian variant must have played an important role in the colonization of Hispanic America.
 5. Except, of course, to denote just that, the human beings who are Latin Americans - and exactly who they are is a complex question.
 6. See the work recently edited by Gustavo Lagos Matus of the Instituto de Estudios Internacionales of the Universidad de Chile for a study of how South America is extending its pattern of interaction beyond the tie to North America.

- 11
7. For an exploration of this proposition, see Johan Galtung, "World Conflict Formation Processes in the 1980s", GPID Papers, Geneva, 1980.
 8. The most famous case being, of course, the French revolution: le tiers état against both aristocracy and clergy, but certainly not in favour of the fourth estate, all the peasants later to be transformed into workers.
 9. Brazil 1964, Chile 1973, Jamaica 1980. The general pattern from Brazil seems to be to organize truck strikes (foodstuffs do not arrive to the shops) and bus strikes (people do not get to work and to the shops), then demonstrations by housewives assuming the police will not attack them. For an excellent analysis of what happened to Brazil after 1964, with a fine introductory chapter on dependency theory, see Peter Evans, Dependent Development: The Alliance of Multinational, State and Local Capital in Brazil, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1979.
 10. For an introduction to this concept, see Galtung, Heiestad, Rudeng, "On the last 2500 Years of Western History", Companion Volume, The New Cambridge Modern History, 1979, chapter 12.
 11. Thus, the concept "cosmology" is designed not to take a stand on the primacy of the material vs. the ideal issue. It is a construct expressed or embodied in material structures and in ideas; in road network patterns and in conceptualizations of the world as space. Both the material and the ideal are carriers of the cosmology; technology, modes of production, and religion, languages, etc.
 12. The imperial character of the Inca civilization is clear from the corresponding road network in pre-hispanic Cuzco.
 13. From his book on international stratification. This Greek expression stands for "loss of status". My own strong impression from Chile in the 1960s was its conception of itself as el ultimo rincón del mundo (the last corner of the world).
 14. This, of course, is what dependency theory is about. This conceptualization of the world can be viewed in at least three different, but not mutually exclusive ways:
 - as an empirical description of the world, or more correctly, of the Western hemisphere;
 - as a projection by iberic social scientists of their basic world cosmology, their search for a center that has to be somewhere, and their exclamation of Eureka;
 - as the theoretical tool by means of which iberic bourgeoisie or middle class in a more extended sense can liberate itself from the yankee masters seen as the center of the dependency formation without having to reconsider their own relation to the Amerindian/African lower classes.
 15. It should be noted that the search for allies in other corners of the world does not alter the uni-centric conceptualization and the level of mesmerization by the United States. My prediction that South Americans will not see the Japanese penetration before it is too late is more than ten years old.

16. By means of these two perceptions the uni-centric image is retained. Like the points made in the text and in the preceding footnotes the point is not that there is no truth in this, only that the perception will tend to remain even when the facts of the world change - simply because it is maintained by other forces, by the cosmology itself.

17. I remember in November 1971 being invited to give a guest lecture at FLACSO (Facultad Latino-americana de Ciencias Sociales) which used to be in Chile (I was a professor there 1962-63, 1965 and 1969) but was transferred to Mexico after the coup in 1973. I selected as a theme "On the Future of the Eastern European Social Formation" and found, of course, the PC centers among the students boycotting the lecture (but sitting right outside the lecture room to capture expressions of sin going on inside), and the rest somewhat nervous, uneasy. Although their predictions of the content of the lecture were by and large wrong the reasons for their a priori reaction were clear enough: the socialist countries should be seen in two perspective only, (1) as model countries with class exploitation overcome, (2) as an ally against the US. No material that could give rise to other perceptions, eg as a new formation with center and periphery, with classes, playing a complex game partly with and partly against the US, was permitted introduced. My point is that this not only repressive Communist ideology at work, but also ibideric cosmology.

18. This, of course, is not to be confused with the emigration, from Japan, generations ago of poor peasants (farmers settling in Brazil and on the Pacific coast (from Mexico to Peru) - although these very same poor peasants later may have become managers, and then managers, ultimately of daughter companies of Japanese TNCs.

19. In this South America has behaved very much like Latin America; white, Western, Christian, obtaining its independence one and a half century before the colonies in Africa and Asia (and the Caribbean, England and France being weakened 150 years after Spain) - being charter members not only of the United Nations but also of its predecessor. It was only with the political expediency of forming alliances with the rest of the "Third world" because of shared neo-colonialism and dependency in general, and the poverty of the masses they had in common, became clear that eyes were turned westwards across the Atlantic (not, at westwards, across the Pacific, it seems). But all of this is merely at the UN level of dialogue and conferences, the general level of interest and knowledge - as witnessed in the bookstores, for instance, or in magazines - is low. Cuba stands out as the big exception: OSPAAALA (Organización de Solidaridad con los Pueblos de Africa, Asia y America Latina) has brought lots of concrete knowledge, politically tainted, to be sure, to the ordinary Cubans (together with the many delegations, youth festivals, etc.)

20. See my "Two Ways of Being Western: Some Similarities Between Marxism and Liberalism", Papers, Chair on Conflict and Peace Research University of Oslo.

21. That does not mean that a country like Japan cannot in many ways behave like a Western country, eg on the world market. But behind that stands an ethos entirely its own which gives to it all a different tenor. See the paper referred to in footnote 7 above for some details about this.

22. See the reference in footnote 10 above, or Johan Galtung: "Five Cosmologies: An Impressionistic Introduction", CPID Papers, Geneva 1980. A basic point is simply this: he who is not conscious of his cosmology will be a slave of it - and collective consciousness is needed to get into a transformation process.

23. Large the distinction is not so much between instrumental and expressive activities as between activities on the one hand, and passivity, latency on the other - to stick to Parsonian terms from the sociology of the 1950s. The basic point is that there are unscheduled time zones that may be filled if it is found worth while. Of course, this is a so the case in Northern countries as when members of the elites start having breakfast martini's, not only working lunches - but these are marginal time zones as most would agree.

24. See the book referred to in footnote 2 above.

25. Cuba is a good example of this. The leadership wants a very efficient socialist Cuba, gets rid of yankee imperialism through a number of methods (see, for instance, Johan Galtung, "USA and Cuba Essays in Peace Research, Vol. V, Ejlers, Copenhagen, 1980), but probably underestimates the significance of the underlying iberic cosmology - a phenomenon that also can be witnessed in contemporary highly transnationalized Spain. The leadership neither wants, nor dares relax the life style by giving in to these values, often - probably erroneously - referred to as "tropical".

26. This may be obvious today among the Chilean left, reflecting on their own experience 1970-73.

27. Thus, the extreme sectarianism and factionalism in the Unidad Popular was a symptom of the inability of the individual Chilean to harbor more eclectic thoughts, derived from discrepant thought systems. Eclecticism in the form of compromises had to come through cabinet level policies, and these policies might then be satisfactory to nobody. This, of course, is the general problem of democratic rule sensitive to pressures from all kinds of groups but it is exacerbated by the level of dissatisfaction felt with these compromises when everybody wants purity his/her style. It might be added that the present ruling elite in Chile seems to not what it wants because it has sufficient coercive (and also some remunerative) power to be sensitive only to some pressure groups, and the purity of the rightist design is very evident.

28. Che Guevara's famous diary gives ample testimony, both to the suffering and to the ability to survive.

29. For a discussion of these factors, see Johan Galtung, Development, Environment, Technology, UNCTAD, Geneva, 1979, and Johan Galtung, Perspectives on Environmental Politics in Under- and Overdeveloped Countries, GPID Papers, Geneva 1978. It would be interesting to have deeper knowledge of the impact very high levels of meat consumption would have on attitude to more human-like animals in general and from that to attitudes to humans - is there some relation between animal rights and human rights?

30. There is, of course, a very important exception: The Holy Experiment, the utopia established on Guarani territory (Paraguay) by the Jesuits in the sixteenth century. For an analysis see the work done by Louis Necker, at the IUED in Geneva.

31. Or - have no land reform at all but an economic reform that gradually destroys the secondary sector of the economy, thereby forcing people back to a countryside largely in the hands of the land-owners - present day economic policy, it seems, in Argentina and Chile.

32. See documentation from the Alternative Ways of Life project of the GPID project.

33. The "fractionalism" of the Chilean left during UP is one example. This mutual cancellation through in-fighting might be more pronounced to the left than to the right, as the left is more verbal, having to resort to ideological more than punitive or remunerative power. And words, as indicated under Epistemology in the text, easily divide more than they unite if organized in the single-peaked pyramidal manner. The right in South America has power, pure and simple, and does not have to worry much about winning or losing debates - it acts, or has the structure do the action for them. Individualist competitiveness would be shared between left and right, however.

34. This would relate to the famous thesis by Frank Tannenbaum, in Slave and Citizen, New York, 1947: slavery under Protestant-oriented slave-owners was so much harsher than the softer Catholic masters who saw slaves less as cattle and more as unfortunate human beings who might work themselves free.

35. Of course, the latter is to a large extent a function of the former to protect the gains under socialism (particularly the lifting of the standard of living at the bottom of society) from capitalist-imperialist encroachments (for an analysis of these, or at least impressive listings, see the material in Cuba's Foreign Policy: Proletarian Internationalism, Center for Cuban Studies Newsletter, 1976, No. 4-5). But is it only reactive or does the repression have a tendency to last longer than outside pressure should warrant? Is it also a part of internal repression? The Eastern European experience seems to indicate that the answer would have to be affirmative.

36. Talking with Indians in Peru and Bolivia can confirm to anyone that these are rather widespread feelings. And there are good reasons: the highland Indian communities, when nature is not too difficult, probably offer the most human and dignified type of living in South America today due to the work done against feudal patterns of landownership. See José Matos Mar, Comunidades indígenas del area andina, Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, Lima 1976, also as chapter 5 in his book Hacienda, comunidad y campesinato en el Peru. For an interesting linguistic analysis related to his see "Cultura, sociedad y Lengua," Anuario Indigenista, December 1977, pp. 47-64 - where the Iberic domination over the Quechua Indians is analyzed in its linguistic projections by Alberto Escobar, José Matos Mar and Giorgio Alberti.

37. Were the present movements in the Andean area are extremely interesting, also stimulated by such organizations as EWGIA and WCIP.

38. According to Floyd Hunter who did community power type studies in Chile in the early 1960s.

39. Gutiérrez; also see the texts by Camilo Torres.

40. See the paper referred to in footnote 20 above.

41. Reported in Costa Rican newspapers after the anniversary, July 1980.

42. Or - could it be that there would come an Inca revival movement not only in the sense of liberation from the Hispanic domination, but in the sense of trying to reestablish some of the old relations to neighboring societies?

43. To give just one example: the search for the patron as a theme in the cosmopolitan will continue, facilitating the emergence of strong states and strong parties - and of the president of the state council being at the same time head of state, head of government and head of the armed forces (Fidel, of course, the ultimate patron). Not so easy to launch local self-reliance in that type of setting!

44. Examples here might be, in a country like Chile, the tendency of youth to adopt a more "European" perspective on nature, enjoying it more directly and a relaxation of thought patterns. This would then also show up in other ways of doing social sciences; for an analysis of that, see my own efforts in "Social-Cultural Factors and the Development of Socialism in Latin America", chapter 5 in Review of Latinology, Johns, Copenhagen, 1973, based on experiences from the 1960s and 70s. It should be noted that the deductive thinking, which can be done, and even tends to prevail, is not the only way of working with the social sciences. The study unfortunately brings out very clearly what an incredible misapprehension exists here.

45. The Cuban holiday was simply to be held on the countryside and leave the city to itself for a few weeks after the revolution - a good example of the importance of the urban-rural dimension. Cubans are such an obvious, and conscious, believer in, for yeats, "Americanism" that you'd hardly think that there is less of it here and there is still the city - will it not be things, except for a few alternative or people in the countryside and how can that be possible that without either some kind of rural life, which means, of course, doing rural work or a reaction against what the Cuban revolution sets into motion and, even during the reign.

46. Mexico might be a good example here. Does anyone really think a little have filled up the country with the "leftist" and "rightist" that counter could refer to it as a "leftist" country, as the "leftist" professors could be the case - still the same historic, the same core cities and ties, the same patterns of nature and little changes in their roles?

47. Thus, I've written that the Cuban authorities would have had to rise to rise much more up to the softer side of life so well established in the Iberic traditions. A habanera with coffee and dancing to jazz orchestras, on the weekends, might have been a more appropriate, but right to the point, rather than a "leftist" revolution. And a combination of small scale efforts to provide the social necessities in life might have been a more appropriate at the level of individualities, and offer an arena for the people to put out some of their potential in bourgeois capitalist pursuits, socially controlled in a more or less state-party-military-police police. When I suggested this to some officials April 1973 in Havana the reaction was rather negative. It was the reaction of a authoritarian, total control of the population as implied by the 1960 census.

48. It that is not the structure with or without, or at least no strong country as a center. South Americans are at such a level at this, putting federal and even state parties in rather provincial places. The thesis here is that South Americans will either have a federation with a strong center (Argentina last century, finally establishing Buenos Aires as la capital; the failure of Brazil to really become a center being cases in point) with all the problems that entails, or no federation at all, except for small groups of countries and areas specific places.

49. Have the experiences of certain Caribbean countries like Trinidad and Tobago in fostering racial and religious tolerance would be important. It should be noted, though, that the Commonwealth Caribbean countries are not operating with an Iberic core African screwdrivers, at least not much - although some of it is in the creole concept. Indispensable in this connection would be deep insight in Amerindian and African cosmologies in South America, and how they have blended with Iberic and Yankee elements.