

Former president Lula’s letter for opening of international seminar

São Paulo, 20 August 2012.

Dear friends participating in the international seminar on the Slave Route,

I was delighted to receive the invitation to this important event from my friend and colleague Eloi Ferreira, president of Fundação Palmares. As a Brazilian citizen, I am very enthusiastic about the efforts to preserve heritage relating to the African slave trade and slavery, which has left deep imprints on this land.

Brazil has the largest number of black inhabitants outside Africa and Africans have made an invaluable contribution to our national identity in terms of music, cuisine, oral traditions, knowledge and practices. Thousands of Africans were brought here as slaves through Valongo Wharf, an outstanding memorial site in Rio de Janeiro.

In order to build a future marked by greater equality, we must rise above the historical blot of slavery. In our country, that means overcoming the racism that still persists. Moreover, we owe a debt of solidarity to the African continent. We have a duty of cooperation.

What better occasion is there to strengthen our relations? For the first time in history, Brazil and Africa are experiencing economic growth, the strengthening of their institutions and improvement in the lives of their peoples.

Unfortunately, I cannot be with you at this time, but I do wish to send you greetings and wish you every success in your discussions.

Warm regards,

Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva

The international seminar “Heritage, identity, education and culture: management of sites and places of memory related to the slave trade and slavery” begins in Brasilia

by Drielly Jardim

The opening ceremony of the international seminar “Heritage, identity, education and culture: management of sites and places of memory related to the slave trade and slavery” took place on Friday, 20 August, at the National Museum of the Republic, in Brasilia.

The initiative, designed to encourage memory tourism in places linked to the slave trade and slavery, is the result of a partnership between Fundação Cultural Palmares (FCP) and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), supported by the Ministries of Culture, Education, Tourism and Foreign Affairs and sponsored by the Post Office.

During the ceremony, FCP president, Eloi Ferreira de Araujo, stressed that one of the objectives of the international seminar was to reflect on Brazilian national identity and the need to inventory historical sites linked to the slave trade and slavery.



President of FCP, Eloi Ferreira de Araujo.

Furthermore, Eloi Ferreira de Araujo reminded participants that the recovery and promotion of black Brazilian symbols began with the creation of Zumbi dos Palmares Memorial Park, located in Serra da Barriga, in the state of Alagoas, and officially launched action to place Valongo Wharf on the World Heritage List.

“Valongo Wharf was the main port through which Africans entered Brazil. It’s a historical site, rich in memory, that ought to be shared with everyone and, therefore, it should become part of the cultural heritage of humanity”, asserted the president of FCP.



Minister of Culture, Ana de Hollanda.

Minister of Culture, Ana de Hollanda, stated that the holding of the seminar clearly illustrated the Brazilian Government’s position in relation to people of African ancestry and noted that civil society in its entirety had been involved in the recent discussions on quotas. “Like others to come, that discussion was very important, because it’s not enough to treat people who are in an unequal situation equally; there has to be unequal treatment”, she said.

Minister Luiza Bairros, of the Secretariat for Policies to Promote Racial Equality (SEPPIR), pointed out that action to have Valongo Wharf declared part of the cultural heritage of humanity was recognition of the contribution of the slaves’ descendants to the building of Brazil.

“Despite all of the advances that we’ve achieved as a society, with regard to racial equality, we’re still a country that has an uncomfortable relationship with its history of slavery. We’ll have the opportunity to transform that site [Valongo Wharf] into a symbol of our struggle for racial democracy”, she assured the participants.

UNESCO’s representative in Brazil, Lucien Muñoz, reminded the participants that the seminar would be “an opportunity to analyse best practices in memory tourism, identify new approaches to the subject and draw up clear guidelines for the production of a handbook to train managers of those historical sites”.

Both the Culture Secretary of the Federal District, Hamilton Pereira, and member of parliament Erika Kokay said that the event was being held at a time when Brazil was engaged in self-assessment in order to gain a better self-understanding and that Brazilians would have the opportunity to make a new cultural discovery and to take pride in their African heritage.

Josefina Serra dos Santos, Secretary of Policies to Promote Racial Equality in the Federal District, pointed out that the event would also contribute to ensuring compliance with Law 10.639/2003 (requiring Afro-Brazilian history and culture to be taught in all Brazilian schools). “We must demand compliance with that Law, which is one of the instruments available for gradually reducing prejudice against people of African descent and the countries of the African continent”, she concluded.

Superior Labour Court judge Carlos Alberto Reis de Paula believed that the seminar would pave the way for a magical moment for culture and education in Brazil. “Today can only be written if we look to the past and to the future. In order to build a country, it must have a memory, and Brazil can’t write its history without discovering the essential part that it played in the slave route”, he said.

In the opinion of Matilde Ribeiro, former SEPPIR Minister and a black rights campaigner, the seminar highlights the importance of racial equality policies in Brazil. She did stress, however, that “the struggle for equality will only end when we have genuine equality in our country and when we have equality in our future”.

Lectures – In the morning meeting, two lectures were given. The first, by Ambassador Paulo Cordeiro Andrade Pinto, Under-Secretary-General for Africa and the Middle East, was on the Memory of Africa in Brazil.



Ambassador Paulo Cordeiro

According to Paulo Cordeiro, Brazil does not really know the African continent and, consequently, does not recognize that it has roots there. He considers that UNESCO’s work through the Slave Route seminar is instrumental in “increasing people’s awareness and dispelling the shadows of ignorance about their own origins”.

The ambassador believes that, in recent years, Brazil has learnt to value things that used to go unnoticed. “For example, Brazil has the book of Brazilian heroes, in which the second name is that of [slave resistance leader] Zumbi dos Palmares, yet we take very little pride in that kind of heritage. Young Brazilians must know the important references of our history”, he stressed.



Hervé Barré

Hervé Barré, a UNESCO specialist in cultural tourism and development, spoke on the subject “What is cultural tourism?”. In his view, it is one of the main ways of promoting culture and, subsequently, of transforming culture into economic and social development.

Barré stressed that tourism was most democratic because tourists have recognized the value of historical heritage and local people have proven to be allies in preserving their sites and culture.

The specialist also stressed that tourism must be regarded as an activity conducive to development, that management plans must be based on the value of the heritage to be protected, and that mechanisms must be devised to enlist the support of the tourism industry to encourage tourists to behave in a sustainable and democratic way.

Technical Meetings – From 21 to 23 August, those meetings were attended by professionals working on the preservation and promotion of memorial sites relating to slavery and involved in the formulation of public policies on the subject, researchers and specialists from Africa, the Americas, the Indian Ocean and Europe.

The meetings afforded an opportunity to establish an international network of managers of memorial sites for the implementation of the recommendations formulated at the seminar and the strengthening of experiential exchanges made during the technical meetings.

One of the main objectives was the preparation of a conceptual and methodological guide for cultural managers, which should facilitate the establishment of memory tourism around sites, places, monuments and museums linked to the slave trade and slavery.

24th anniversary of Fundação Palmares – During the seminar, on 22 August, Fundação Cultural Palmares marked its 24th anniversary of working to promote, preserve, protect and disseminate black and Afro-Brazilian culture.

The date was marked by a concert by the singer Carlinhos Brown, at 7.30 p.m., in the Villa Lobos auditorium at Claudio Santoro National Theatre. The show was open to the public and brought the audience on its feet when hits such as A Namorada, Tatinho and songs from Carlinhos Brown’s time as leader of the band Timbalada were performed.

Seminar debates itinerary for the protection of world historical sites



Andrea Camille of the World Heritage Centre,
Paul Lovejoy, Director of the Harriet Tubman Institute, and
Ali Moussa Iye, manager of the Slave Route Project
Photo: Exemplus

by Denise Porfírio

The first day of activities of the international seminar “Heritage, identity, education and culture: management of sites and places of memory related to the slave trade and slavery” was marked by strong expressions of support for Afro-Brazilian culture.

The event is based on UNESCO’s research programme for the “Slave Route” project which, since its launch in 1994, has been exploring the slave trade that has shaped relations between Africa, Europe and the Americas. One of the main objectives of the project is the preparation of a conceptual and methodological guide for cultural managers, which will facilitate the establishment of memory tourism around sites, places, monuments and museums linked to the slave trade and slavery.

One of the round tables was based on discussions about experiences and exemplary practices for the enhancement and management of memory tourism in the various regions of the world. The speakers included Paul Lovejoy of the Harriet Tubman Institute, Ali Moussa Iye, manager of the Slave Route Project, and Andrea Camille Richards of the World Heritage Centre. The event was attended by researchers, black rights campaigners, followers of African-influenced religions, representatives of *quilombos* and students.

During the event, Ali Moussa Iye stressed the importance of the Salvador and Durban Summits as opportunities to recognize the merits and development of memorial sites, and as sources of inspiration for the United Nations Decade for People of African Descent, scheduled to begin in December 2012.

For three days, the seminar brought together professionals working on the preservation and promotion of memorial sites and places linked to slavery, managers involved in the development of public policies and authorities and specialists from Africa, the Americas, the Indian Ocean and Europe.

Fortieth anniversary of the World Heritage Convention – The cataloguing programme preserves places of exceptional cultural or natural importance, which represent the common

heritage of humanity. It was established under the Convention for the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, in 1972. Since then, 189 States Parties have ratified the Convention.

The Convention established five strategic objectives, known as “the 5 Cs” – strengthen the **credibility** of world heritage, ensure its effective **conservation**, promote **capacity-building**, increase public awareness through **communication** and enhance the important role of **communities**.

UNESCO’s World Heritage Committee, which consists of representatives of 21 Member States, selects places to be placed on the list on the basis of their special cultural or physical significance. The 962 sites in 2012 comprise 745 cultural, 188 natural and 29 mixed cultural and natural sites spread over 157 States Parties. UNESCO issues a reference identification number for each world heritage site. While each world heritage site remains part of the legal territory of the State within which it is located, the Organization considers that it is in the interest of the international community to preserve each site.

Under the Convention, the following are considered to be “cultural heritage”:

monuments – architectural works, works of monumental sculpture and painting, elements or structures of an archaeological nature, inscriptions, cave dwellings and combinations of features, which are of outstanding universal value from the point of view of history, art or science;

groups of buildings – groups of separate or connected buildings which, because of their architecture, their homogeneity or their place in the landscape, are of outstanding universal value from the point of view of history, art or science;

sites – works of man or the combined works of nature and man, and areas including archaeological sites which are of outstanding universal value from the historical, aesthetic, ethnological or anthropological point of view.

Each State Party to the Convention recognizes that the duty of ensuring the identification, protection, conservation, presentation and transmission to future generations of the cultural and natural heritage situated on its territory belongs primarily to that State. It must do all it can to this end, to the utmost of its own resources and, where appropriate, with any international assistance and cooperation, in particular, financial, artistic, scientific and technical, which it may be able to obtain.

Book launch – During the seminar, the book entitled *Diversidade Cultural Afro-Brasileira* [Afro-Brazilian Cultural Diversity] was launched. Based on essays and reflections for the Palmares Prize for Dissertations and Monographs, the publication contains 15 articles written by the authors of award-winning studies in the Dissertation category. This is the first book to bear the “Know More” seal created by Fundação Palmares in order to provide society with diverse content on the wealth and diversity of Afro-Brazilian culture and heritage.



FCP president, Eloi Ferreira de Araujo and Barbara Souza, one of the authors

Photo: Exemplus

The idea is for the book to be a theoretical reference for the application of Law 10.639/2003 and a tool for combating racial exclusion in the field of science and for contributing to the analysis of the central role played by black people in the formation of Brazilian nationality.

Furthermore, in 2012, FCP will launch the publishing seal of the Palmares Prize, thus also opening opportunities for doctoral theses.

The president of Fundação Cultural Palmares, Eloi Ferreira de Araujo, thanked the partner institutions for their participation and expressed his pleasure in carrying out this series of activities to commemorate the 24th anniversary of the Foundation.

“These achievements illustrate the scale of the work begun by the previous directors of Fundação Palmares; its current directors are committed to continuing that work and to strengthening the importance of the institution as a reference of Afro-Brazilian culture”, he stressed.



The first book to bear the new “Know More” seal created by Fundação Palmares

Photo: Exemplus

Management of historical sites is discussed on the second day of the international seminar

by Denise Porfírio and Drielly Jardim

The international seminar “Heritage, identity, education and culture: management of sites and places of memory related to the slave trade and slavery” continued on Tuesday, 21 August, with technical meetings of professionals working on the preservation and promotion of memorial sites and places linked to slavery attended by specialists from Africa, the Americas, the Indian Ocean and Europe.

The African specialists highlighted the difficulty of conveying the true history of slavery to visitors of historical slave-trade sites. Stephen Korah, Principal Museums Education Officer at Ghana Museums and Monuments Board (GMMB), pointed out that the issue was further complicated because Africans had one interpretation of slavery while Europeans and history books portrayed other versions. “It’s difficult to know what the true story is, which is why we decided to draw on and mix what is recounted both in books and in oral accounts”, he explained.

As he provided information about and photographs of Cape Coast Castle, a fort built in Ghana by Swedish traders for trade in timber and gold, and later used for the trans-Atlantic slave trade, Korsah spoke of the challenges of conserving and preserving memorial sites.

“There are countless challenges, but it is part of our department’s best practice to do our utmost to overcome them. We believe that students and the local population are agents of dissemination, because they grow up hearing and seeing the work that we do. That’s why we’re sure that, in future, they will be able to pass that knowledge on and move forward”, he said.

The historian Charles Samson Akibode believed that, in addition to preservation, it was essential to consider ways of improving the lives of the people living in historical sites. “We can’t talk about tourism and wealth if we don’t talk about improving the lives of the residents”, he maintained. “By facilitating and encouraging the search for roots, we involve them in the historical conversation that is necessary to keep the memory of those places alive.”

Akibode shared with the participants the practices used in Cidade Velha, the first capital of Cape Verde, which was declared a world heritage site by UNESCO in 2009. In his view, the management model that worked best in Cidade Velha was the participatory model. “The pyramid model of top-down management, isn’t ideal”, he observed. “We take the concerns of the community into account, and that enables us to involve it in all decisions. Consequently, as the residents feel part of all that Cidade Velha is, they keep the historical conversation alive”, he affirmed.

Paul Lovejoy, Director of the Harriet Tubman Institute for Research on the Global Migrations of African Peoples, surprised the participants by speaking about slavery in Canada. Lovejoy noted that although people did not tend to think of Canada in connection with people of African descent and slavery, Canada had a very strong history in relation to this subject. “Canada took in around 20,000 people of African descent who escaped from slavery or fled from the United States of America, because they were afraid of being re-enslaved, even after having been freed”, he recounted.

He explained that one of the concerns in Canada was how to teach citizens about the impact of slavery on the modern world and how to make them understand that slavery was a crime.

For that purpose, Canada had a programme to identify sites of the Afro-Canadian experience, where memorial places were recognized in full cooperation with local communities.

Luis Rocca Torres, the representative of Peru, expressed his opinion and stressed the importance of promoting Peruvian memorial sites. The idea was to identify as many sites as possible and then submit the corresponding nominations to UNESCO for approval.

Uruguay was working in partnership with Paraguay and Argentina to identify their memorial sites in order to promote, preserve and embrace the legacy of African ancestry in their countries.

Karla Chagas, a researcher at the Uruguayan National Heritage Centre, highlighted the Hamlet of the Blacks, the port through which slaves entered the country in 1788, located in Montevideo and transformed into a monument in 2002; the historic quarter of Colonia del Sacramento, founded by the Portuguese in 1690; *Calera de las Huérfanas*, dating back to 1791; and *Oratorio de los Correa*, dating back to 1826 and reflecting the strong presence of the Brazilian population.

The researcher said that people of African descent accounted only for 10% of the country's population, while the remainder was of European origin. Another noteworthy feature of Uruguayan heritage was *Candombe*, the dances and rhythms performed by black people in Uruguay based on drums called *tangós* or *tambós*, and also the name used for the place where *candomberas* were held. Those open-air cultural events were banned by the authorities in the nineteenth century and, for a long time, were held only in closed settings in secret clubs organized by Africans and people of African descent.

The representative of Haiti, Mireille Frombum, said that the political unrest and natural disasters that had occurred in the country had sapped the strength of the Haitian people. She showed photographs of a museum belonging to her family, which had been transformed into a memorial place in the service of history. Reconstructed from ruins, the main mission of the museum was to work with children to build their self-esteem and appreciation of the country's black history.

Mathieu Dussauge, representative of the Slave Route in Guadeloupe and coordinator of the Traces-Mémoires (Traces and Memories) programme launched in 2010, said that the goal of the project was to increase knowledge of heritage sites linked to the history of slavery throughout the Caribbean. The intention was to unify UNESCO's work throughout the regions of the Spanish-speaking Caribbean and to promote the Abolition of Slavery Route, designed to highlight the human element.

Honduras' Minister of Indigenous Peoples and Afro-Hondurans, Luis Green Sales, greeted the seminar in his own language and drew attention to the promotion of African languages, dialects and traditions. He stressed the importance of the black agenda in the socio-cultural and political context, with the aim of making it more visible to those who denied its existence. He also named important locations such as Santa Barbara Fort, San Fernando Fort and Iglesia los Dolores as valuable African contributions.

The event is due to end on Thursday 23 August with a summary of the prospects for establishing memorial routes (education, culture and local development) and guidelines for the preparation of the methodological guide and educational content for teaching modules.

Ali Moussa Iye, manager of UNESCO's Slave Route Project in an exclusive with FCP

by Drielly Jardim

Currently Chief of the Intercultural Dialogue Section and manager of two important UNESCO programmes – the Slave Route Project and the General and Regional Histories collection (including History of Humanity, General History of Africa, General History of Latin America and General History of the Caribbean) – Ali Moussa Iye holds a Ph.D. in political science from the Institute of Political Studies in Grenoble (France) and conducts research in the field of political anthropology, with emphasis on the democratic traditions and customary laws of Somali pastoralists.

In an interview for the Fundação Cultural Palmares website, Ali Moussa Iye speaks of the Slave Route Project and the international seminar “Heritage, identity, education and culture: management of sites and places of memory related to the slave trade and slavery”, held in Brasília, and gives his opinion on racial prejudice and on the nomination of Valongo Wharf for the World Heritage List, which was announced by Fundação Palmares at the seminar's opening ceremony.

The Slave Route Project was officially launched in 1994 in order to break the silence about the slave trade and contribute to a better understanding of that tragedy. After 18 years of action, what, in your opinion, have been the main achievements of the project?

The Slave Route Project has been successful in various ways. Firstly, because it addresses a very important subject: slavery. Secondly, the project was decisive in placing the slave trade on the international agenda, with events such as the World Conference against Racism and Racial Discrimination, held in Durban in 2001. At that time, the importance of talking about this matter was acknowledged. The third point is that, thanks to this project, it's been possible to boost scientific research and the publication of books and studies on the subject, as well as prompt various countries to develop teaching materials for children and young people. Lastly, thanks to the Slave Route Project, it has been possible to inventory slave-trade memorial sites, which is the theme of the seminar now held in Brasília.

Have the next stages and objectives of the project been defined at the global level and in Brazil?

The Slave Route is a global and intersectoral project. Five years ago, we drew up a strategy structured by region, as the first stage of the Slave Route focused on the trans-Atlantic part. Now we're exploring other areas and countries that also feature in the history of slavery, such as Asia, the Red Sea and the Middle East.

We've also realized the importance of broadening our research, rather than focusing solely on the geographical aspect of the slave trade. We now want to understand the psychological side and the after-effects that have stayed with the victims of slavery because, although society is constantly changing, those after-effects remain in the collective consciousness. What's more, we're taking our studies in the area of citizenship deeper, to ask: who are the Brazilians? Who are the French? What's the influence of African culture on Brazilian citizens and their way of life? The aim is to investigate the identity of the countries that have been marked by that tragedy.

At the moment, we're trying to combine the Slave Route Project and the *General History of Africa* Collection so that people, especially young people, can learn about the history of the African continent and, as a result, strengthen their self-esteem. It's very important for those people to know and understand that the African peoples who were in Africa before slavery were men and women with a very strong culture and with a grand past, who were forcibly

enslaved. Another part of this project is designed to help Africans to learn about the work of Africans in the diaspora and to open up information flows.

Forty per cent of African people trafficked during the slavery period were brought to Brazil; that contributed to the fact that today it is the country with the second largest black population in the world and has some 115 Slave Route sites. What is the importance of this seminar to Brazil's memorial sites?

Brazil is a very important country for the Slave Route, as we know that 40% of enslaved Africans were brought here and, as a result, the country has countless memorial sites. That's why this seminar, which has the full support of Fundação Cultural Palmares, couldn't have been held anywhere else.

We hope to leave here with concrete activities to encourage the development of the Slave Route in Brazil, given that there are memorial sites and places relating to slavery in every state of the country. That's very important to help Brazilians to learn about their history and to help young people to understand at what price this country was built and by whom. It's also a great opportunity to promote the Slave Route in neighbouring countries.

When you think back to the world of the slave trade, do you think that this project has also contributed to reducing racial inequality and prejudice?

The fight against racism and social inequality is central to the Slave Route project. As we well know, people subjected to the terrible crime of slavery were marginalized and, after its abolition, received no compensation for the damage caused to them; on the contrary, it was the former slave owners who were compensated for losing valuable, cheap labour. Hence the importance of devising positive action that will bring those people in from the margins of society where they have remained until today.

Personally, I believe in the "three Rs". The first is Recognition. We must recognize everything that happened. Second, is Redress. We must make amends for that damage through affirmative laws and action, so that we can then move on to Reconciliation between the oppressors and the oppressed.

During the seminar, Fundação Cultural Palmares officially launched the campaign for Valongo Wharf, located in the port area of the city of Rio de Janeiro, to be acknowledged as part of the cultural heritage of humanity. What are the next steps in order to obtain that title?

In my opinion, Fundação Cultural Palmares's intention to have Valongo Wharf listed as part of the cultural heritage is very positive. I have Valongo Wharf myself and I noticed that the place has great potential and all of the requisite characteristics to be selected, such as the Gamboa warehouses built by an Afro-Brazilian engineer, the Valongo Suspended Garden and the Cemetery of the New Blacks, which reveal the extent of the barbarity and dehumanization to which those young slaves were subjected. And we mustn't forget all of the historical buildings around the wharf, some of which have already been listed.

Now, in order for us to start taking action, the first stage, which is also the most important stage in obtaining the title, is to place Valongo on the indicative list of cultural heritage, which is quite a simple process, as it is merely a matter of completing a form. After one year has elapsed, it will be possible to submit the nomination file.

23 August will be International Day for the Remembrance of the Slave Trade and the last day of the seminar. What are the expected results of the event?

We aren't just holding this seminar for the sake of it; it's taken a great deal of work and investment to organize. So, we are expecting results. The first is the experiential exchange among the participants. They are people who sometimes work in their countries in isolation, so we were keen to encourage that exchange of information and establish a network of contacts and partnerships. The second expected result is the production of guidelines for a methodological guide for managers of memorial sites. The third expected result is the establishment of an international network of managers of memorial sites relating to the slave trade and slavery, so that those people can continue to exchange information and work together. As to the date, it wasn't a coincidence. It was our intention to hold a seminar this week so that its closing ceremony would coincide with the day chosen to remember the slave trade and its abolition.

The international seminar is one of the events organized by Fundação Cultural Palmares in preparation for the action plan for the International Decade for People of African Descent (2013-2022). What are the objectives of this decade and, in your opinion, how will Brazil participate in it?

In 2011, we had the International Year for People of African Descent, but we realized that it was too short a period to formulate anti-racism policies because, just as we were getting started, the year was over. Brazil and Venezuela were the two countries that requested UNESCO to proclaim the International Decade for people of African Descent, to give us more time to devise anti-racism solutions and policies, recognize cultural diversity and enable people to fight for their rights, among other things. Now, at UNESCO, we're drawing up an action plan based on questionnaires answered by various countries and covering all aspects that we wished to address, such as combating discrimination and racism.

Together with the Brazilian Ministry of Education, we're also developing a new two-volume publication on the History of Africa, which will address the new challenges facing Africa. The first volume will update the knowledge already garnered about Africa, which goes back as far as the theory that the African continent is the cradle of civilization, and will consider contemporary challenges, such as climate change and the role of women. The second volume will concentrate on the question of the diaspora – not only the post-slavery diaspora, but also the diaspora that existed before the slave trade, which consisted of Africans who had migrated to different regions of the world.

Another important point is that the decade is being organized by the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights and, after a meeting of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, which receives annual reports from every country on the efforts made to combat discrimination, we drafted a recommendation calling for discrimination linked to African ancestry to be duly recognized, since the only criterion that existed in that respect was in relation to caste discrimination under the Hindu social stratification system.
