

LATIN AMERICAN STUDIES ASSOCIATION

FORUM

SPRING 2006 | VOLUME XXXVII | ISSUE 2

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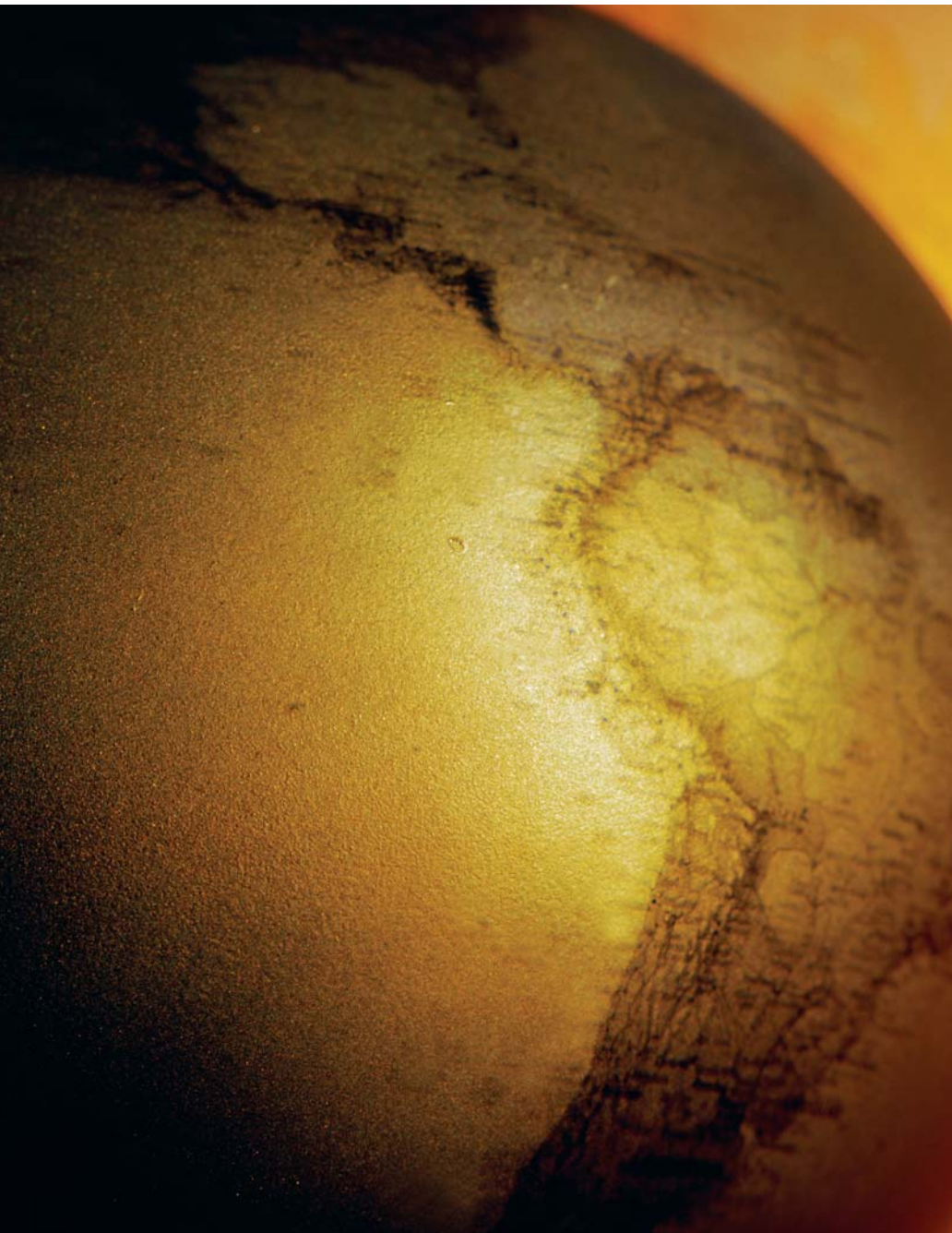


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The *LASA Forum* is published four times a year. It is the official vehicle for conveying news about the Latin American Studies Association to its members. Articles appearing in the *On the Profession* and *Debates* sections of the *Forum* are commissioned by the Editorial Committee and deal with selected themes. The Committee welcomes responses to any material published in the *Forum*.

Opinions expressed herein are those of individual authors and do not necessarily reflect the view of the Latin American Studies Association or its officers. Direct subscriptions to the *LASA Forum* only, without LASA membership, are \$50.00 per year.

ISSN 0890-7218

President's Report

by SONIA E. ALVAREZ | University of Massachusetts, Amherst | soniaa@polsci.umass.edu

Though LASA2006 is now behind us, the “Spirit of San Juan,” I like to think, will help inspire, enliven, and further transform our Association for some time to come. The extraordinary *hospitalidad* and *calor humano* with which our Puerto Rican and Caribbean colleagues received us and *la gente* de San Juan welcomed us made LASA’s 40th anniversary celebration an especially memorable one. *Entre* the unparalleled tropical extravaganza that was the opening reception, the pulsating rhythms of the *gran baile*’s Gran Combo, and the exceptional media coverage and public outreach that was arranged before and during the Congress, the local organizing committee, headed by Margarita Ostolaza, and our local sponsors—who included el Gobierno del Estado Libre Asociado de Puerto Rico y su Compañía de Turismo, la Universidad de Puerto Rico y la Asociación de Maestros de Puerto Rico—truly outdid themselves. We thank them again for their support.

Part of the “Spirit of San Juan” that we hope lives on is the spirit of teamwork and collaboration between the U.S.-based Secretariat and local LASA Congress supporters, and the spirit of university-community outreach and inter-institutional collaboration—between LASA and Puerto Rico- and Caribbean-based universities or universities and community organizations and research institutions wherever our Congresses are held. Seldom has a LASA Congress been so extensively *divulgado* locally or so thoroughly enmeshed in the fabric of local university and community life. The over 130 students from Puerto Rican universities who served as Congress volunteers—recruited largely thanks to the efforts of longtime LASA member Professor Alice Colón—were the most vivid testament to the spirit of transformation and renovation that was LASA2006.

Transformation and renovation, or the changes necessary for what Arturo Escobar in his essay for this issue refers to as the “re-visioning” of Latin American Studies, call for the further decentering of our field—another aspect of the Spirit of San Juan that I hope will have enduring effects on our Association. Given its unique place in the post/colonial history of the Américas and its *lugar de puente* between the North and South, Puerto Rico proved to be an ideal site for a Congress on the theme of decentering our field of study to unfold. For those who’d never visited the island, or who’d never experienced Puerto Ricans’ particular and profoundly Caribbean/Latin/o-americano hybrid/code-switching/re-mix of languages, peoples and *culturas*, San Juan itself was perhaps an intensive lesson in why rethinking conventional approaches to LAS/area studies is an ever more urgent task.

As I emphasized in my remarks at the Congress’ opening session, San Juan also was an ideal site for LASA2006 because, with its *guagua aérea* and its 3 million plus-strong diaspora in the United States, Puerto Rico, like the Caribbean more generally, calls attention to the critical importance of Latina/o Studies/Caribbean/Diaspora Studies to the enterprise of decentering Latin American Studies. Indeed, one of the *miradas/epistemologías* which is *imprescindible* to a genuinely revitalized LASA mission is a recognition that Latin America and the Caribbean stretch well into the North of the Américas, that there is no inside/outside, that borders within and without countries in our hemispheres are increasingly fluid, like the waters of the Caribbean itself.

Against the inexorable tides of cultures, histories, and humanity, the Bush administration remains ever more intent on enforcing and policing (b)orders in ways



that increasingly violate fundamental human rights and, crucially for our Association, encroach upon our academic freedom. LASA’s ability to fulfill our core mission of promoting scholarly exchange and debate among scholars in the Américas is seriously compromised by the systematic denial of visas to our Cuban colleagues and the increasing difficulties encountered by many others from across Latin American and the Caribbean in securing visas to the United States in recent years.

In response to this situation, the Spirit of San Juan also turned out to be a renewed spirit of engaged scholarship, of taking principled professional action in the name of human rights and academic freedom, of honoring LASA’s long-standing tradition of solidarity/identity with our Latin/o American colleagues, on whichever side of the (b)orders they/we may reside—a tradition eloquently recounted in the essays collected in this issue’s *Debates* section, which presents *testimonios* by several of the women and men involved in LASA’s founding decades who came together in a special 40th anniversary session in San Juan. All of them, along with scholars who write in this issue about LASA’s relationship to Cuban scholars and our decades-old struggle for academic freedom, remind us that this last aspect of the Spirit of San Juan—embodied in the Declaration issued by the Executive Council on March 14, 2006 (reprinted below, as amended) by the EC on May 9 to reflect changes suggested by members of the Cuban Studies Section—is the very spirit of LASA. As part of a broader strategy to address the problem of growing impediments and denials in the granting of visas to Latin

PRESIDENT'S REPORT continued...

American scholars wishing to participate in our Congresses and in other forms of scholarly exchange in the United States, the EC also voted to create a special Task Force on Academic Freedom and Human Rights, to file an amicus brief in an ACLU case against the U.S. government for unlawful visa denials of scholars, and to collaborate with other professional associations in advocating changes in current visa policy and travel restrictions.

As this issue goes to press, the EC has just received the results of the membership poll on whether to move LASA2007 from Boston to Montreal. The extremely complex process of investigating and debating the possible relocation of the 2007 Congress was a commendable team effort, ably commandeered by Executive Director, Milagros Pereyra, and incoming President, Charles Hale. I thank them both for their exceptional hard work, tireless good humor, and generous friendship, not just during what is proving to be an unusually complicated "transition period," but over the course of my term as president.

Before passing *la palabra y la batuta* to Charlie to provide details about where we stand on the LASA2007 relocation process, I want to close by thanking the many others who helped make my time as LASA president as painless as possible: María Cecilia Dancisin, Sandy Klinzing, Sandra Wiegand, Kate Foster and everyone at the LASA Secretariat for running a flawless operation in Pittsburgh; members of the EC for their wise advice and insight; my Congress "cocheras," Frances Aparicio and Amalia Pallares, a first-rate Program Committee, and all those who organized Plenaries and Featured Sessions for helping put together what I (objectively. . .) think was one of the best LASA programs ever; Arturo Arias and colleagues who authored essays or guest edited special sections of

this journal, for helping me refashion the *LASA Forum*; the many colleagues who generously gave of their time to serve on LASA's core committees, especially Rita Schmidt, Alberto Olvera, James Green, and Guillermo Delgado, who capably chaired important, if onerous, prize committees; my former (and much missed) colleagues at UCSC and my new colleagues at UMass-Amherst for supporting me even during my most frazzled LASA crisis moments; and my friends and family, especially Sonia Alvarez (Sr.) and Claudia de Lima Costa, for putting up with me during the past 18 months. The Spirit of San Juan was, ultimately, a team spirit. Finally, I thank the members of LASA for granting me the honor of serving this Association. ■

LASA to President Bush:

Stop the Violation of our Academic Freedom!

The Latin American Studies Association (LASA) faces a crisis, provoked by the Bush Administration's policies of delay and denial in the granting of visas to Latin American scholars. LASA is the world's largest organization of Latin Americanist scholars, with a diverse, international membership of whom roughly 30 percent are Latin American. The success and viability of the LASA Congress, held every 18 months, depends on the full participation of our membership in an expansive atmosphere of interchange and debate. When Latin American scholars are denied visas, the integrity of the Congress is compromised, the core mission of LASA is undermined, and the academic freedom of every LASA member is violated.

In March 2003, the Bush Administration denied entry to 45 Cuban scholars for participation in the Dallas Congress; in September 2004, 60 Cuban scholars were denied visas to participate in the Las Vegas Congress; in early March 2006, we received notice of another blanket denial of 58 Cuban scholars, scheduled to travel to San Juan, Puerto Rico, for the March 2006 Congress. The stated rationale for these denials, that the scholars' presence would be "detrimental to the interests of the United States," is not credible. To the contrary, we strongly believe that U.S. national interests are served directly and substantively by precisely the kind of academic interchange that these scholars would provide.

The pattern of systematic visa denials began in the first Bush administration, and has been on a path of steady escalation since ever since. The most flagrant and massive case involves Cubans, but the problem reaches much further, to scholars from Bolivia, Nicaragua and Uruguay, among other countries. The deeply troubling conclusion that we draw from this pattern is that denials are based not on threats to our national security, but rather, retribution against governments and individuals that the Bush Administration opposes for political reasons. **The Treasury Department's current regulations impeding the travel of U.S. scholars to Cuba and the organization of courses there** further interfere with the free exchange of ideas central to LASA's mission. We insist that all such political considerations be disassociated from the basic principle of academic freedom.

In response to this crisis, the Executive Council of LASA has voted unanimously to make every effort to relocate the 2007 Congress, presently scheduled to take place in Boston, Massachusetts, to an alternative venue outside the United States. We intend for the substantial revenues that the LASA Congress brings to its chosen site to speak loudly, to amplify our message regarding the fundamental principle of academic freedom at stake in this matter. As long as the United States government's current visa policy with regard to our Latin American colleagues persists, we can no longer, in good conscience, hold our Congress inside the United States. ■

From the Incoming President

by CHARLES R. HALE | University of Texas, Austin | crhale@mail.utexas.edu

As this issue goes to press, we are in the midst of one of the most complex decisions that has faced LASA for some years. As Sonia explains in her report, in response to a pattern of increasing difficulties and outright denials of visas for our Latin American colleagues, the EC voted to explore possibilities for a relocation of LASA2007 outside the United States. The Secretariat carried out an extensive review of possible alternative sites, and organized site visits to the cities that were most likely to offer necessary and beneficial conditions. After much research and deliberation, the Secretariat recommended, in the event that the EC decided to move, that the new site for LASA2007 be Montreal. We then proceeded to estimate the costs—both tangible and intangible—of such an action, and to prepare a statement to the membership that would accompany the referendum. On Saturday, May 13, some 2,169 LASA members voted overwhelmingly—80 percent—in favor of the relocation. The option to move also received near-unanimous support from an “extended” Executive Council consisting of both incoming and current EC members (we put the vote to the extended EC in recognition of the fact that the decision-making process involved both outgoing and incoming officers; through this mechanism, both groups had the opportunity to cast their vote, providing greater assurance of ample deliberation from diverse perspectives).

With these steps complete, all the pieces are now in place for a move to Montreal. By the time this *Forum* reaches you, the final decision (both the confirmed date and the site) will in all probability be made.

However, the last crucial step requires us to go back to the hotels in both Montreal and Boston to negotiate the terms of the change in venue. In the next issue of the *Forum*, we will be in a position to report fully on the results of this process. As soon as the final decision is confirmed and set in stone, an email message will go out to the entire membership.

On behalf of the Secretariat and the Executive Council, I want to thank each and every member of LASA for your patience in this process; and for those who took the time to vote and to send comments, special thanks are due.

Whatever your feelings and judgment about the relocation, please be assured that your voice has been heard; in the event that you have objections to the final decision, I will make a special effort to address these concerns in a future *Forum*, or in other appropriate means. It is my sincere hope that this relocation decision, although difficult and at times stressful, will draw us closer together as an Association, affirming the mission of free and unhindered scholarly exchange that is the very soul of LASA, debating the pros and cons of different strategies, and ultimately, taking the concrete action in defense of these principles that corresponds to the will of the majority.

Please be attentive to further communication on this issue in the weeks to come. ■



Associate Editor's Report

by ARTURO ARIAS | University of Redlands | Arturo_Arias@redlands.edu

This issue is the last one under Sonia Alvarez's watch. It is fit, therefore, to recognize her brilliant job in de-centering Latin American Studies, a mandate that she inherited from the 2003 LASA Strategic Plan. Sonia took seriously her mandate of debating cutting-edge issues that are presently shaping the field. Incoming president Charlie Hale will pursue our strategic mandate of promoting the transnationalization of the field and its diversification. His *Other Americas/Otros Saberes* initiative is tangible proof of his energy and direction. They both embody the ethical qualities that most Latin Americans seek in academics who are both intellectually first-rate and cutting-edge, yet *comprometidos* in one fashion or another with the peoples of the hemisphere, without allowing ego, promotions, or selfishness, to get in the way of their vision. Thank you.

The *On the Profession* section features two different articles in this issue. On the one hand, we have Miguel León-Portilla's talk as recipient of the 2006 Kalman Silvert award. Unfortunately, Miguel, who dedicated his life to the rescue of indigenous knowledge in Mexico before this became fashionable, was the first-ever Kalman Silvert recipient to be unable to attend the Congress because of health reasons. However, his lecture "La construcción del significado en la historia" was read during the Congress, and is included here as has been traditional. Engaged in a dialogical relationship with Ferdinand Braudel's school of *Annales*, León-Portilla explains that the construction of meaning in history "implica la integración de conceptos que dan a entender lo que ocurrió en un determinado tiempo y lugar con todas sus implicaciones, antecedentes, causas y consecuencias." The historian's job thus consists of re-constructing his data conceptually. This enables León-Portilla to argue that a

historian is not just a collector of facts. Events themselves are not bearers of signification. Meaning is constructed as a result of a critical processing of facts and events. Thus, signification can never be separate from a theoretico-critical focus.

The other article featured in the *On the Profession* section is Arturo Escobar's "Revisioning Latin American/Caribbean Studies: A Geo-Politics of Knowledge Approach." This article traces the transformation of area studies as a result of globalization, the emergence of paradigmatic trends in the social sciences and the humanities, and the consolidation of more substantial interdisciplinary approaches. Escobar analyzes the scholarly factors involved in this transformation, listing social issues such as the end of the Cold War, the rise of neo-liberal models, or the emergence of NGOs, and scholarly ones, such as the emergence of post-structuralism, the appearance of new interdisciplinary fields such as cultural studies, and the financial pressures on universities. All of these factors have led to a transformation of what constitutes "Latin America." This raises a whole set of challenges, complicating the object of study, its boundaries, regional sub-groupings, topographical identities, paradigms, frameworks and methodologies. It also generates new knowledge producers on site. How institutions respond to them will define the future of the field.

Given LASA's 40th anniversary, the *Debates* section will not feature debates per se, on this issue. Instead, it will include the various recollections, memoirs, testimonials, and historical reconstructions of LASA's founders, regarding both the creation of the Association in 1966, and the presence of Cuba as "the Other" of the United States in both the emergence of Latin American Studies, and in shaping the original debates,

policies, structure, orientation, political practice and scholarly ethics of the association. This rich documentation was gathered in the two special sessions commemorating LASA's 40th anniversary at the San Juan Congress. These special sessions were organized by past LASA presidents Carmen Diana Deere, Susan Eckstein, and Lars Schoultz. The first one was "Tumultuous Times: LASA in the 1960s." The second one, "The Never-Ending Cold War: The United States, Cuba, and LASA's Battle for Academic Freedom." The first of these included Paul Doughty, Margaret E. Crahan, Peter Smith, and Ronald H. Chilcote, with Terry Karl as discussant. To this panel we have added Richard N. Adams's presentation. Rick was supposed to participate in this panel, but was unable to attend at the last minute. The second panel included Jorge Domínguez, Sandra Levinson, and Wayne Smith. These short presentations enable LASA to document and reconstruct its early history, if only by systematizing primary sources: the testimonials of surviving participants of this process.

Richard Adams, Professor Emeritus of Anthropology from the University of Texas at Austin, and LASA's second president, attributes the bulk of the initiative for LASA's creation to Kalman Silvert, its first president, working out of New York University. He also attributes LASA's logo to him, and notes that Richard Schaedel, an anthropologist from UT Austin, was *LARR*'s first editor.

Paul Doughty, still another anthropologist, Distinguished Service Professor at the University of Florida and the eighth president of LASA, serving in 1974, emphasizes LASA's academic radicalism. He raised the issue that LASA should not be housed in an institution linked to the U.S. government. Paul claims that the war

ASSOCIATE EDITOR'S REPORT continued...

in Vietnam, the civil rights movement in the United States, the Equal Rights movement, combined with oppression in Latin America, and of course, U.S.-Cuba relations, quickly radicalized LASA. But a qualitative jump was made after Pinochet's coup in Chile. The Chilean coup also led to LASA canceling its 1974 Congress at the ITT-owned San Francisco Sheraton, because of ITT's involvement in the Chilean coup. He also credits Felicity Trueblood with changing the role of Executive Secretary to that of Executive Director.

Margaret E. Crahan, Professor of Religion, Politics and Human Rights at Hampshire College, was a pioneer feminist, and in 1973 was the first woman to be elected to the LASA Executive Council (EC). She credits Felicity Trueblood with helping her prepare her participation in the EC so that women would be taken seriously by early Latin Americanists. She also co-chaired the only joint LASA-African Studies meeting in Houston in 1977, and organized the first U.S.-Cuba exchange.

Peter Smith, Simón Bolívar Professor of Political Science at the University of California, San Diego, and LASA's 14th president, serving in 1981, says that the relationship to the U.S. government raised to the highest level the ethical concerns about scholarly behavior, and that it drew a line in the sand for all. It established that LASA was not going to become an arm of U.S. policy, and that those who did it could not belong to the association. He also claims that LASA's original discussions established that the association was both professional and academic.

Ronald H. Chilcote, Professor of Economics and Political Science at the University of California, Riverside, argues that the Cuban revolution provided the context for his involvement in LASA, and

draws various lessons from the sixties. These included the importance of spending time in Latin America, the need to explore the Iberian peninsula, the need to study the Latin American left, the need to become activists and public intellectuals at the same time, and the need to still learn from the sixties as an era of innovation, openness, and a search for alternative possibilities and outcomes.

Terry Karl, Gilbert Professor of Political Science at Stanford University, comments on the main points raised by presenters, and adds that unlike what happened in the 1960s, the political and democratic lessons are now coming from Latin America back to the United States.

Jorge Domínguez, Professor of Political Science at Harvard University and past president of LASA, comments on the difficulty of security relations between the U.S. and Cuban governments, finds Bush administration policies paradoxical and contradictory, and argues that, in the matter of denying visas for Cuban scholars attending LASA Congresses, the Bush administration has chosen to label LASA as a "Cuba solidarity organization."

Sandra Levinson is Executive Director of the Center for Cuban Studies. She explains what the Center was, and how it was structured, in a presentation shared with Wayne Smith, Senior Fellow at the Center for International Policy and adjunct professor/director of the Cuban Exchange Program at Johns Hopkins University. Wayne explains the nature of the lawsuit filed in Federal Court against the Bush administration for violating academic freedoms.

This issue also includes an analysis of the election of Michele Bachelet as president of Chile. Titled "¿Más político que cultural! o ¿Cómo llegó en Chile una mujer a la

Presidencia?" by Marcela Ríos Tobar of FLACSO-Chile, it analyzes the factors that explain how a woman who was not married to a politician but had developed an independent political trajectory of her own, was elected with a sizeable percentage of the vote. Marcela argues that two factors combined to explain this result: on the one hand, the historical feminist demands as they developed throughout the 1990s, pushing for a public presence in Chilean politics; on the other, the particular aspects of this election, that included the certainty that the governing coalition would win, the high approval of President Lagos, the sustained economic growth, and the support that women, especially working-class women, gave to Bachelet. She was also perceived by many as warmer and closer to the people than her predecessor, while also representing a generational change in leadership. ■

La construcción de significado en la historia

by MIGUEL LEÓN-PORTILLA | Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas
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[This is a transcript of the address prepared by Professor León Portilla for the Kalman Silvert Award Session at the XXVI International Congress of the Latin American Studies Association March 17, 2006, San Juan, Puerto Rico.]

Extraño sonará a algunos afirmar que el significado de un acontecer histórico es objeto de una construcción mental y no de un descubrimiento. Esto último—descubrir su significado—puede entenderse como el develamiento de algo que implícita o explícitamente pertenece al mismo acontecer. En cambio, hablar de construcción de significado lleva a suponer que el historiador, con los recursos testimoniales a su alcance, fabrica, por así decirlo, la significación que ha de atribuirse al acontecer en cuestión.

Develar un ser en sí, con un enfoque realista—como dirían algunos filósofos—es el de la primera hipótesis o sea que el significado pertenece o se deriva del mismo acontecer histórico. “Atribución” numérica—al modo kantiano—sería la otra hipótesis: que el significado del acontecer se construye a modo de esencia o meollo del mismo. Para explicitar lo que entiendo por construcción de significado en la historia—que obviamente guarda relación con lo que se entiende en general por “investigación histórica”—ahondaré más en el tema y lo ilustraré con algunos ejemplos.

La construcción de significado en la historia implica la integración de conceptos que dan a entender lo que ocurrió en un determinado tiempo y lugar con todas sus implicaciones, antecedentes, causas y consecuencias. Los conceptos que habrán de integrarse para obtener el significado de lo que ocurrió provendrán, implícita o explícitamente, de los documentos u otros géneros de testimonios localizados no en un solo repositorio o en otro determinado ámbito, sino que con frecuencia se encuentran dispersos en distintos lugares.

El historiador deberá buscarlos y reunirlos para integrarlos al fin en un todo coherente. El resultado—si se ha procedido con adecuado sentido crítico y detenimiento—será precisamente la construcción conceptual de lo ocurrido.

Ella incluirá cuantos elementos y aspectos se requieran para formarse una idea cabal que explique el meollo del acontecer en cuestión, así como sus interrelaciones con otros hechos que deban tomarse en cuenta. De ese modo se tendrá una realidad antes inexistente: la idea que muestra lo que realmente ocurrió. Esa idea, que no pre-existía, es precisamente el fruto de la construcción del significado de un acontecer. En ese sentido el historiador se constituye en inventor de significación.

Debo establecer ahora un primer distingo a propósito de los acontecimientos pretéritos. Puede decirse de ellos que los hay calificables de históricos por su relevancia y porque merecen ser recordados y valorados. Hay otros, en cambio, que aparecen como triviales, carentes de importancia y significación. Esta distinción que parece obvia, puede, sin embargo, ofrecer sorpresas, ya que en no pocos casos lo que en un principio aparece como trivial, en realidad puede estar relacionado con significaciones de considerable importancia.

Otro distingo, al que conviene atender, es el que puede describirse como de niveles diferentes de significación de los acontecimientos históricos. Un primer nivel, el más obvio, es perceptible casi sin mayor indagación. Un ejemplo lo ofrece una afirmación como esta: “la batalla de Hastings significó el inicio en Inglaterra de la penetración cultural y lingüística de los normandos latinizados, bajo las órdenes de Guillermo el Conquistador”. Otro ejemplo lo tenemos en la siguiente aseveración: “Miguel Hidalgo es héroe de la

independencia porque fue él quien comenzó la lucha de los insurgentes en México.”

Desde luego que estos ejemplos, en que se expresa un primer nivel de significación histórica, difieren mucho de otros en los que, para alcanzar una significación más plena y profunda, es necesario intentar lo que he descrito como una construcción de ella. En tales casos el historiador debe avanzar mucho más allá de lo que parece obvio. Entre otras cosas, esto exigirá ampliar el espectro temporal y espacial en el que debe ubicarse el acontecer en cuestión.

Ferdinand Braudel ha desarrollado su concepto de “la larga duración”, contrastándola con la del evento transitorio. Complemento de ello es su propuesta de la estructura en el acontecer histórico *versus* lo que se presenta como meramente coyuntural. Lo que propongo aquí se complementa, según veremos, con esta concepción histórica formulada por Braudel.

Trataré de iluminar con un ejemplo lo que entiendo por “construcción de significado en la historia”. Lo tomo de ese acontecer que se conoce como “el desembarco aliado en Normandía el día D, en 1944”. Recordarlo, y expresar acerca de él que marcó el principio de la derrota definitiva de los alemanes, es alcanzar un primer nivel de significación. Para lograr niveles más profundos es necesario, como ya lo insinué, ampliar virtualmente el espectro temporal y espacial en que cabe situar tal acontecer.

Diría que es menester proyectar hacia un pasado más grande y también hacia lo que fue el futuro del dicho acontecer, a la vez que ampliar el marco espacial en que puede situarse el desembarco. Cabe aquí la pregunta de si ¿hay que intentar entender ese acontecer a la luz de una larga duración? La respuesta a esta pregunta

LEÓN-PORTILLA continued...

habrá de derivarse de lo obtenido en el proceso mismo de construcción de significado de lo que ocurrió en Normandía en ese año de 1944.

Voy a recordar el tema del dicho desembarco relatando una experiencia personal. Estábamos mi mujer y yo en un pueblo de Francia allá en el mes de julio de 1969. Nos alojábamos en un pequeño hotel en el que se hallaba también una pareja de norteamericanos con los que en ocasiones conversábamos. Me enteré de que él era un veterano que había viajado a Francia para asistir a la conmemoración de los veinticinco años del desembarco en Normandía en que él había participado.

A mis preguntas sobre lo que entonces ocurrió respondía él con gran interés. Había partido en la flota combinada anglo-norteamericana que poco tiempo antes del desembarco había zarpado desde las costas de Inglaterra. Recordaba muy bien cómo en vehículos anfibios habían llegado a las playas de Normandía; cómo los protegía el fuego de los buques de guerra y cómo, a pesar de ello, muchos de los aliados cayeron abatidos por los disparos de las tropas alemanas que rechazaban el desembarco.

Dado que varias veces volvía sobre el tema, en una ocasión se me ocurrió preguntarle si conocía él cabalmente lo que fue en realidad esa batalla. Sorprendido, me respondió que si le estaba yo hablando en broma? ¿Cómo no lo voy a saber si yo estuve allí?

Le hice entonces una serie de preguntas: ¿Cuando usted desembarcó en Normandía, conocía cómo los altos mandos inglés y norteamericano habían organizado esa operación? ¿Por qué escogieron esa fecha determinada? ¿Qué contactos tenían con los integrantes de la resistencia francesa en el continente? ¿De qué información

disponían, gracias a su servicio de espionaje, acerca de la resistencia que el ejército alemán iba a ofrecer al desembarco? ¿Conocía lo que el alto mando aliado sabía que podía ocurrir en otros frentes de la guerra y cómo podrían aprovechar los rusos la situación? ¿Cómo se reunieron pertrechos tan grandes para la operación? ¿Qué consecuencias inmediatas y a largo plazo se siguieron de ella? ¿En el más amplio contexto de la segunda guerra mundial qué significado tuvo realmente esa cruenta batalla?

Mi conocido norteamericano aceptó que no tenía respuestas precisas para la mayoría de tales preguntas. Suavizando el tono, tratando de ser amistoso, le dije entonces: Mire usted, para poder responder a todas estas preguntas, no basta desde luego haber participado en ese desembarco. Usted tuvo la vivencia de una parte de lo que entonces ocurrió pero el trasfondo de ello no estuvo a su alcance. Dado que en ese acontecer, de un modo o de otro se vieron envueltos Inglaterra, los Estados Unidos, la resistencia francesa, Alemania y hasta, indirectamente, Rusia, Italia y otros países, sólo accediendo a los archivos de todos ellos es posible formarse una idea cabal del mismo. Esa idea será resultado de una construcción del significado de ese episodio histórico.

Tal idea no se hallaba en las playas de Normandía ni en los archivos de uno solo de los participantes. Esa idea tan sólo resultaba alcanzable relacionando meticulosamente, como si fueran piezas de un rompecabezas, los diversos testimonios. Al irse integrando éstos, se iría construyendo el significado de lo que entonces ocurrió. Mi conocido norteamericano aceptó lo que le dije y me preguntó qué libro podía leer para conocer el significado histórico de lo que él había vivido.

Como puede constatar, el ámbito temporal y espacial en el que ha de situarse el acontecer conocido como “desembarco en Normandía el día D”, debe ampliarse para construir su significado histórico. En ese ámbito entran todos los protagonistas que he mencionado y asimismo otros. Me refiero a cuantos se vieron luego afectados por la victoria aliada. La duración histórica del acontecer rebasa así la que correspondió al mero desembarco.

En este punto puede plantearse la comprensión de ese suceso a la luz de la idea de la larga duración propuesta por Braudel. En un cierto sentido es pertinente acercarse a este acontecer dentro de una historia de larga duración, en cuanto que pertenece a la serie de enfrentamientos vividos en Europa en el mismo siglo XX (primera guerra mundial) y aún antes (guerra franco-prusiana). Esa larga duración, que incluso abarca siglos previos, parece haber terminado definitivamente con el nacimiento de la Unión Europea. Con ella no parece posible pensar en conflictos bélicos entre los países de Europa Occidental.

A la luz de ejemplos como éste podría pensarse que la Historia puede llegar a construir significados que, sin ella, serían inconcebibles. Quiero preguntarme ahora de nuevo en qué está la diferencia entre la idea de la construcción de significado en la historia y la de investigación sobre un determinado acontecer. Mi respuesta es que quien piensa que, atendiendo al acontecer, obtiene testimonios para forjar una interpretación de lo ocurrido, procede desde una perspectiva que cabe calificar de realismo un tanto ingenuo. Concibe al acontecer como portador de significado. En cambio, quien acepta la idea de la construcción de significado, reconoce que tal significación no existía sino que es fruto del esfuerzo del historiador. Reconoce, en

fin, que el historiador es constructor o creador de significaciones que iluminan el acontecer humano.

Lo expuesto parece apuntar a la grandeza del conocimiento histórico. Reconozco, sin embargo, que hay otros aspectos del mismo que pueden provocar ciertas formas de escepticismo. Se suelen derivar ellas de diversas circunstancias. Daré como ejemplo el de la interpretación de lo que motivó la guerra entre México y los Estados Unidos en 1847. No pocos historiadores norteamericanos han llegado a la siguiente construcción histórica de las causas de ese conflicto. Se fijan en el estado de extrema inestabilidad política que prevalecía en México, lo que no le permitía atender adecuadamente a la escasa población que habitaba en las vastas extensiones del norte del país, es decir a los habitantes de esas provincias (Texas, California, Nuevo México...)

Dichos habitantes se mostraban profundamente descontentos del gobierno central. La situación se agravó en el caso de Texas cuando se adoptó en México el régimen de república central. Esto fue una de las causas aducidas de su separatismo y determinación de anexarse a los Estados Unidos. Indicio del abandono en que tenía México a esos territorios es que poco antes de la guerra los mormones se internaron en el país, cruzando el paralelo 42, que delimitaba la frontera, y se establecieron junto al Lago Salado, donde se erigió más tarde Salt Lake City.

En tales circunstancias la joven república norteamericana, a la que llegaban de continuo cientos de miles de inmigrantes del norte de Europa, se consideró a sí misma predestinada para expandirse, incorporando a la civilización esas extensiones que aparecían como tierra de nadie. Resultaba claro que tal era su

destino manifiesto. La guerra con México, que se negó a la venta de tales territorios, quedó así justificada.

Radicalmente distinta es la construcción histórica del significado de la guerra contra los Estados Unidos forjada por los historiadores mexicanos. Para éstos, el hecho de que existiera un tratado de límites entre ambos países—la ratificación en 1832 del Tratado Adams Onís de 1819—obligaba a los Estados Unidos a reconocer que esos territorios eran posesión inviolable de México. Si este país se rehusaba a venderlos, ello en modo alguno justificaba una agresión.

Muchos historiadores mexicanos describen esa guerra como “intervención americana”. Aun cuando esta designación podría ser pertinente en el caso de Texas, no lo es en lo que concierne a la guerra con México. En vez de intervención, una construcción de significado histórico puede llevar a considerar la agresión norteamericana como una guerra de conquista.

Como puede verse, si es grandeza de la Historia la posibilidad de construir significado para los acontecimientos históricos, es debilidad suya el que las construcciones puedan diferir tan radicalmente, como en el ejemplo aducido, debido a la circunstancia de las nacionalidades distintas de los historiadores. Mientras unos ofrecen una construcción defensiva, otros la forjan condenatoria. Esto sin duda contrasta con la posibilidad de la aducida grandeza de la Historia como generadora de significación donde no la había.

Me fijaré ahora en otro ejemplo: el del acontecer que se conoce como “conquista de México”. Hasta hace relativamente pocos años todos los historiadores que habían escrito acerca de ella habían tenido como fuentes primarias los testimonios aportados por conquistadores y cronistas

españoles. Ellos han sido las Cartas de relación de Hernán Cortés, incluyendo la del Cabildo de Veracruz, la Historia de Francisco López de Gómara, la de Bernal Díaz del Castillo y otros textos menores como el del fraile dominico Francisco de Aguilar y el del capitán Andrés de Tapia. Aprovechando algunas de las referidas obras, los cronistas Francisco Cervantes de Salazar, Antonio de Herrera y fray Juan de Torquemada se ocuparon también del mismo tema.

Ahora bien, al menos dos frailes franciscanos, Bernardino de Sahagún y Juan de Torquemada, notaron la existencia de testimonios en lengua náhuatl, aportados por indígenas que fueron testigos del enfrentamiento con los españoles. Sahagún recogió de labios indígenas el relato más extenso en náhuatl. Por su parte Torquemada ponderó en su *Monarquía Indiana* el interés de esos testimonios y los tomó en cuenta al escribir sobre la Conquista. Sin embargo, ni Sahagún ni Torquemada hicieron mención, ni menos aun citaron otros testimonios indígenas, también de gran interés, acerca del mismo acontecer. Me refiero a textos en náhuatl como los incluidos en los *Anales de Tlatelolco*, en varios antiguos cantares y en algunos códices indígenas.

Consecuencia de tal omisión, no sólo en el caso de cronistas novohispanos sino también de muchos historiadores de tiempos posteriores, fue que las investigaciones en torno a la conquista de México se basaran en puntos de vista unilaterales, es decir los asumidos por los conquistadores. Tan sólo hasta 1959, cuando publiqué la *Visión de los Vencidos*, quedó en claro que era posible hurgar en la perspectiva del Otro. Entre los que han acudido a ella—sin soslayar lo expresado por los españoles—sobresale Hugh Thomas con su *Historia de la Conquista de México*,

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publicada originalmente en inglés en 1996.

La construcción del significado de lo que fue esta Conquista se ha vuelto así posible sobre una base más amplia y profunda. Ello ha implicado proyectar los acontecimientos sobre ámbitos temporales y espaciales más extensos, tanto respecto de la actuación de los españoles como de los indígenas. Con esos grandes conjuntos de noticias es como el historiador, cual si armara un rompecabezas de muchas piezas, intentará la construcción del significado de la Conquista de México.

Ahora bien, ya hemos visto que en su quehacer puede haber miseria derivada de diversos factores y circunstancias. En las construcciones del significado de la guerra entre México y los Estados Unidos el mero hecho de la nacionalidad del historiador ha conducido a concepciones antagónicas. En el caso de la conquista de México, es también verdad que lo referido por los cronistas indígenas difiere de lo asentado por los españoles. Pero además, tratándose ya de un historiador que atiende al mismo tema aprovechando antiguos testimonios, resulta cierto que, si no toma en cuenta algunos de ellos—bien sea los españoles o los indígenas—su construcción del significado de la conquista será incompleta y, por tanto, defectuosa.

Puede haber, desde luego, otros factores y circunstancias que vicien, por así decirlo, la construcción de significado en la historia. A modo de ejemplos mencionaré los siguientes: no distinguir en los testimonios allegados las mentalidades distintas en razón de los diferentes tiempos; no comprender adecuadamente determinadas expresiones, sobre todo cuando se transmitieron en otra lengua que la propia del historiador; arrogarse el papel de juez respecto de los acontecimientos y personas participantes en los acontecimientos en cuestión.

La lista puede alargarse y bastaría aquí hacer referencia a los manuales de metodología y crítica de la investigación histórica para hacer una más amplia enunciación de cuanto puede convertirse a la postre en causa de la miseria del quehacer histórico.

Éste se ve así en constante peligro de no lograr su cometido. El mismo no es sólo reconstruir los hechos en su mera manifestación temporal y espacial sino ensayar la construcción de su significado, incluyendo antecedentes y consecuencias. En contraparte, como ya lo he manifestado, el quehacer histórico en plenitud, puede dar lugar a diversas formas de grandeza. Esta dependerá sobre todo de haber armado cabalmente el rompecabezas de los acontecimientos y las ideas subyacentes hasta lograr una construcción que pueda situarse más allá de objeciones o contradicciones.

Si el historiador logra aportar lo que antes no existía, es decir la significación de acontecimientos pretéritos, su labor lo acercará a la que describen los teólogos cristianos como acción de Dios. No se halla éste en el ámbito de la Historia porque es un ser a-temporal, pero sí es él quien hace posible la historia y conoce los sentidos ocultos de cuanto ocurre. Y si diéramos entrada a las creencias providencialistas de la Historia, añadiríamos que Dios no sólo conoce los significados de ella sino que es él quien encamina y guía cuanto acontece. Nosotros los humanos participamos en incontables acontecimientos pero muchas veces desconocemos por qué y cómo ocurren y por qué estamos involucrados en ellos.

Afanándose, el historiador intenta construir, sobre una base amplia y profunda, respuestas que sean fuente de significación. Sólo el tiempo, cual supremo juez, dejará ver cuáles de esos intentos han sido fallidos y cuáles, al menos en cierto grado,

afortunados. La construcción de significado es tarea muy difícil pero, cuando se logra al menos en parte, es muy gratificante. Es ella, en última instancia, la que vuelve inteligibles acontecimientos que, de otra suerte, permanecerían en las tinieblas de la incompreensión. Si interesa el pasado como raíz y trasfondo del presente y el futuro—en nuestro caso el pasado de los países latinoamericanos—sólo construyendo su significación será dado situarse adecuadamente en el mundo para atisbar algo de lo que puede ser el propio destino. ■

Revisioning Latin American and Caribbean Studies: A Geopolitics of Knowledge Approach

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Introduction: The Transformation of Area Studies

In recent years, there have been a number of concerted efforts at revisiting the nature of what was called “Latin American Studies” in a relatively unproblematic manner. This has happened particularly in the United States, but also in some Latin American institutional locales (e.g., Cerutti Guldberg 2004). Well known are the 1990s project, funded by the Ford Foundation and involving a number of universities, on “Rethinking Area Studies” and LASA’s *Strategic Plan 2003-2006*, undertaken in 2001-2002. It is also well known that over the past ten to fifteen years a number of institutes and centers have changed their names—and, to a greater or lesser extent, their orientations—from a strict “LAS” to a hyphenated ensemble of possibilities (including Caribbean and/or Latina/o studies), or to new organizing principles (Hemispheric or Global Studies, Centers for the Study of the Americas, reconceived International Studies, etc.). While these new structuring ideas—combining cultural/historical, geopolitical, and scholarly concerns—have not yet resulted in any widely accepted formulation, it signals the need to revise the long-standing paradigms that have guided “LAS.”

These changes have been aired actively in the *LASA Forum*. From the “President’s Report” on the Strategic Planning exercise in the Winter, 2003 issue up to the first issue of the elegantly re-designed and interestingly re-imagined *Forum* (Winter 2006), a sequence of articles has been published addressing the intersection and inter-relations of what can be seen as three distinct intellectual-political projects: *Estudios Latino Americanos* in Latin America; Latin American and Caribbean Studies in the United States; and Latina/o Studies, also in the United States (but

potentially in Latin America as well). These fields can be seen as discursive formations located within distinct genealogies of thought. The notion of genealogies of thought connects geopolitical and epistemological factors into a “geopolitics of knowledge” framework; this geopolitics of knowledge analysis, in turn, is giving origin to novel intellectual-political projects, such as the “Shifting the Geography of Reason” project by Caribbean philosophers and thinkers (Lewis Gordon, Paget Henry, Anthony Bogues and Sylvia Winters), or the Modernity/Coloniality/Decoloniality project, associated with a network of researchers and places in the Andean countries and the United States.

In the United States, the reasons for the revisiting of a well-established scholarly endeavor have been multiple; they are a reflection of a complex set of relations among: a) unprecedented geopolitical situations “in the real world” (globalization, broadly speaking, including those practices enabled by information and communication technologies); b) the emergence of paradigmatic trends in the social science and the humanities that were absent from the formative period of LAS (e.g. post-structuralism, post-colonial theory, new approaches to ethnic, sexuality, and gender studies, etc., and non-academic knowledge producers); and c) the concomitant questioning of interdisciplinary fields based on longstanding and allegedly well-demarcated “social sciences” and “humanities” fields, such as those with an area studies focus. The result of this questioning has been more substantial interdisciplinary approaches—such as Cultural Studies, Science and Technology Studies, and some varieties of environmental studies such as political ecology—and calls for transdisciplinarity and even “un-disciplinarity” in some quarters.

Some Social and Scholarly Factors in the Transformation of Area Studies Fields

There are a number of pressures driving the transformation of area studies in the United States, on both the social and the scholarly sides. The main ones include:

On the social side:

1. The breakdown, after 1989, of the post-World War II global order, particularly the end of the Cold War cultural-political-economic regime that had ushered in the notion of the Three Worlds, the ideology of developmentalism, and a certain style of U.S. hegemony in the hemisphere.
2. The steady rise, particularly since 1979 (Thatcher, Reagan, various Latin American regimes) of neo-liberal models, initially applied to the economy but progressively deployed in many aspects of social and cultural life, with the aim of creating a self-defined New World Order (Washington Consensus).

For many observers, these two changes have resulted in a new kind of “globality,” that is, an ensemble of economic, military, cultural and political arrangements which differs in character and modes of operation from those of the Cold War II period.

3. The appearance of unprecedented sets of social actors linked to this project, either as enforcers (e.g., hosts of consultants, experts, mercenaries), mediators (NGOs, human rights organizations, development institutions), or transformative/resisting actors (social movements, from anti-globalization movements to local movements for the defense of work, environment, culture, water, natural resources, intellectual property, and so forth). While many of these actors tend to be place-based, they often operate transnationally.

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Some of the main results of these processes have been: a) *a questioning of the paradigm of area studies* under which “LAS” was constituted, given that “areas” are radically re-signified under conditions of globality; b) *the need to account for the dynamics of the most recent processes*, including conceptualizing the actors and concerns that most directly address globality. In this regard, there is a growing realization that established social science theories and methods are insufficient to the task. To the “classical” social, cultural and political actors (State, parties, formal organizations, established authors and artists, armies or well-defined armed groups, “the economy,” etc.) one now has to add not only the new actors (a variety of cultural producers in all fields of arts and humanities, new kinds of movements, identities, political actors, knowledge producers, experts, informal and alternative economies, etc.) but the question of how the classical actors themselves have changed.

On the scholarly side, the last two decades have seen the following changes:

1. A more complicated landscape of paradigmatic possibilities and orientations. In the heyday of LAS (1960s and 1970s), the paradigms of choice were relatively clear: Liberalism and Marxism (e.g., in the form of modernization and dependency theories). In the 1970s and 1980s, there emerged hyphenations of these two paradigms with other categories arising from newly significant experiences (e.g., Marxist or liberal feminisms and environmentalisms). In the 1980s and 1990s, a third paradigm—post-structuralism, as a language and meaning-based social theory—made its entry, affecting most theories and fields. Today, combinations of these three paradigms are practiced by many scholars, rather than a strict application of just one framework,

with one paradigm usually predominating in a given discipline or in the work of particular authors.

2. Second, the process of globality poses novel questions. The customary categories of the social sciences are often no longer sufficient to give visibility to a host of rising questions concerning power, identity, creativity, connectivity (networking, assemblages, complexity), and unprecedented economic and political practices, forms of mobilization and self-organization, and so forth.

3. There are also interdisciplinary fields that have appeared or become more salient from the 1970s to the present, including ethnic studies, women’s studies, Latina/o Studies, queer studies, Afro-Latin American or Africana Studies, on the one hand; and Cultural Studies, Science and Technology Studies, Environmental Studies, Global Studies, etc., on the other. Although the first set of these is suffering increasing pressures to downsize and normalize in some places (re-peripheralization), it is in some of these quasi-peripheral programs that some of the most innovative thinking is taking place.

4. The university, particularly public universities, has been facing tremendous financial pressures in both the United States and Latin America in connection with the neo-liberalization of social and institutional life. This has consequences for intellectual and scholarly agendas (as in “the corporatization of the university” arguments). Area Studies Centers, perhaps more than conventionally defined units, are being pushed to fund their activities through donations and external grants. This has to be taken into account for new designs and orientations.

The consequence of this set of factors is that *the apparatuses of scholarly knowledge*

that used to take “Latin America” as an object of study have changed. If the first set of factors have resulted in the transformation of “Latin America” (through diverse social processes of constitution in the age of globality), the second set has transformed the knowledge practices through which scholars may understand it.

These two sets of factors are experienced differently in Latin America and the U.S. academy. While there are many overlaps between traditions of academic/intellectual work in both continents (broadly speaking, the same set of modern social sciences and humanities disciplines), there have also been noticeable differences. U.S.-based Latin Americanist academic fields have treated Latin America largely as an object of study, even if many of its practitioners have done so from a political perspective and have built a practice of solidarity along the way. In contrast, critical perspectives arising from Latin America have been as a whole more prone to foreground radical political questions and positions; most often than not, the “scholar” is politically positioned in her/his society. This means that Latin America-based Latin Americanists have tended to operate on the basis of a direct, albeit complicated, relation between academic/intellectual work and political practice (across the political spectrum, although more among the Left).

The tradition of *Pensamiento Crítico* is a clear example. Based on the notion of liberation and anchored in intellectual-political movements such as philosophy, theology, and sociology of liberation (side by side with the liberal focus on development and modernization), this tradition can be seen as a paradigmatic case of Latin American critical intellectual work, different and complementary to the U.S.-based tradition of “Latin American

Studies.” The question of “Latin American identity” and the issue of “Latin American” modes of knowledge and intellectual practice (*una ciencia social propia, una filosofía de nuestra América, la praxis*, etc.) have been an integral part of the intellectual landscape of the continent since at least the second half of the 19th century. Indeed, they have been part and parcel of movements for cultural and political independence since the struggles for formal independence.

Some Challenges

The question then becomes: how will “LAS” (or LACS, including the Caribbean)—as a scholarly endeavor of social and political relevance—transform itself given the above set of conditions? The following are a few of the challenges that could influence this transformation. Generally speaking, there is the need to think about a transition from a strictly geographical geopolitical approach to a focus consistent with globality (at the social level), and the geopolitics of knowledge (at the epistemological level). This in turn finds reflection in a more complicated set of institutional, political, and epistemological demands:

1. A complication of *the overall object of study*. While the geographical Latin America continues to be a privileged object of study, it is crucial to recognize that Latin America is today a global reality—Latin America is literally the world over. The ever growing presence of peoples of Latin American descent in the United States is the most important case in point. The merger of LACS with Latina/o Studies on some campuses is a response to this reality; so are attempts at inventing new geographies of thought in terms of Studies of the Americas, World Latin American Studies, Hemispheric

Studies, etc. It remains to be seen which of these provisional solutions will become fully workable. There are no systematic studies yet of how these approaches have fared on scholarly, institutional, and political grounds, or the advantages and disadvantages, visibilities and invisibilities introduced by each proposal.

2. A complication of the *boundaries of various objects of study*. It has become commonplace to assert that the global is present in the local in its very constitution. The “communities” of the early days of LAS (e.g., in anthropology, history, sociology, literature) no longer exist, nor the “nation-states” of political scientists, the “national economies” of the economists, or the “national cultures” of a variety of fields. While the nation-state remains important, transnational flows make it a partial reality; the same applies to culture and the economy. The idiom of networks is the more common concept used to broach this contemporary complexity.

3. A complication of *regional sub-groupings*. Regional sub-groupings were largely the result of colonial processes. Different colonial histories created “Hispanic America,” “Brazil,” and “The Caribbean.” Today, these divisions are calling for revision. Again, the explicit integration of Latin American and Caribbean Studies is a reflection of this reality. Today, mechanisms of global, regional, and sub-regional economic, cultural, political and ecological integration and diversification make it impossible to take any grouping for granted. Any grouping becomes a matter of strategic choice on socio-economic and political grounds; groupings reflect the realities and possibilities of power at many scales.

4. A complication of *local, regional, and national identities*. Many still remember

the days when the social sciences and some of the humanities focused on a) mestizos, peasants, and Indians; b) elites/oligarchies and popular classes etc. as their main categories. Today, a host of new categories have emerged. How should they be incorporated into a more inclusive “LACS”? One example: the recent salience of Afro-Latin American peoples and identities is a reflection of the deepening of certain conditions with the full emergence of globality, including the increasing dispossession and devaluation of culture they are experiencing in many countries; “black identities”—named under multiple and often contested categories, including afro-descendants—have become a rallying point for black groups throughout the continent. So with other forms of alterity. There is not a single discipline that can account fully for these processes that include political changes for entire societies (e.g., the reform of national constitutions) and that confound traditional scales given the eminently place-based yet transnational character of multiple Afro-Latin American struggles.

5. A complication of *paradigms, frameworks and methodologies*. It is doubtless the case that formal disciplines continue to prevail in the academic/intellectual division of labor and as organizing principle of scholarly work in LACS. However, the notion of “disciplines” continues to be contested; whereas the disciplines still define their frameworks and methodologies largely in established ways, there is greater room in many quarters to engage in unprecedented modes of analysis. The qualifier of “critical” next to “studies of” is an indication of this reality (e.g., critical race theory, legal studies, development studies, etc., but also in inter-disciplines such as cultural studies, women’s studies/feminist theory, science and technology studies

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Tumultuous Times: LASA in the 1960s

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(STS), sexuality studies, environmental studies, intellectual history, literary theory, hypermedia studies, etc.)

6. A complication of *sites of knowledge production and kinds of knowledge producers*. When LAS emerged in the 1940s, the site of knowledge production par excellence was the university and the chief, if not sole, knowledge producer was the well-trained scholar. Not any longer. Today, the State, NGOs, religious groups, social movements, and so forth are important sites of knowledge production. Non-academic critical or oppositional knowledges tend to flourish in spaces such as the World Social Forum process, and among many social movements. The idea that social movements need to be taken seriously as knowledge producers in their own right is becoming one of most dynamic insights in social movements research in anthropology, geography, and other fields. Notions of cognitive justice, epistemic decolonization, epistemologies of the South, and so forth seek to give shape to this emergent reality. LASA's recently launched initiative, *Otros Saberes* addresses this problem area.

How each institution responds to these challenges, which calls and trends it responds to, and how it pursues its transformative agendas within existing institutional constraints will in turn depend on processes involving faculty, graduate students, fund raisers, and administrators. This micro-political work is also of utmost importance, and perhaps as decisive as the larger trends outlined here. ■

Some Personal Trivia about the Early Days

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President 1968

I am not sure how many of us had felt the need for some kind of Latin American studies organization, but in my memory it was unquestionably Kalman Silvert who took the first and critical steps to put the idea into action. I had known Kal since he spent 1952-53 in Guatemala doing the research for his study of government in Guatemala. I arrived in Guatemala in late 1950, sent by the Smithsonian Institution's Institute of Social Anthropology, and at the request of Antonio Goubaud Carrera, Guatemala's then ambassador in Washington and principled anthropologist. Guatemala had been visited by a number of foreign anthropologists over the preceding decades, but Kal was the first North American political scientist to do an in depth field study. When he returned to play a leading role in establishing the Seminario de Integración Social we became re-acquainted and our friendship developed. In looking back, it seems to me that I always dealt with Kal when he was taking the lead in developing something. I was to learn much from Kal about leading and developing programs.

In the closing years of the 1950s our paths again crossed. Kal had been exploring Latin America as a member of the American University Field Staff. The Field Staff was an organization that employed academics full time to go into Latin America and send periodic reports on things of interest to academicians in the United States. These reports would be printed and distributed to the members' universities and the staff members would, after spending part of the year in the field, circulate to the member

universities, giving lectures on what was going on in the area. In the late 1950s Kal came to lecture at Michigan State where I was teaching.

I first knew Kal when he was at Tulane University, but he then moved to Dartmouth—perhaps after he left the Field Staff or perhaps sharing time between the two. His final move was to a position at New York University where he worked in conjunction with a permanent, but part-time, relationship as Latin American Advisor to the Ford Foundation. It was in his position at Ford that Kal was able to fuel the machinery that led to the invention of LASA. I unfortunately do not recall much about the composition of the group that he drew together to accomplish this, but I do remember that one of the early meetings was at Kal's home at Dartmouth College.

I frankly remember few details of the discussions at that meeting or most of the others. One thing that remains in my memory was that Kal had found someone to design a logo for the organization and he showed it to us for our approval. It would never have occurred to me that it was important to have a logo...indeed, I would never have missed it had it not been designed. But we got one then and we still have it. I recall thinking that a logo should reflect something about the things that it represented. It did not seem to me that this LASA logo was in any way suggestive of Latin America, or academics, or scholarship, or knowledge. But I was assured that these issues were not really important; and I guess they were right because it has served well without any of these apparently iconic virtues. I also remember particularly one of our number had been chosen by someone because he was very young. It was argued that we needed a young person as well as us older people to make the thing work. This sounded like somebody's logic, but not an

argument that I found convincing. Indeed, the person chosen proved to be a most entertaining companion, but he seemed to disappear from my horizons not many years after.

I am afraid that I probably learned less about Latin America from these meetings than about the ways meetings were run when well funded. One such lesson—I hope a minor one—that has remained with me occurred at a session held in Washington. Howard Cline, then head of the Hispanic Collection at the Library of Congress, hosted the meeting. We lunched at a restaurant where we were discussing some difficult aspects of the organization. They were so difficult that Howard felt that the only way to solve it was to order some wine. Good heavens! This was being paid for by the Ford Foundation and here we were spending their good money on wine! What an extraordinary thing. What germs of corruption were being spread! As I said, I learned a lot at these meetings.

When we came to the decisions about actually putting the LASA into operation we all agreed that Kal should be the first president. Because the first year was going to be dedicated to learning how to get things running, it was felt necessary to select the president for the second year as well. Somehow I was selected and to this day I really do not know why, except that Texas was famous for its Latin American Collection. I always felt a little odd about it—it was a painless way of becoming president.

A most useful product of those sessions—for some the most useful—has been the *Latin American Research Review*. Early in our discussions it became obvious that there would be a journal. It was assigned to me and to the Institute of Latin American Studies at Texas to get this underway. This in turn led to the selection of Dick Schaedel to be the

first editor. Although Schaedel and I had been graduate students at Yale at the same time, we had in fact not been in residence at the same time and so I did not know him well. We had similar academic careers, however, in that on finishing our degrees, neither of us had wanted to go directly into academics, and both had sought opportunities that would take us to Latin America. I came to know him in the late 1950s when we were both in Peru. He was working on a U.S. Government foreign aid project that focused on research in southern Peru and I was surveying North American academic programs in the Andes. I was much impressed with his work. He had been responsible for the preparation of a number of studies that were being issued in those years.

At the time we were looking for someone to undertake to design and produce the new journal, Schaedel was just finishing another period of foreign aid research in Haiti and was looking for something else to do. We were in the early days of that halcyon period when funding such things seemed almost effortless, and we were able to bring him to Texas to undertake the new editorial job. The Department of Anthropology willingly provided him with a part-time position while the Institute of Latin American Studies covered his salary for developing the journal, as I recall. One reason I favored him for the job was that he already had a broad experience in rather different fields. Although his own major interests lay in archaeology, specifically Andean prehistory, most of his professional work had been in applied social anthropology. In any event, the journal he started quickly took on its own character, and it continues today to be an important asset of the Association. Schaedel himself passed away in December.

The first national meeting of LASA was held at the Hotel Roosevelt in New York City. This choice—I am quite sure—was Kal

Silvert's. He thought a first meeting should be in some particularly prominent place, where it could receive public attention as well as be introduced to the academic world. My only memory of it—aside from the comfortably splendid surroundings—was that one of the leading scholars who was in charge of a special session dedicated to setting up an organization of University Latin American Studies Centers left his session and came to me much disturbed. Some participants were raising noisy objections to something that we had done in the process of founding the Association. Naturally, I do not recall anything that we did wrong! But I do remember having to pick up the reins of a session that was noisy and unhappy. How I quieted it, or whether I did it in a way that was good or bad has, I suspect, fortunately been lost to history.

An embarrassing personal footnote remains to be recounted. Although I have almost always been associated with academic enterprises, I have always had a hot-and-cold feeling about association with them. One aspect of this became evident in the early years of LASA. When my term as president came to a close, I felt that I simply had had enough of it; much of my time had been spent in trying to get LASA off under its own steam. I decided I wanted to be free of it, and rapidly shed myself of the remaining responsibilities to others who were then lining up to take over. Apparently my relief at being free was so dynamic that I failed to pay my dues. This was coincidentally the same year that LASA had chosen my own University of Texas to be the site of its annual meeting. So when the meetings came to pass, and I wanted for some reason to attend the business session, I was refused entry because of my failure to pay up! So much for founders and ex-presidents! I was not as embarrassed as I should have been.

TUMULTUOUS TIMES: LASA IN THE 1960S continued...

Words From the Eighth President of LASA*by* PAUL DOUGHTY

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 President 1974

From the very beginning, LASA both struggled to develop its identity as a “legitimate” area studies association, and to create a role for itself, which conformed to the intellectual spirit of the region. LASA was the “Juanito-come-lately” among area studies associations in the United States. European, Asian, Middle Eastern, Russian and African scholarly associations had preceded us and there was a faint sense of “inferiority” among Latinamericanists in this regard. Was that because in the United States, Latin America was considered to be a “known” quantity and of lesser importance than other regions of the world? Many of us certainly felt that the reason for our tardy emergence owed something to that prevailing bias. The other condition, which seemed to limit us, was that United States and Latin American scholars could not be described as widely sharing common sets of interests or concerns, but rather were like the dozens of political parties that emerge as elections draw near.

Political events, societal and cultural changes that were beginning to challenge traditional domestic and international relations apparently served to bring us together. The “Sputnik era” was a time of immense growth in U.S. academia with new universities, programs and departments springing up everywhere. The Ford and Tinker Foundations among others were being particularly generous in supporting area studies and the government NDEA Center programs offered many opportunities as well. LASA emerged in this milieu.

LASA’s evolution began in the mid-1960s

when a group of scholars from various disciplines created an ultimately unsuccessful organization under the acronym of ALAS. Within that context was also born the idea of an interdisciplinary journal dedicated to Latin American issues. In 1965 ALAS was for me a ghost-like structure, occasionally mentioned but given little credence by those senior scholars I knew at the time, and ALAS never flew. From the ashes of the first idea came a second, with a much broader base of support.

In the spring of 1966 an organizational meeting was convened at the Hispanic Foundation in the Library of Congress under the paternal and watchful eye of historian Howard Cline, director of the Foundation. The 30 to 40 participants represented the universities with Latin American programs prepared to provide some initial funding to launch the organization. A small group of “significant others” was invited. Historian Robert Quirk and I represented Indiana University. As I recall, he, being very senior to me, was asked to sit up front with other luminaries such as Richard Morse, John Johnson, John Augelli, Kalman Silvert, Tom Davis and Richard Adams. I recall sitting in the back row with another of my ilk, Frank Cancian of Stanford. The meeting churned along with Cline presenting an organizational format that he and some others had worked out in advance. He proposed that the headquarters for LASA be located at the Hispanic Foundation of the Library of Congress with a hand-picked executive secretary, Taylor Peck.

The idea of locating LASA in an office belonging to the U.S. government however struck me as inappropriate for many historic and certainly contemporary reasons, what with the CIA/Camelot follies in Chile beginning to unfold. How could we claim to be an independent academic and scholarly organization with such a tight affiliation with a

U.S. government agency—however scholarly—that would surely be interpreted negatively by our peers throughout Latin America?

When I stood to raise this issue, heads turned and an undercurrent of muttering could be heard: “who is that guy?” “what’s his problem?” and so forth. Cline, famous for having a “short fuse,” was red-faced and clearly peeved. Someone joked maliciously that it would be more convenient for some Latin Americans “to pick up their checks” in Washington if LASA was also there. The only persons I recall supporting my motion that LASA be seated in a university setting were Cancian and Tom Davis from Cornell and I think, John Thompson from Illinois. Thus the first locale occupied by LASA was in the Hispanic Foundation from which Cline, and Taylor Peck as the first executive secretary, presided over our day-to-day affairs for six years.

The *sede* of LASA was wrenched away from Cline’s clutches at the Library of Congress in 1972 amidst growing problems associated with the non-academic setting because it wasn’t attached to the Centers where LASA interests, membership and academic concerns lay, and, the position of executive secretary was in a word, “underpowered.” A series of rather arcane and complex negotiations took place between the LASA Executive Council (EC) and universities interested in landing the obligation, financial and otherwise, of handling the association’s affairs. William Carter at Florida eventually persuaded the Council that the Center for Latin American Studies at Florida could best assume that role with Felicity Trueblood as executive secretary. I did not play a significant role in this change despite being at Florida and on the CLASP board—and its president in 1972.

Trueblood was a very different Executive Secretary than her predecessors: fearless, tough-minded, competent and ready to wheel

and deal with anyone on behalf of the association. She just loved the LASA “action” which she managed with only modest, often part-time staff. True to form, it was Felicity who demanded that the Executive Council change her title to that of Executive Director, because she was tired of having people who called her office, always ask to speak to the “director” and not just the secretary! I remember her making the case to Council members with the words: “come on now fellas, let’s grow up here.” This early adventure in the equal rights era surely put LASA in the forefront of the movement. In 1973 first Meg Crahan and then Helen Safa were elected to the Executive Council and this was followed by a concerted effort to achieve gender equity in both leadership and membership. It would be a major change from past academic traditions in the field.

As the papers piled high on Felicity’s desk and the phone calls relentlessly had us all hopping, LASA experienced another jump in membership. We were now publishing a modest newsletter with Felipe Guamán Poma on the cover and *LARR*, produced at Texas under Richard Schaedel’s capable editorship, took off as an academic publication. Florida hosted LASA’s activities until 1978 when Illinois accepted that role under Carl Deal’s directorship.

LASA Issues and Academic Realism

The first LASA meeting was held in New York City on November 7-9, 1968. Convened in the old Biltmore Hotel at Madison and 43rd Streets, the announcement went out to potential attendees on a single mimeographed typed page. No members were charged a registration fee but others had to pay \$2.00. In addition, subscription to a “vino de honor” reception at NYU and buffet dinner at the Columbia Faculty Club

cost members a total of \$4.00. The program consisted of but seven sessions with 35 male participants, including chairs and commentators; book advertisements occupied twelve pages. Twelve participants were from Latin America, four from Europe, and the rest from the United States. We thus clearly signaled our international intentions, having invited several major figures from outside the United States such as Gonzalo Aguirre Beltrán, Gino Germani, and Harold Blakemore.

Outgoing President Kalman Silvert’s address was scheduled in an auditorium at NYU but unfortunately he had become ill at the last minute and Richard Adams, as incoming president, delivered a spur of the moment speech. No dancing was scheduled. No one was listed as the program chair, but Charles Wagley apparently did most of that work out of his Columbia office.

The meeting was a rather loosely attended affair. People were largely bent on determining what was going on with the organization. Although sessions and papers carefully gave various disciplines their opportunity to expound, I can’t recall a single one. It all seemed rather bland academically speaking. And yet, LASA had already embarked on a distinctive path indicating that members were willing to take on the “powers that be” even before our first meeting. Virtually our first act as an organization in 1967 had been to issue a public statement about repression in Argentina (Silvert et al, 1967). This was followed by a rising crescendo of concern over events in Guatemala leading to LASA’s “Ad-Hoc Committee on Guatemala” report issued in 1973. For an academic organization it was a blistering account of repression in Guatemala and was sent to a broad spectrum of U.S. officialdom and 71 media outlets, as well as to reporters, agencies in Latin America, Europe and the

United States, invoking strong responses of approval and disapproval.

The second sesqui-annual Congress took place in Washington DC in 1970 and featured a raucous, standing room only, business meeting. In the face of member demands that LASA take stands on several policy and international issues, and calls for various parliamentary maneuvers, President John Johnson found himself and other Council members in a quandary as to how to conduct the meeting. Tom Skidmore came to the rescue, steering the meeting through its first turbulent business meeting. Seated with Richard Fagen towards the rear of the room, he and I found ourselves alternately dismayed or laughing: LASA had a lot to learn about both its membership and running coherent meetings.

Eighteen months later in Austin, we reconvened with President Henry Landsberger chairing the annual business meeting. By then we had new rules: paid up members were entitled to vote and would be seated separately from other attendees. Because our constitution did not specify what would guide the conduct of the meeting—our problem in 1970—Henry asked me, as a non-EC member to rise immediately after he convened the meeting, and move that we adopt “Roberts Rules of Order, Second Edition,” to structure our proceedings. I did this, and another “conspirator” instantly seconded it. A moment later, someone rose to question why it was that we wouldn’t utilize the first edition of Roberts’ Rules! The questioner appeared serious: everyone else was laughing. A voice vote carried the day for “order and progress.” The next business meeting held at the University of Wisconsin featured additional turmoil on the floor. By that time however, LASA had its organizational operations established, and we were utilizing the services of a professional parliamentarian to keep things from disintegrating.

DOUGHTY continued...

There were several hot button issues of course that began in the 1960s that continued to inflame passions through the 1970s: the disastrous U.S. war in Vietnam, the civil rights movement in the United States and the Equal Rights movement. In Latin America, the Argentine, Chilean and Peruvian turmoil, the Panama canal issue, and of course, U.S.-Cuba relations, the cold war, coupled with Nixon's scandals were all placed on our table, one way or another.

It was the shock of Augusto Pinochet's ruthless repression of his fellow citizens with U.S. tacit approval that paved the way to a wider public and academic recognition of human rights as a real issue. This was not new in hemispheric experience. Witness the infamous 1954 CIA-Guatemalan "revolution," Colombia's long period of *la violencia*, the U.S. invasion of the Dominican Republic to uphold dictatorship; Castro's vengeance taken at the *paredón*; Guatemala and Haiti's long running agonies among others. Although receiving attention from "specialists," only the Cuban revolution captured and held general public attention. Why was Chile different?

I think that it was because it was seen from abroad as a quasi "European" nation ("white"?) that had become the South American center for international social science: economists, political scientists, and sociologists were ubiquitous there; the Ford Foundation, SSRC, various UN agencies, and the interagency OAS Inter American Committee on Agricultural Development among many others made Chile their base of operations, viewing that nation as exemplary of democratic progress and constructive change. In Chile there also were legions of stunned witnesses who watched as their professional colleagues, friends and students were tortured, annihilated or "disappeared." The cream of hemispheric academe felt the brunt of the attack.

Barely six years old in 1973, LASA plunged into action in response to the demands of motions made from the floor of the International Congresses. As the incoming president of LASA in 1974, with LASA colleagues Henry Landsberger, Meg Crahan, Felicity Trueblood, Tom Skidmore, and Dick Fagen, I worked on a plan to influence the situation as best we might. Helping academics and intellectuals became our goal: we made and publicized official statements concerning human rights in Chile and assisted in the foreign placement of collegial refugees through a collaborative network called the *Bolsa de Trabajo* involving people in Chile, Argentina, Brazil, Mexico, Canada, the United States and Europe. As the 1974 LASA Congress neared, it was clear to me that we should not meet in the San Francisco Sheraton as scheduled, as a protest to International Telephone and Telegraph's (ITT's) alleged role in the Chilean coup d'état. (ITT owned the San Francisco Sheraton.) Backing out of the contract took some doing. We learned that a militant Chicano group was threatening to protest our meeting at the Sheraton over the Chilean issue. With that information I spoke with the Sheraton's manager and was able to convince him that it would be in his hotel's best interests to void the contract. I recall that he had a difficult time in understanding our stance based on ethical and human rights issues, but ultimately, relented.

Our position and LASA's prior stand on supporting academic interests and freedom in Cuba despite the U.S. embargoes had already helped to earn LASA an early reputation in U.S. government circles. A State Department official assigned to attend the LASA Congresses confided to me as we were lifted upwards in our alternate hotel's elevator in San Francisco, that LASA was known as being "radical" and "too far to the left." Despite our fears, the San Francisco Congress was amazingly orderly however impassioned

our business meeting and we had made our point with Sheraton for which we received some positive feedback from both members and erstwhile picketers. The 1974 meeting was also unique because it was the first time that on our invitation a two-person delegation representing Soviet Union Latinamericanists was in attendance. One was a Peruvianist, the other a Cuban specialist. The former desperately wished to speak Quechua with someone and I recruited my Cuzqueño friend, Gabriel Escobar, for the task.

One of my initiatives as President was to approach the African Studies Association to organize a joint meeting to discuss and compare common "Third World issues." It took place in 1977 in Houston and seemed to go well, although we really didn't find a way or time to explore the issues that we might share. On the other hand, our Houston Congress was the first time that a Cuban delegation actually managed to attend our meetings with State Department acquiescence. Having regularly invited a Cuban presence since our second meeting (Washington, DC), this was the first time that the State Department permitted visas to be granted.

As a result, LASA was invited to send a delegation to Cuba for a two-week visit. Wayne Cornelius, Vera Greene, and I were subsequently dispatched to Cuba to establish a LASA scholarly presence. It was a memorable trip in every way although we did not receive a "surprise" visit from Fidel as some of our hosts thought might happen. In retrospect it was probably the zenith of the Cuban state under Castro's leadership and a busy, instructive trip.

Lest We Forget: Women's Contribution to Making LASA an Organization for all Its Members by One of the First Women to Serve on the LASA Executive Council (1973-1975)

by MARGARET E. CRAHAN

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In 1967, a new Ph.D. in hand, I joined the Latin American Studies Association. The next year I took myself off to New York's Biltmore Hotel for the very first LASA conference. As I approached the registration desk, the all-female graduate students who were checking people in, said: "What are you doing here?" I said I was a member of LASA and I'd come to attend the conference. They replied, "but there are no women here." Indeed, I was one of only three women attending the conference that year.

By the early 1970s LASA had a substantial number of women members, but when the program for the 1972 meeting in Madison, Wisconsin, came out, together with the nominees for the Executive Council and the presidency, there was only one woman on the program and none among the nominees for the various elective positions. This resulted in the organizing of the Women's Caucus of Latin Americanists, better known as WOCLA, spearheaded by Elsa Chaney, June Nash, Helen Safa and myself. We organized to pressure for greater female participation in conference programs, as well as mounted the first write-in campaign for the Executive Council and the presidency. Jane Jacquette was WOCLA's candidate for the presidency representing the West Coast and I was the candidate for the Executive Council representing the East Coast. I was elected and some years later Jane was elected president as the official candidate.

At Madison WOCLA introduced a series of resolutions to ensure that in the future there would be women on the program and on all committees, as well as nominees for the Executive Council and for the presidency. While I was presenting these resolutions at the Business Meeting, a well-known male Latin Americanist came up to me and whispered in my ear that the women didn't need to pass resolutions, as that would be disruptive. Rather, he and the other men on the Executive Council would take care of women's interests. It was clear that some members of LASA felt that it was unseemly for women to insist on equality of representation and participation. Also at the Madison meeting a well-known female Latin Americanist pulled me aside and said, "you and I have to make sure these other women don't get into the inner circle, because it will cut down on our opportunities." I responded that I was working not just for myself, but for all women Latin Americanists, whether they were outstanding or mediocre just like male Latin Americanists.

Before attending my first Executive Council meeting in 1973, I contacted Felicity Trueblood, then the Executive Secretary, later Executive Director, of LASA, who sent me copies of all the files relating to the issues to be discussed, knowing that I would have to be extraordinarily well-prepared if women were to be taken seriously on the EC. I spent four days reading and cross-referencing every single document in those files. At the actual EC meeting, as the then president Henry Landsberger moved through the agenda he repeatedly asked the other members if they could remember the background on each issue. I would, then, gently pipe up with a summary. Finally, Landsberger said "Meg, why don't you just brief us on each item of the agenda as we get to it", which I did.

That meeting was also notable for the fact that one member of the Executive Council during a discussion referred to women with a particularly scabrous term. Lewis Hanke, who, like me, had been elected as a write-in candidate, asked me to leave the room. I had never heard Hanke, who had been my major professor at Columbia, raise his voice, but I did that day as I stood outside the room, while he lectured loudly on basic courtesy, decency and professionalism.

After that, by-and-large, the members of the Executive Council accepted me, as well as Karen Spalding and the other women who were elected in the 1970s. In fact, in a few years women would come to be well-represented on the Executive Council, as well as in the presidency. Among those on the Executive Council in the early 1970s who were strongly supportive of women's participation, in addition to Lewis Hanke, were Paul Doughty, Richard Fagen, Ivan Schulman and John Saunders. All of them went out of their way to make it easier for us and to open up LASA to the participation of all of its members. They should always be remembered by LASA for that.

At my last meeting of the Executive Council in 1975, I was asked to co-chair the 1977 joint LASA and African Studies meeting in Houston. As co-chair of that meeting, I organized the first U.S.-Cuban exchange with the assistance of Franklin Knight of Johns Hopkins University and Al Stepan of Yale, funded by the Ford Foundation. As a result, I had to deal with the Houston Police departments VIP section extensively. At our last meeting before the LASA-ASA conference, the police detail asked me if I could wait a few minutes in order for them to change into the outfits they would wear to the meetings so they would blend in. After they changed out they came, eight men and one woman, in tweed jackets with elbow patches, chinos and Hush Puppies—

CRAHAN continued...

such was their stereotype of us!! During the course of the meeting, the one female police officer complained to me that she was being hit on by some of the male members of LASA and asked what I recommended she do. I suggested that maybe if they knew she was armed they would leave her alone, so the next time she walked across the lobby of the Houston Hilton, her gun “accidentally” fell out of her purse and skidded across the floor. After that, she had no more trouble.

In the late 1970s indications that women were still not being given full recognition in LASA was confirmed by the fact that my name was left off the program of the 1977 conference as co-chair. From the 1980s up to the present, however, the level of participation in LASA by women, on the program, on committees, on the Executive Council and in the presidency, confirms that there have been major changes. My hope today is that every member of LASA, regardless of gender, or any other factor, will not only enjoy equality of opportunity within the organization, but will carry on the tradition of those of us who fought for equality within LASA and without not only in the 1970s but up to the present.

TUMULTUOUS TIMES: LASA IN THE 1960S continued...

Memoirs from LASA's 14th President

by PETER H. SMITH

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President 1981

The 1960s was not just any other decade. It tends to be remembered as a time of youthful hijinks, psychedelic experimentation, and libidinous liberation. We all know the refrain: Sex, drugs, and rock n' roll. It sounds like a lot of fun.

But the 1960s was more than that. It was a time of enormous social transformation in the United States. It was a time of political violence. It was a time of conflict, protest, and Vietnam.

The Cold War was reaching its zenith. The Cuban Revolution was sending shock waves throughout the hemisphere. The Alliance for Progress appeared and disappeared. Military coups installed bureaucratic-authoritarian regimes in Brazil and Argentina. A U.S. invasion overwhelmed the Dominican Republic and, in its aftermath, destroyed the credibility of the OAS.

It was also a time, given the Cold War, when U.S. officials expected the academic community to promote U.S. policy goals. The National Defense Education Act (note that name!) offered generous scholarships for the study of Latin America—on the mistaken assumption, of course, that newly trained area experts would figure out ways to prevent or defeat revolutionary movements. Many members of my generation thus went through graduate school with thanks to Fidel Castro. More broadly, it was a time when “area studies” was in fashion. The Ford Foundation and university administrations across the country were building up interdisciplinary area programs as respectable fields of

inquiry. Resources were coming our way, and it was time to take advantage of these opportunities.

It was in this setting that LASA began. As a child of the 1950s, alas, I myself held retrograde views on matters of gender. But I had the good fortune to attend graduate school at Columbia, where Meg Crahan held forth in our seminars and Marysa Navarro told me how to write a dissertation about Argentina. I was utterly daunted by the incredible brain power and social grace of these women and their colleagues, and promptly began to shed the macho outlooks of my adolescence. Yet I was still a brash kid in graduate school.

My overall sense is that LASA began as a way of claiming a rightful place for the study of Latin America. Other groups were forming—African studies, Asian studies, Middle Eastern studies, and so on—and, as Paul Doughty has intimated, it was time to establish an association and assert our place in the firmament. The idea was to build leverage for dealing not only with foundations and the U.S. government, but also with university administrations. There was not a little opportunism here.

From my perspective, LASA was a generational project. It was the creation of a cadre of distinguished senior scholars—Johnny Johnson, Kalman Silvert, John Augelli, and others. Beneath them was a bunch of wide-eyed graduate students still in their twenties. In terms of age or stature, there were very few folks in between. LASA began with curious demography: full professors and doctoral candidates.

One time Jack Harrison came up to me when I was doing my dissertation research in Argentina and told me that LASA was launching a scholarly journal. “Oh, a new journal!” I thought to myself. “You know,” he continued, “if you produce an

article about this new group of Argentinean historians, maybe you can get it published.” “Oh man!” I responded. So I first heard of LASA as a potential publication outlet (probably in mimeograph form, to be sure, but an outlet nonetheless). By the way I never wrote that article, but that’s another story.

Although LASA eventually developed into a truly international organization, it was pretty U.S.-focused at its initiation. It was also pretty modest. Even though I was a student at Columbia, I didn’t even hear about the first meeting at the Biltmore Hotel in New York. Then LASA migrated to university campuses—Texas, Wisconsin, and Indiana. These were pleasant but modest locations. If you compare them with the Caribe Hilton here in San Juan, you can see how far we’ve come.

Throughout the 1960s and into the 70s, LASA confronted some serious issues. The first was its relationship to the U.S. government. As Paul Doughty has suggested and Ron Chilcote has indicated, there was a good deal of suspicion and uncertainty around this point. Tensions came to a head with the revelation of Project Camelot, an effort to disguise a military contract as social-science research. Reflecting on this episode, Kalman Silvert wrote an article that shed pristine light on questions of scholarly ethics—what we should and must do, what we should and must avoid. His eloquent statement drew a clear line in the sand for all of us. Scholarship must never become a clandestine arm of U.S. policy. LASA has respected that tradition ever since.

The second issue was, Is LASA a professional and academic organization? An advocacy group? Or both? The answer has become, A little bit of both. The balance has never been easy to strike. In

the face of horrendous developments in Washington or Latin America, many inquired, Why shouldn’t we simply tell it as we see it? One subterranean issue was whether we wanted to make such declarations to relieve our collective conscience, or to assist the beleaguered peoples of Latin America. These debates opened generational divides within LASA: younger members were more inclined toward activism and advocacy, senior members were more inclined to protect the organization’s academic integrity. These were all legitimate concerns. Over the years, LASA has confronted them with clarity and candor.

A third issue concerned the scholarly enterprise itself. Should there be a preferred framework or not? Should LASA espouse any specific focus for research? As we all know, *dependencia* became a predominant paradigm in the late 60s through the 1970s into the 1980s. I remember an unbelievable exchange at the Texas meeting, when one scholar proclaimed that “There is only one thing to study these days, and it is *dependencia*. That is what we should be studying. If you do not study it, then you are not fulfilling your obligation.” This drew a prompt reply from Riordan Roett, who stood up in his three-piece suit and took exception to the statement. Riordan happened to be sitting next to a historian who was writing a biography of Jorge Ubico. “If my good friend [whom he barely knew!] wants to consult archives without the benefit of *dependencia*, he should be allowed to do it!” Applause rippled through the room. Somewhat startled, the historian turned to Riordan and asked, “Who are you and what the hell are you doing?”

In any event, this episode distilled a legitimate question: whether it was the role of LASA to promote a predominant

paradigm for knowledge, or whether to let a thousand flowers bloom. To our credit, we finally adopted the latter approach. In this we were assisted by Fernando Henrique Cardoso’s ironic article on the “strange career” of *dependencia* in the U.S. academic community.

Finally, LASA had to confront some serious governance questions. I attended my first meeting in 1970 in Washington. My colleague Tom Skidmore was very active in the association and, as an attentive acolyte, I stayed about three feet behind him at all times. Tom was trying to help LASA leaders deal with the rambunctious behavior of outspoken and rebellious younger members. To my astonishment, deliberations of the LASA inner circle took place not in a conference room, not in a restaurant, not even in a bar—but in Johnny Johnson’s hotel suite! Such were the workings of power.

Disorder nonetheless marked that year’s business meeting. A discontented audience kept muttering and speaking out. John Johnson finally yielded the podium to John Augelli, who looked around the room and plaintively asked, “Anybody here know Robert’s Rules of Order?” Arturo Valenzuela was the only volunteer. A semblance of order was established, and the gathering went on.

One would have to say that LASA’s quest for institutionalization of internal rules of governance was off a rocky start. But this early history might have helped to make a major difference. Since that time LASA has assumed a leadership role on many key issues—on internal organization, on representation and participation, and on collaboration with colleagues and students from Latin America. LASA now has an enviable record in these areas.

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Let me close with a personal comment. Why is it so great to come to LASA meetings? It is great because you see colleagues, you exchange ideas and thoughts, you learn a lot of things. The range of panels is extraordinary. I wish we had about a month to attend all the discussions. Over the years, the LASA leadership has chosen to make participation as expansive as possible. It has declined to turn its Congresses into job markets. And it has made unusual efforts to bring colleagues and participants from Latin America. As a result, the meetings provide enormous intellectual stimulation.

LASA is fun. It is amusing, it is enjoyable, and it can be hilarious. LASA has a tumultuous, picturesque, and challenging institutional history. We can agree or disagree on how well LASA has managed to resolve all the specific issues it has faced. Yet there can be no doubt about the LASA spirit. We can all take pride in that.

TUMULTUOUS TIMES: LASA IN THE 1960S continued...

The Legacy of the Sixties and its Impact on Academics

by RONALD H. CHILCOTE

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Cuba and its revolution provided a context for my involvement in LASA and early experience in Latin America. As a graduate student I traveled throughout Latin America for four months and spent a week in Cuba in September 1958, and while at Stanford until 1963 I was involved in activities in support of the Cuban Revolution. Along with Russell Bartley, Don and Marjorie Bray, Frances Chilcote, Jim Cockcroft, Peter Eisenberg, Fred Goff, Michael Hall, Tim Harding, Bill Hutchinson, Dale Johnson, Saul Landau, Jim O'Conner, Scott Palmer, Lars Schoultz, Alan Young, and many others, we worked on the monthly *Hispanic American Report* which in late 1960 became renowned for its factual reporting on the training of Cuban exiles in Guatemala. The *New York Times* even sent its Central American correspondent to Stanford to find out more about the Cuban counterrevolutionaries in Guatemala, and *The Nation* published a piece by Ronald Hilton that gave some of the early news. This did not deter the recently inaugurated Kennedy administration from proceeding with the Bay of Pigs fiasco. Also at that time Sandra Levinson and Richard Fagen were graduate students at Stanford; both became deeply involved in Cuba. Sandra later founded the Center for Cuban Studies, and Richard visited Cuba and wrote about the revolution. Fred Goff got *NACLA Report* off the ground. I returned to Cuba in 1968 for six weeks and managed a visit throughout the island.

This decade of experience was filled with impressive moments: Events that followed

the Bay of Pigs debacle in 1961 were the Alliance for Progress; U.S. maneuvering against Cuba through the OAS in 1961 and 1962; the Cuban Missile Crisis in 1962; a series of U.S.-supported coups, beginning in Guatemala in 1962 and extending throughout the region in ensuing years under Kennedy, Johnson, and their successors. I recall Secretary of State Dean Rusk defending the U.S. involvement in the Bay of Pigs in a document that outlined more than three hundred instances of U.S. intervention in Latin America. This pattern of intervention was continued throughout the sixties and, often with less overt involvement, into the seventies in Chile, the eighties with the contras in Nicaragua, and the return of U.S. Marines to Panama.

During the spring 1962 a group of progressive Brazilian students visited Stanford and desired to meet Paul Baran, a founder of the independent socialist *Monthly Review* and a Marxist economics professor. They were inspired by his best-selling book in Latin America, *Political Economy of Growth*. I did not know Baran, but I took the students to his home for an exchange of views. He had been to Cuba and just written about the revolution. His early writing was a foundation for the ensuing debates on underdevelopment and dependency in Latin America. This example is but another lesson how we learned about Latin America because later I enrolled in his courses and his ideas inspired me to work in the development and political economy fields. The Brazilian students returned home to participate in open and exciting political events, but after the 1964 coup and by the late 1960s, two of the most revolutionary of them returned for doctoral work and today are involved in conservative causes. Their trajectory reminds me of a conversation in the late 1960s with the Chilean sociologist, Eduardo Hamuy, who after a visiting

professorship at UC Berkeley declared he would not dare to send his students to North American universities.

The activist response to many of these events involved academics. In 1968 I recall the first meeting of LASA in New York when a group of young academics raised questions in the business meeting and introduced a series of resolutions about how LASA should deal with issues in Latin America. Therein began the process of resolutions, a reflection of the deep concerns about U.S. policy and about repression, especially of intellectuals, throughout Latin America. This tradition continues to the present and represents an important part of the history of LASA.

My research during the last half of the sixties generally occurred in Brazil under military rule, and I spent several years in the field under authoritarian conditions. Project Camelot was exposed in the Chilean Congress as a subversive U.S. project under the guise of academic research and Pentagon funding. This undermined prospects for field work in the area.

I became active in the Los Angeles Group for Latin American Solidarity (LAGLAS) which was a response to U.S. policy beyond Vietnam and Asia and to the depressing political, economic, and social conditions in Latin America. LAGLAS met monthly and its success was due to its assimilation of many political currents and its avoidance of sectarian tendencies. Some of us had learned this lesson during our Stanford experience. Rather than debate ideology, we focused on problems, published an occasional newsletter, and petitioned repressive governments everywhere and exposed U.S. policy aimed against Latin America. Within LASA, some of us, including one of my students, Joel Edelstein, began to publish the Union for

Radical Latin Americanists (URLA) newsletter in an effort to facilitate Latin Americanists within LASA to debate issues. URLA was supported by several hundred academics.

URLA presented a resolution calling for LASA to publish a journal of Latin American issues. It received an overwhelming vote in favor, leading the EC to invite me to work up a proposal for a new journal. This eventually was not accepted for lack of funds and the hope that the *LASA Forum* might fill the gap, a wish that only now, after 40 years, is being fulfilled in recent numbers organized by Arturo Arias. However, I had involved a dozen academics in southern California in this proposal, and we decided to carry the proposal to the LASA meeting in Madison, Wisconsin, where more than one hundred academics endorsed the launching of *Latin American Perspectives* in 1974. The new journal aimed to focus on issues and debates, to include Latin Americans as at least half of its editorial board, to decentralize decision making and workload, to translate and publish important essays from Spanish, Portuguese, and French, and to implement a whole host of procedures intended to open up the journal to widespread participation inside and outside Latin America.

We drew many lessons from the sixties:

1. The *HAR* experience taught us the importance of paying attention to daily events and the need to spend time in Latin America. Many of the senior Stanford Latin Americanist professors had built reputations around their dissertation field work but had not returned to the region and had lost familiarity with much of what was going on. Subsequently, I resolved to return frequently and visited Latin America nearly every year, residing in Brazil

probably six or seven years and in Chile the better part of another year. We lived in Portugal at least four or five more years.

2. The experience at Stanford impressed on me the need to explore the Iberian Peninsula and thus during 1960 and 1961 learned my Portuguese and Spanish at the University of Madrid and at the University of Lisbon. The Salazar regime offered me funds and books to conform to their outlook. This was unacceptable plus some early writings on the Portuguese opposition resulted in my expulsion from Portugal and my imprisonment in Angola over a book I was writing. Today in North America I often think of my early experience in Portugal when it was necessary to report every week to the secret police, difficult to talk politics for fear of arrest, and to face hourly propaganda on the “terrorist” threat to the colonies in Africa. Today in America as we are harangued constantly by fear over terrorism, I am reminded of my experience under fascist Portugal.

I learned a lot about dictatorship, authoritarianism, and fascism, which was useful as Latin America turned counterrevolutionary with a series of military coups throughout the region. John J. Johnson, one of my teachers, had written a book on the military in Latin America, sponsored by the Rand Corporation, and the ensuing coups in the region made me skeptical of his thesis that a professional military would guide Latin America to constitutional democracies. Coincidentally, the Pentagon sent six of its young bright officers to Stanford to obtain master’s degrees in Latin American studies, with the intent that they would serve on a Pentagon desk dealing with Latin American insurgency. Two of them worked with Lincoln Gordon to plan the 1964 coup against João Goulart in Brazil. One of them led U.S. Marines into the Dominican

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Republic in 1965. Another accompanied U.S. helicopters into the Marquetalia communist strongholds in Colombia.

3. The Cuban revolution inspired revolutionary movements everywhere in Latin America and motivated many of us to study the left. Don Bray at Pomona College, Tim Harding at UCLA, and I at Stanford organized seminars of students to study the left and met in 1963 at Idylwild in Southern California for a three-day conference with papers on left movements in Latin America. Our enthusiasm for such study, however, was dampened by the revelation a couple of years later that the National Student Association financial support for the conference may have been tainted by CIA funds, and thereafter we abandoned this inquiry on the left, fearing that our work was aiding the U.S.-led counter insurgency in Latin America.

4. All these events and the continuing military coups in Latin America culminated in the U.S. invasion in the Dominican Republic. This was a decisive moment for U.S. Latin Americanists when hundreds of colleagues signed a petition, published in *The New York Times*, condemning the U.S. intervention. The signatories included many who had long served or counseled the U.S. State Department and the CIA. It was a decisive turning point.

5. Since many of us were spending much time in the field in Latin America, we came away sensitized to issues there. Our experiences not only exposed the failure of U.S. policy, they committed us to do more than simply research and write about the region. Many of us became activists, some through the Peace Corps, some through missionary groups associated with the National and World Councils of Churches, and most through our personal experiences in the field. In 1965 I invited Padre Camilo

Torres, a young sociologist deeply concerned about urban problems, to come to UC Riverside as a visiting professor. He promised to come the following year but instead joined the Colombian insurgency and died a martyr.

6. My field research under authoritarian conditions and urban guerrilla warfare in Brazil from 1968 to 1971 and the specter of Project Camelot led to several requirements: first, field research must be sponsored by local authorities; second, one must be open and willing to share in its findings; third, if possible, published studies should appear in the language of the host country (my field work has been published there). In 1971 Brazilian military authorities attempted to intervene in my research into two communities in the backlands of the Northeast, but I was saved in several ways: one of my grants through the OAS had been signed by a Brazilian general; my research had been formally supported by the leaders of the two towns; it had inadvertently been presented to the communities through two troubadours whose singing on the local radio station told about me and my family, my purpose for being there, and so on; and my research data and questionnaires were secured safely without my awareness under the bed of the local bishop.

7. There also was pressure at home over my work in Latin America. Soon after joining UCR, I was strongly encouraged by a university administrator to work with the CIA after my return from field trips in Latin America, but I did not cooperate with the agents who visited me throughout the sixties, appearing unexpectedly at my office. The recent experience of my colleague at Pomona College, Miguel Tinker-Salas, who was surprised and intimidated by Los Angeles Sheriff deputies in collaboration with the FBI and whose

students were also questioned, demonstrates that we must continue to be vigilant and resist the repression that pervades our lives today.

I think of the sixties as an era of innovation, openness to old and new ideas, debate and dialogue, and alternative possibilities and outcomes. The increasing openness of North America was countered by the increasing repression of Latin America. Even the traditions of openness in places like Chile were soon crushed, yet Cuba emerged as an alternative, inspiring most of us to think about the region's problems and issues. What we learned many of us brought back to North America and explored all sorts of alternatives in our teaching, our research, and our involvement in our communities.

TUMULTUOUS TIMES: LASA IN THE 1960S continued...

Comments on the Presentations about LASA in the 1960s

by TERRY KARL
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First, I have realized that I probably would not have been a professor and a Latin Americanist if I had not met Richard Fagen on a beach in Cuba. He was there on LASA business, and I was trying desperately to defend a copyright, a silly thing to do. I had written a children's book. The Cubans had published it. I went there to defend my copyright, and got very excited by what I saw. I met Richard by accident, and he said, "why don't you go to graduate school?" I said, "don't be silly, I'm not interested in academics, it's much more complicated than trying to write something for kids." That was that, but he told me about LASA. It was the first time in my life I heard about it.

The next time I heard about it, was in San Francisco. I heard that LASA was going to have a conference at an ITT-owned Sheraton, and I said, "let's demonstrate against it." But then we heard that LASA had in fact cancelled its contract with the Sheraton. I cannot tell you what an impact that had on us. Nobody was canceling anything because of Pinochet, nobody. Indeed, very few were protesting Pinochet at that point. And then we heard that this major academic association had cancelled, and I thought, "maybe I should become a Latin Americanist after all." Then I went to my first LASA meeting, in 1980 or else at the end of the 70s. The first thing I saw were women. I am a political scientist, and I had never had a female instructor in my life. I went eventually to two departments that were not noted for their good treatment of women, Harvard and Stanford. And then I go to LASA, and

there were all these women. It was just visually amazing for me to see this.

I remember meeting Meg Crahan, I remember meeting Carmen Diana Deere, I did not meet Marysa Navarro then, but I thought they all were the most incredible human beings. If they could do it, I could do it too. What I learned was that LASA helped me become a professor, and also helped me save one. Many people know that I was one of the first people at Harvard to do an open sexual harassment case against somebody that was an official at LASA. In that process, I was told that if I did it, I would lose my career, I would never be a professor, and that all that fieldwork I did in Caracas would just go down the drain. I was told that by every single academic I talked to. "Don't file a complaint, don't do it openly," and I remember Albert Hirschman, a wonderful human being, said to me: "Terry, we'll help you get another job if you do this, but it may be that the best way to do this is to not be public." Then I thought, I have all those female graduate students, what happens if I leave? I was an assistant professor at the time, but I filed for sexual harassment anyway. As many of you know, the only organization in the United States that organized itself to support me was LASA. Carmen, Marysa, Helen Safa, Meg, Peter Smith, many others did it. If that had not happened, there would not have been an organized statement by about fourteen leading Latin American studies centers in the United States condemning the sexual harassment going on in that department, and threatening to boycott Harvard University and not send graduate students there unless something was done about it. They signed an open letter. This was when nobody talked about sexual harassment. The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission picked up my case, and it became the EEOC vs. Harvard University,

until we settled. The two case officers were Clarence Thomas and Anita Hill.

LASA has meant so much to so many of us because of its diversity. It has done much more as an organization than people know. Not just because of its male/female diversity, but because these things were supported by many as the decent and right thing to do. LASA ended up being diverse because of its ability to deal with Latin America. This extraordinary organization we have is in fact bi-continental. For five years or so, I have been working in Africa and Eastern Europe. I have been attending other meetings, and I have learned two things. One, they are not fun. And, two, they do not have the kind of diversity and contact that we do, not only because of the extraordinary efforts of the people who organize LASA and others who make this happen, but also because we are fortunate to actually be close to one another. You realize how much you want to come back to LASA and to Latin America when you see that we really have something special here as a result of our geographic proximity, but also because of the incredible diversity of this organization in every possible way.

I want to pick up two other themes: Repression, authoritarian rule, and our deep relationship with what happened in Latin America and how it shaped us, how our scholarship in turn helped to open up in many ways the politics of Latin America. That interaction was extraordinarily important because most of us went through the authoritarian period in Latin America. Most of us helped provide places for Latin Americans to work when they had no place to work. Most of us protested oppression.

The very first LASA resolutions, I was told by Fernando Henrique Cardoso, were in fact to protect Brazilians. He himself was

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one of the victims. In our efforts, whether we were scholars of repression or just felt strongly about human rights, LASA put people together in an academic, scholarly and activist network to deal with it. Let me just give you a brief example that goes beyond our scholarship. With several of you, I have been working on trials of Latin American generals living in the United States. We are trying them in civil courts for human rights abuses. In order to try Salvadorian generals, or the head of the Caravan of Death in Chile, or Hondurans involved in death squad activities, we have had to marshal every single bit of knowledge that any academic ever knew about repression in these countries.

In the trial against one of the killers of Archbishop Romero in Fresno, the death squad link, and one of the people involved in the murder, was an Argentine death squad leader who came to El Salvador and helped teach them how to organize death squads. Nicolás Carronso, who was just tried in Memphis, was one of the founders of the death squads in El Salvador as well and we learned through his own testimony that he had been CIA asset since the 1960s. I was sure that he had been since the late 70s, but I never had any idea that it went back that far. He set up the connection between the security forces, the military and U.S. intelligence, and those were the roots of what later became the death squads. The kind of research that goes into those trials is a cooperative type of research. It is not the type that any one of us does. It comes from calling everybody and saying, "do you know anybody who did work in Argentina in the 1960s?" What other organization but LASA has that kind of historic memory? It is already being incredibly important for these kinds of activities, and for recovering the memory and achieving justice in Latin America.

Let me just pick up on a couple of things related to change, and to the tension that it represents. There was in some of the disciplines, particularly in my own, political science, a huge attack against area studies, in an effort to try to move away from it. But what is happening in the United States now, in the military, in the State Department, etc., is that they are discovering that they do not know anything. This is particularly compelling if anyone watched Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice receiving a present from President Evo Morales of Bolivia at the inauguration of Michelle Bachelet, the new Chilean president. She received a *charango* that had real coca leaves embedded in it. Because there was no one to advise her, she was caught explaining how lovely they were, going on and on. It turns out to be one of the most hilarious transcripts ever. There are many mistakes being made because people do not have information any more. Thus, one of the things that you are seeing in the State Department is that they are going through a reorganization, in which they are insisting that every single State Department person has to become an area specialist, that they have to learn a language, and that they have to stay at the region where they work. They are recreating inside the U.S. government a certain type of area studies that was lost.

The second thing is the issue of where to draw the line between scholarship and activism. This organization has grappled with this issue all the time. I am probably on the activist side, but also very much in favor of keeping a certain line, and of being able to differentiate between the two. We need to keep the kinds of ethics that we learned from Kal Silvert. That means that our scholarship must be public, that it must be for everyone, and that if it is not public and if the funding sources are not public, then it cannot be considered scholarship,

period. I think we have to keep that line as strong as we can.

The second line that we need to hold is that of the universal declaration of human rights. Whether you are on the right, or on the left, or wherever you might fall, torture is a crime. Putting people in prison for indeterminate amounts of time is a crime. It is a violation of the law. It is violation of the Bill of Rights. It is a violation of the basic rights that we have insisted on in Latin America. So, whether you like Chávez, or not, is not a crime. It is a debate. And those debates, we must have. We must debate about the Cuban Revolution, we must debate about Evo Morales, we must debate about Chávez. We must always have those debates. But we cannot reopen crimes that we have condemned, we cannot reopen a discussion on whether things that are crimes against humanity can be okay under certain circumstances. That is something that we cannot do.

Finally, let me make one last point. When I went to graduate school, one of my advisors used to say that I should go down to Latin America with all the important lessons from the United States, with our way of seeing things, and teach those frameworks. Now, we are in an interesting period where the lessons are actually coming from Latin America back to us.

I was very struck on examining public opinion polls in Latin America, on the enormous decline of support for the United States, and for the U.S. government in particular. If you look at these public opinion polls, when approval really dropped was not during the invasion of Iraq, but when the news of Abu Ghraib came out. Latin Americans had heard us in Central and South America lecturing on the way you don't treat people and on the

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things you do not do. You do not have death squads and you do not torture. Suddenly, there was the shock of the United States not practicing what it preached. These were polls about what elites think about the United States, they were not polls of mass public opinion. And the big change was there. Then, it struck me that we are in fact entering a period when we are dealing with our exchanges between Latin America and the United States on a much more equal basis than we ever had before. I think part of that is due to the work of LASA's pioneers. ■

U.S.-Cuban Relations and U.S.-LASA Relations

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President from January 1982 – June 1983

Imagine that an extraterrestrial creature hovers over planet earth in order to observe U.S. relations with neighboring countries. The extraterrestrial beams back the following information to its space ship: On the border between the United States and Mexico, the armies of Mexico and the United States face each other every day, engage in routine contact, and have developed a professional, cooperative relationship that seeks to anticipate problems or, if necessary, to resolve them. Moreover, the security forces of the United States and Mexico on land, sea, and air cooperate to prevent the emigration from Mexico to the United States of those Mexican citizens who lack the proper documents to enter the United States lawfully. Mexico works hard and effectively on its own to prevent such emigration. The United States interdicts most Mexicans who seek to cross the border illegally and returns them to Mexico, which accepts them without fail. We all know, of course, that not even Star Trek ever presented such a fantasy.

And yet, those behaviors are part of the routine relations between the armed forces of Cuba and the United States, respectively, around and inside the U.S. base at Guantánamo. This relationship evolved in the early 1990s seeking to avoid an accidental military conflict and subsequently to prevent cross-border migration. In the current decade, the procedures first developed a decade earlier became one means to seal the U.S.-Cuba land border. The United States did not

want its prisoners to get out from the base, and Cuba did not want to receive such prisoners in any event. Similarly, the U.S. Coast Guard and Cuba's *guardafronteras* have developed a professional relationship surrounding the Cuban archipelago but especially in the Straits of Florida. They engage in search and rescue missions, interdict illegal migration between the two countries and, when appropriate, the Coast Guard returns the interdicted Cubans back to Cuba. Elements of this bilateral migration relationship date to 1984, when President Ronald Reagan authorized such U.S. government cooperation with President Fidel Castro's government. The current Bush administration has enforced the policy even at domestic political cost in important segments of the Cuban-American community, including the contrary views of Cuban-American Republican members of Congress from Florida.

Such security relations are but one example of various instances of good relations between the Bush and Castro governments. Every six months, on schedule and without fail, President Bush has waived Title III of the Helms-Burton Act, which had been potentially an explosive generator of property compensation disputes between U.S. citizens and firms and international investors and traders engaged with Cuba, and arguably the most punitive feature of this U.S. statute. Consistent with an agreement reached between the United States and the European Union in 1998, moreover, the Bush administration has enforced Title IV of Helms-Burton lightly and only by exception; under this provision, the United States was to deny visas to executives of international firms that "traffic" with Cuba. In late 2001, in addition, the United States began to export agricultural products to Cuba and has become Cuba's principal international supplier of such products, for which Cuba

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pays cash. For most practical purposes, except for occasional fireworks as the instruction earlier in 2006 to the Sheraton Hotel in Mexico City not to house Cubans for a business meeting with U.S. executives, Helms-Burton has been effectively neutered. In short, on several major dimensions of bilateral relations, the United States and Cuba exhibit either improved relations during the Bush administration or no adverse change.

There are two exceptions to this benign description of U.S.-Cuban bilateral relations during the current decade. First, the Bush administration makes much more “anti-Castro noise” than had been the norm even for Republican presidents in the past. An example during the second Bush administration has been the appointment of a U.S. government coordinator for the Cuban transition, which the Cuban government can easily caricature as a kind of U.S. Viceroy or Proconsul for Cuba, evoking memories of U.S. intervention in Cuba a century ago under the Platt amendment.

Second, the Bush administration has hit hard the set of policies that touches on individual travel. Since late 2002 and especially since mid-2004, it has greatly constrained the possibilities for cultural and educational travel between the United States and Cuba. It has adopted a mountain of paperwork to discourage even those whom the regulations formally authorize to travel. It has greatly impaired the capacity of Cuban-origin persons on both sides of the Straits of Florida to visit each other, and it has capriciously narrowed its definition of what constitutes a Cuban family to limit the number of people who can receive lawful remittances.

Even these Bush administration policies are at times paradoxical. It is formally wrong,

for example, for a fine arts museum to take its patrons to Havana but it is fine for agribusiness exporters to visit the same city. The Bush administration is willing to anger the hundreds of thousands of Cubans who have arrived in the United States over the past dozen years who cannot visit their friends and relatives with the frequency that they would wish, risking that Cuban-Americans would shift away from voting Republican in the future, certain that for near-term elections these recent arrivals from Cuba do not yet vote and that the earlier-arrival Cubans broke long ago with their families so they are much less interested in such visitation.

This is the wider context for U.S.-LASA relations. The Bush administration came gradually to the conclusion, now firmly defined for both the Las Vegas and the San Juan International Congresses, that a large number of Cubans should not be allowed to enter the United States to congregate in one spot as guests of an association that, notwithstanding its academic mission, it sees as a “Cuba solidarity organization.” To make it clear that the problem is with the number of Cubans, the Congress as the venue, and LASA itself, the U.S. government has granted visas to about half of the Cuban academics who have requested visas to visit U.S. universities between the last two LASA congresses to engage in research or teaching at U.S. universities and colleges. After the Las Vegas LASA Congress, the first visas were issued within days of the conclusion of that meeting. Some Cuban scholars who got visas at that time had not been able to receive a U.S. visa for over two years. Some visas have already been granted to Cuban academics following the San Juan LASA Congress.

I join our Cuban academic colleagues and the many LASA members who have

protested this violation of our academic freedoms, including the freedoms of U.S. scholars to associate with, learn from, and work with Cuban colleagues at our international congress. This is shameful and damnable behavior on the part of the U.S. government. If this analysis is correct, however, neither shame nor condemnation will change Bush administration visa policies in time for the next LASA Congress. Indeed, our protests are, in some sense, welcome by Bush administration political strategists because it makes it easier for them to demonstrate publicly how “tough on Castro” they are. This massive collective denial of visas for LASA is one of the very few concrete, public, readily understandable, anti-Castro political acts that the Bush administration can communicate to the part of the Cuban-American community that demands such policies from the U.S. government. LASA protests, necessary as they are, help the Bush administration with regard to the domestic U.S. politics that it most cares about with regard to Cuba questions.

It is ironic that the Bush administration, contrary to its preferences, feels compelled to cooperate with the Cuban government. And it is ironic that the protests we should make against the Bush administration’s disregard for our academic freedom also help the Bush administration politically with its right-wing Cuban-American constituents, the only Cuban-origin people about whom it cares.

THE NEVER-ENDING COLD WAR continued...

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First of all, for those of you who don't know about the Center for Cuban Studies, I should explain that when the Center began in 1972, the idea was to place the Center within a university setting. Most of the people who started the Center, and who were involved in its founding, were academics. But, 1972 was a time when there was a lot of Cuban exile violence directed against what were perceived as pro-Cuba supporters. In the case of the Center, which did not even exist at the time, the concern was that violence was also directed at anything that was going to relate to contemporary Cuba and to the regime of Fidel Castro. Therefore, it was impossible to place the Center within an academic setting. No university would take us, although a lot of universities were interested and many departments were interested. But when there were consultations with the university lawyers, they all said, "Don't do it, we'll be blown up." And so the Center started as an independent, non-profit, tax exempt organization in 1972. And, sure enough, eight months later we were blown up. I was there. I thought that it was not a good idea to put a huge bomb in the Center while the executive director was present at the site.

From the very beginning, the Center was concerned and interested in educational exchange, and, specifically, academic exchange. We have always existed in this kind of "Never Never Land" that is a non-institutional academic exchange. So, from the beginning, what we did was to reach out to professionals. Our very first trip to Cuba was one organized with lawyers.

And through the years, as the regulations changed about who could travel to Cuba, under what circumstances people could travel to Cuba, etc., we always tried to work within the regulations that were increasingly more restricted by the Treasury Department. So what we have done over the years was to try to aid and assist academic institutions to write applications to the Treasury Department. I remember in the case of Stanford, which is my Alma Mater, that I was very interested in helping Stanford travel to Cuba. We actually wrote the application to Treasury, worked with the people at Stanford so that they would get a license. The license was denied on a Thursday night, the trip was supposed to take place on Tuesday. Between Thursday and Monday morning I looked up all the Congressional delegates and went through all the Congressional directories. I found every Congressperson who had graduated from Stanford and called them. By Monday morning the Treasury department was calling and saying "Call off your dogs, we'll give them the license." But that kind of combination of working within the confines of academia and fighting politically for what we were trying to accomplish has always been what we do. We sued the Treasury department for the right to include original art as part of the definition of informational material so that people could go to Cuba, purchase art, as well as photographs, books, magazines, music, etc., all of the other definitions of informational materials.

Because the Center for Cuban Studies has always existed outside the University setting, we've never had really the advantages of working within the universities for academic research. But we have done a lot to encourage educational exchange. I think that one of the problems now is that people really think that you cannot go to Cuba. And yet, for the most

part, the same people for whom we have reached out can go. It's just more difficult. For example, the Center for Cuban Studies does not have its own license any longer. For the period that covered the Clinton administration to the moment when the Bush administration got its act together, we were able to organize academic research trips, yet they were at the same time the kinds of trips that anyone could go on. Thus, if we had an art and architecture trip, you did not have to be an architect to go on that trip. Now, we can only organize a trip related to architectural research, and only the people doing their own individual research as architects are allowed to go.

Another aspect of our work which we have encouraged people to do is to say to academics that it is important to do research in Cuba, and that you can do research in Cuba. Personally, I'm very good at thinking of research projects for somebody. So if you say, I am a so-and-so, I'm a sociologist and I'm interested in old people and I've done this research here and there, I can in five minutes give you a whole research project which can be accomplished in Cuba. That's important because there are a lot of things people would like to do in Cuba, but if they do not know you, the Cubans themselves put up obstacles. And it is very important that when you are organizing your research to go, you think that it is important to continue doing that particular kind of research. It would not only be harmful to you and to the academic institutions from which you come if you curtailed your research, but it is equally harmful to put Cuba aside because it is difficult to travel there. It is also very unfortunate for the Cubans. It is unfortunate for the Cuban academics not to have our input and not to have our ideas, and to not know what is going on here in the United States academically. So, I think that the

LEVINSON continued...

intimidation tactics of the government create a very unfortunate mindset. And I have seen it over and over again. People call and simply say, "I know I can't go to Cuba now, but do you think there is a chance," or "What is going to happen to me if I go to Cuba illegally?" It is a wonderful question to ask on the telephone when calling us directly. Of course, my most professional voice comes out and says, "Well, you know of course that if you travel illegally you are subject to a fine of at least \$7500, and I would not want to in any way encourage you to do that. Bye!" Anyway, I think that this is a subject that all of us have been thinking about for the last several years, in particularly with the Bush administration. But I also think that we would not be working with Cuba if we were not some kind of eternal optimists who always see the bottle half-full rather than half-empty, and I would hope that we will all continue to fight against those barriers put up by this administration.

THE NEVER-ENDING COLD WAR continued...

Suing the U.S. Government

by WAYNE SMITH

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In addition to being the Senior Fellow at the Center for International Policy and adjunct professor/ the director of the Cuban exchange program at Johns Hopkins, I am the co-chair of ECDET—the Emergency Coalition for the Defense of Educational Travel. We have over the past year been moving forward with litigation against the government of the United States. I have provided a full report on this litigation at the Cuba Task Force meeting at the San Juan Congress. Here, I will only add that we expect to file suit in Federal Court very soon.

It has been a long and difficult course. The universities have not come forward courageously to act as plaintiffs. At this point we have three—hopefully we have three. They are St. Thomas University (St. Paul, Minnesota) which is absolutely steadfast, and I would like to take my hat off to them. The second one is Duke University, which so far is solid and I think they will be with us, and, the third, my own University, John Hopkins, of which I am less certain. I think they will act as plaintiffs. But the fact is, John Hopkins receives more federal money than any other university in the United States, and I am sure that is a matter of concern. And it should be a matter of concern, but it should not be the deciding factor.

Our academic freedoms, as defined by the Supreme Court, are being flagrantly violated by these new regulations and the administration full well knows it. We sent an emissary over to talk to Dan Fisk. Fisk went through these new regulations carefully, and pointed out how they step-by-step violate the Supreme Court's

definition of academic freedom. The Supreme Court's definition—this is from 1957, a decision made in that year—is that the academic institution will decide without any interference from the government, at whatever level, what courses can be taught, how they will be taught, who can teach them, and who can take them. At the present moment, the regulations implemented recently interfere with all that. Their reply in essence was, "Well, if you think so, take us to court." They have violated the Supreme Court's definitions and they know that, but it's a moot point unless we stand up to them. I am not impressed so far with the willingness of the academic community to stand up to them. The faculties of course want to do something about it. But when it comes to the administrative leadership of the universities, they have, unfortunately, other concerns and reservations.

I hadn't seen much of a battle for academic freedom in LASA until the Executive Council resolved that LASA should not hold any more of its International Congresses in the United States so long as the U.S. government continues to deny entry to invited scholars from Cuba and other countries. And that is the reason for the resolution. What about us? LASA has said absolutely nothing about these violations. They have not assisted in any way our efforts to bring the litigation forward, and now they completely leave that out of the resolution. The resolution has to do with the denial of visas. It has nothing to do with the fact that our academic freedoms are being systematically violated by the government, and we need to do something about that. LASA needs to support that.

When we move forward with our litigation, how does it look if LASA has protested the fact that visas were not granted, but it has

¡Más político que cultural! o ¿Cómo llegó en Chile una mujer a la Presidencia?

by MARCELA RÍOS TOBAR | FLACSO – Chile | mariostobar@wisc.edu

not said a word about the fact that the academic freedoms of scholars and institutions based in the United States are being denied as well? I think it is a mistake. I hope it is simply an oversight that can be corrected. I have talked about this with Sheryl Lutjens, Co-chair of LASA's Section on Scholarly Relations with Cuba, and she thinks it can be. We can add to the resolution, or come up with a new resolution, but I think that LASA has to take a position on these denials of academic freedom. I think we have a very strong case. It will take a while; these court cases always go on for a year or two. Fortunately we have the money to be a plaintiff. We do not have to put up any money. We have a fund provided by the Reynolds Foundation, and we can move forward. I hope we can be filing the suit shortly.

Another problem is that our lawyer, really an excellent lawyer, one of the most experienced in dealing with Cuban matters, is doing this on more or less a pro-bono basis. As a consequence, he gives it the time that he can, and it has taken him much longer than I would have hoped to draw up the complaint. But it is almost done. And this is something we must address. We must stand up to it more forthrightly than LASA has so far. Again I say LASA, but I think that most of the LASA members would agree 100 percent on this and want to stand up to the government. It somehow has not been smart to not deal with it, but it can be corrected. ■

La elección de Michelle Bachelet como presidenta de Chile, el pasado 15 de enero, ha generado gran interés político y periodístico en el mundo. Es sin duda un hito histórico: se trata de la primera mujer en alcanzar la más alta magistratura de su país. Su modelo no parece calzar con la trayectoria política habitual de otras representantes que ocuparan cargos similares en la región. Esta mujer de izquierda fue elegida en las urnas, a partir de una trayectoria política propia, y sin tener parentesco con algún hombre político notable. Los efectos de esta elección en cuanto a la equidad de género están por verse. Pero sí existe la esperanza de conseguir avances en aquellas áreas que continúan obstaculizando el ejercicio pleno de los derechos femeninos, la misma no se sustenta en el simple hecho de que llegara una mujer a la presidencia. Tiene que ver con en el incipiente quiebre de la hegemonía masculina en el ejercicio del poder, en la apelación a las electoras como base política, y en las medidas iniciales que parecen atender, en alguna medida, los problemas que impiden avanzar hacia una senda de mayor equidad.

Gran parte de la sorpresa causada por la elección de Bachelet se refiere a su condición de género y a su particular historia de vida. Esto la hace una rareza en un contexto político y social, señalado como uno de los más conservadores del continente. ¿Cómo pudo una mujer marcadamente de izquierda, separada y agnóstica, ser electa Presidenta de un país aparentemente tan conservador? La mayoría de los análisis de difusión masiva lo han presentado como evidencia de los cambios que vive el país; un paso más en un largo recorrido hacia un mayor progreso, desarrollo e igualdad. Transformaciones que se supone inciden en modificar el rol de las mujeres en la sociedad y en la política, en una creciente

disminución en la centralidad de la Iglesia Católica en la vida del país y en mayor autonomía de los ciudadanos *vis-a-vis* las élites políticas. Si bien esto no es del todo ajeno a la verdad, estos cambios culturales tampoco explican en sí mismos el triunfo en las urnas de la candidata de la *Concertación de Partidos por la Democracia*. Dichas variaciones son necesariamente de largo plazo, ocurren a ritmos discontinuos y en diversas esferas, siendo sus efectos a menudo contradictorios y dispersos.

Un análisis comparado de la situación de las mujeres en la región y de las actitudes de los/las latinoamericanos/as respecto al rol de éstas en la política muestra que Chile se mueve efectivamente en un sentido liberalizador; pero, en ningún caso, ha avanzado a un ritmo o en un grado mayor que países como Argentina o Uruguay. Por ello, es difícil atribuir a estos elementos una incidencia causal respecto de modificaciones repentinas y coyunturales en la correlación de fuerzas electorales, especialmente en un sistema como el chileno con baja volatilidad electoral, con resultados en las urnas altamente consistentes y predecibles.

Nuestro argumento es que el triunfo de Bachelet puede ser entendido de mejor forma como el resultado de un proceso *político* que confluye y se refuerza con transformaciones culturales en curso. La victoria de la *Concertación* para un cuarto mandato consecutivo es, ante todo, un resultado *político*; que su candidata haya sido una mujer es tan *político* como *cultural*. Sin embargo, tanto la contendencia de su victoria como la correlación de fuerzas sociales y políticas que se construye para apoyarla, están íntimamente ligados a cambios culturales. Una mirada más matizada de la coyuntura actual debe reconocer la preeminencia de la

RÍOS TOBAR continued...

política en orientar el curso y sentido de estas reformas, así como el rol de los liderazgos y la *agencia* individual en su conducción. Instalar la política en el centro del debate nos permite matizar, además, la evaluación respecto de los posibles efectos de estos procesos en lo social, económico y cultural. Lo político y la política no tienen una traducción automática en las otras esferas de la vida humana; la historia nos ha enseñado que el sólo hecho de aumentar la presencia de mujeres en ciertas esferas de poder no resulta necesariamente en evoluciones significativas en el orden de género ni en la promoción de una agenda pro derechos femeninos.

Lo político en el triunfo de Bachelet

La centralidad de la política en el triunfo de Bachelet se sustenta en dos tipos de factores: aquellos referidos a la contienda electoral, y aquellos vinculados al rol y sentido de las demandas feministas en la historia reciente del país.

Primero, una derrota de la *Concertación* en la pasada elección era altamente improbable. Dicha coalición, a pesar del desgaste natural producido por quince años de gobierno, había triunfado en todos los comicios presidenciales y parlamentarios desde el retorno a la democracia a finales de los ochenta. Así, mucho antes de que se tuviera certeza del resultado de la contienda interna por un candidato único, los analistas ya vaticinaban un cuarto triunfo consecutivo para el pacto gobernante. Esta posibilidad de triunfo se veía sustentada además por el alto apoyo ciudadano al gobierno del Presidente Lagos, y por la percepción generalizada de éxito de las políticas de dicho gobierno: crecimiento económico sostenido, disminución de los niveles de desempleo y mejoras significativas en infraestructura, entre otros.

El éxito de la *Concertación* se veía fortalecido, también, por la incapacidad de la oposición de unirse detrás de un proyecto común y de despojarse de sus conexiones con el pasado dictatorial.

El segundo factor político se vincula más específicamente a la lucha por más de tres décadas de feministas y políticas destinadas a aumentar la presencia de dirigentas en espacios de poder y acceder con mayor igualdad a la esfera política. Ya a finales de la década de los 80, aquellas que conformaban la entonces denominada *Concertación de Mujeres por la Democracia*, planteaban la necesidad de mayor representación formal contra la oposición sistemática de los partidos. Cuando asume el primer gobierno de la *Concertación* en 1990, sólo una ministra integraba el gabinete, a cargo del recién creado Servicio Nacional de la Mujer. En 2000 esa cifra había aumentado a cinco. De hecho, fue en una reunión con dirigentas de todos los partidos de la coalición gobernante que el entonces candidato electo, Ricardo Lagos, se comprometió a nombrar ese número de consejeras y a aumentar el número de funcionarias en cargos de dirección a nivel central y regional. Así llegó Michelle Bachelet a ocupar la cartera de Salud y, a poco andar, la de Defensa.

Lo cultural en el triunfo

Como muchos analistas han señalado, Michelle Bachelet se convierte en candidata no por los partidos o los grupos de poder que hasta entonces habían dominado la política nacional, sino a pesar de ellos. Al igual que las otras mujeres en el gabinete de Lagos, ella mantiene durante toda su gestión ministerial un alto apoyo ciudadano. Este sustento responde a su liderazgo y a su carisma personal, pero

además se nutre de dos tendencias en la opinión pública que se mantienen relativamente estables hasta ahora: el creciente desapego y distancia civil respecto de los actores políticos tradicionales (especialmente los partidos y sus dirigentes más visibles) y la demanda de recambio en las élites gobernantes y en la forma de hacer política. La *Concertación*, a pesar de sus éxitos electorales y de gobierno, era vista como ajena a los ciudadanos, con un estilo elitista y poco participativo. Esto se vio, además, agravado por una serie de escándalos de corrupción que involucraron a personeros de su administración, y que aumentaron el rechazo a las élites *concertacionistas* tradicionales.

Una candidata con una larga trayectoria política—pero ajena a las trenzas de poder partidarias fuera del círculo más cerrado que había gobernado el país hasta entonces y que se mostraba, además, con un estilo cercano y abierto en su relación con las bases—fue capaz de aprovechar estas tendencias a su favor. Esto confluye con las tradicionales construcciones culturales de género presentes en los debates y en la opinión pública. Los contrastes le atribuyen a ellas características tales como la generosidad, la vocación de servicio y el interés por el bien común, poca ambición de poder o de riqueza, incorruptibilidad, y cercanía con los intereses ciudadanos. De hecho, éstas visiones tradicionales de la cultura política chilena respecto de las relaciones de género que atribuyen roles y características claramente delimitados a los sexos, son las que contribuyen a cimentar parte del apoyo popular a Bachelet, y no las más igualitarias o modernizantes.

La campaña electoral comienza así con la candidata oficialista recibiendo un apoyo ciudadano considerable, capitalizando los triunfos de sus predecesores, pero ofreciendo al electorado algo nuevo: su

identidad de género, una forma distinta de hacer política y un compromiso con la renovación de las élites. Fue justamente esta mezcla entre continuidad y cambio la que cimienta su camino a la Moneda, lo que le permite mantener el voto histórico de la *Concertación* y apelar a otros sectores de la ciudadanía (si bien minoritarios) que antes se habían mantenido al margen del proceso electoral o bien habían apoyado opciones alternativas a la coalición gobernante. Esta combinación que encarna la candidata permite a la *Concertación* algo que pocos otros líderes podían ofrecer: una oferta nueva que no implicaba modificar los ejes organizativos o programáticos que habían permitido mantenerse en el poder.

En este contexto, el triunfo *concertacionista* era esperable. Sin embargo, la contundencia que adquiere en la segunda vuelta electoral fue inusitada. Si en 1999 Lagos logró una estrecha victoria sobre su oponente derechista (51,3% sobre 48,6%), en 2006 Bachelet logra aumentar esa diferencia marcando más de 7 puntos porcentuales sobre su contendor (53,4% sobre 46,5%). La diferencia entre las dos elecciones se debe al apoyo en las urnas de dos segmentos de la población que habían resultado esquivos para la *Concertación*: las mujeres, especialmente las de sectores populares que tradicionalmente habían votado en mayores proporciones por los candidatos de derecha, y el electorado de la extrema izquierda. Por su importancia numérica, es el apoyo de las mujeres el factor decisivo en el resultado final. Tanto las encuestas de opinión previas a los comicios como los resultados en las urnas y las masivas demostraciones callejeras después del triunfo, mostraron que la candidatura de Bachelet tuvo un fuerte eco entre las ciudadanas. Electoras de todas las edades y sectores socioeconómicos votaron mayoritariamente por ella, trabajaron en su campaña y celebraron su triunfo en las

“grandes alamedas”. Se revierte así la histórica “brecha de género” en el comportamiento electoral, mostrando una tendencia similar entre los sexos y señalando que para un porcentaje importante de chilenas primó su identificación de género por sobre sus preferencias ideológicas habituales: “vota mujer” se instala con fuerza en el imaginario femenino nacional.

Pero la historia no termina ahí. No podríamos concluir estas breves reflexiones sin mencionar la importancia de la *virtud* y la *fortuna* en la política. Todos admitimos el papel de los méritos personales, el carisma, o la capacidad de liderazgo de los “grandes” dirigentes que llenan las páginas de textos y las mitologías nacionales. Por esto, atribuir el triunfo electoral de Michelle Bachelet sólo a factores culturales o estrictamente político-estructurales sería desconocer esas virtudes en su persona. Ellas están sin duda presentes: Bachelet ha sido no sólo capaz de nadar contra la corriente e imponerse a las trenzas de poder partidaria, sino también de capitalizar el descontento ciudadano con la élite gobernante y reconocer la importancia de conquistar y apelar al voto femenino. Todo ello le permitió llegar al poder y, por lo que hemos visto hasta ahora, ejercerlo con su propio estilo y en aras de una agenda que se distancia, por lo menos en la forma, de sus predecesores. Habrá que esperar para evaluar los efectos de esa propuesta en la equidad de género. ■

Final Report of the LASA2006 Program Co-Chairs

by FRANCES R. APARICIO AND AMALIA PALLARES

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After almost two years of anticipating the (in)famous LASA 2006 Congress in San Juan, Puerto Rico, we are all back home and it is all over! For us, who have been working systematically on its academic programming, it has been a wonderful experience and we are very grateful and honored to have been chosen for this task. While at first we were concerned about the amount of work ahead of us, and the future headaches, we have to admit that it was much more pleasant, balanced, and less stressful than what we first thought. This, of course, is due to the talents, skills, and high level of organization that the new LASA staff has brought. Thanks, then, to Sonia Alvarez, our President during this term, who had faith in us and who had a new and important vision for this Congress; to Milagros Pereyra, for her friendship and for being a constant source of support and helpful information; to Sandy Klinzing, for her work in securing additional funding; and, mostly to María Cecilia Q. Dancisin, for her laudable skills in putting together such a huge conference with so many participants and still remember which panel needed a chair or discussant.

We mentioned that this Congress was (in)famous for a variety of reasons, most of which was the fact that some senior and renowned scholars did not participate due to the higher level of rejections of proposals. This, of course, was because we received an unexpectedly high number of proposals and that our meeting spaces were much more limited than in Las Vegas. But, we also hope that this Congress will be uniquely remembered for a variety of reasons. First, the beach, the sunny and beautifully warm weather, and the facilities of the Caribe Hilton Hotel all led to happy participants. However, there were a number of other significant elements that LASA will remember as unique to the Puerto Rico Conference. The Local

Organizing Committee, headed by Margarita Ostolaza, defied our basic expectations of what their responsibilities were. They not only found hosts and sponsors such as the Teacher's Association in Puerto Rico, the University of Puerto Rico, and the Tourism Office, to make possible the exciting welcoming reception, including the fireworks, the Island food, and the great musical groups, but were also responsible for setting up for the first time in our history a cybercafé with 24 computers for the use of the participants. They also made possible the unique opportunity to listen to the great salsa music of *El Gran Combo de Puerto Rico* in the *Gran Baile*. Finally, their publicity efforts led to significant coverage in newspapers and the media, making the meetings highly visible throughout the Island.

Unfortunately, this Congress also will be remembered for the denial of 51 visas to Cuban scholars as well as increasing visa denials to other Latin American scholars registered to attend the meeting. We applaud the Executive Council's decision to try to organize future conferences outside the United States as a form of economic boycott against the U.S. federal government's policy. We support the statement that LASA drafted during the Congress denouncing these practices that curtail our academic freedom and the quality of our international dialogue.

From what we saw, it looked like most, if not all panels were well attended, and that the dialogues, debates, conversations and networking were helpful to all of you. We had a total of 924 panels and 4,868 participants, a 59 percent increase over LASA 2004. We were very proud in particular to have had a significantly high number of graduate student presenters (24 percent of all panelists), as well as a good

number of presenters from outside the United States (28 percent). Additionally, 79 percent of the 196 Puerto Rican participants presented papers in the meetings. The direction that LASA is taking toward being more inclusive of Latin Americanists in Latin America, and of trying to de-center it from its U.S.-based location is very important as we try to seek to embrace new voices and *otros saberes*.

We look forward to future LASA Congresses, of course—and now with a deeper understanding of the vast amount of collective work that is largely invisible to most LASA members. We are delighted to pass on our task to two outstanding LASA scholars, Neil Harvey, from New Mexico State University in Las Cruces, New Mexico, and María Socorro Tabuenca, from El Colegio de la Frontera Norte, in Ciudad Juárez. Together with an excellent group of Track Chairs, they have already begun the arduous task of planning LASA 2007. We are also very happy to have Charles R. Hale as our incoming President. He is already bringing some new initiatives to LASA and we look forward to the next few years.

Again, all good things pass, and so did the LASA 2006 Congress in San Juan. We hope that we learned some lessons from this experience and that the meeting helped to create new friendships, discuss new ideas, and cement old relationships. Thank you for the opportunity! ■

Report of the LASA Business Meeting

XXVI International Congress | San Juan, Puerto Rico | March 17, 2006

The meeting began at 8:00PM with a warm welcome by President Sonia Alvarez in Spanish, English and Portuguese. She indicated that the Awards Ceremony would constitute the first part of the meeting, followed by the Business Meeting and reports of various LASA officers. This would be followed by a discussion of the denials of visas to Cuban scholars and strategies for dealing with the problem.

Presentation of LASA Awards

Alvarez began with recognition of the **2006 Kalman Silvert Award** recipient, Dr. Miguel León Portilla, who unfortunately was not able to attend the meeting. His lecture had been read by Silvert Committee Chair Marysa Navarro, and would be published in the *LASA Forum*. (Members of the committee included Thomas Holloway, Arturo Arias, Peter Ward and prior Silvert recipient June Nash.) Accepting the award for Dr. León Portilla was his colleague, Dr. Marcela Terrazas Basante.

Alvarez then recognized this year's recipient of the **LASA/Oxfam-America Martin Diskin Memorial Lectureship**, William M. LeoGrande. The award would be presented officially at the Diskin Lecture on Saturday at 2:00 PM. (The Diskin Committee consisted of James Green, chair, with Suzanne Oboler, Norma Chinchilla, Florence Babb, Manuel Pastor, and Ray Offenheiser.)

Rita Schmidt, the chair of the **Bryce Wood Book Committee**, was then called upon to present the 2006 award. (The Bryce Wood Award is presented to the outstanding book in the social sciences and the humanities published in English.) Schmidt thanked Alvarez for asking her to chair the committee. She thanked committee members María Luisa Tarres, Edmé Domínguez, Aldo Panfichi, and Ed

McCaughan, for the time they devoted to reviewing and discussing 51 books. The committee selected *Modernity Disavowed: Haiti and the Cultures of Slavery in the Age of Revolution* by Sibylle Fisher. Schmidt indicated that the book "stood out in terms of original treatment of the subject matter, quality of research, empirical analysis, consistency between proposal, framework and methodology, and was beautifully written." She praised the work for "its strong contribution to Latin American Studies in the sense that it brings these studies into productive dialogue with scholars of the African diaspora by foregrounding sound reflections on the limits of race, democracy, emancipation and nationhood."

The Committee also awarded a **Bryce Wood Honorable Mention** to *Remembering Pinochet's Chile: On the Eve of London 1998*, by Steve J. Stern. The book "stood out for bringing new insights into a localized historical phenomenon from the point of view of an original conception of what memory is and how it works against the backdrop of a complex landscape of ideological and political struggles."

The **Premio Iberoamericano** is presented to the outstanding book in the social sciences and the humanities published in Spanish or Portuguese. Chair Alberto Olvera thanked Alvarez for naming him chair and acknowledged the members of the committee: Marcela Ríos Tobar, Guillermo de la Peña, Celia del Palacio Montiel, and Alai García Diniz. Olvera indicated that the committee had examined 17 books, and lauded the 2006 awardee, *El otro occidente: una historia crítica de la occidentalización de la América Latina* by Marcello Carmagnani with the words "este libro nos viene a acordar que la América Latina se insertó en el mundo hace siglos y que esa sensación no fue nunca un proceso

lateral...ofreciendo sin embargo una visión extraordinariamente compleja y profunda de un período histórico de la formación de nuestra región".

Three awardees were selected for a **Premio Iberoamericano Honorable Mention**. They are: *Reinvenções da África na Bahia* by Patricia de Santana Pinho; *Crimen pasional: Hacia una antropología de las emociones* by Myriam Jimeno; and *Entre prójimos: el conflicto armado interno y la política de reconciliación en el Perú* by Kimberly Theidon.

The **Media Award** recognizes long-term journalistic contributions to analysis and public debate about Latin America in the United States and in Latin America, as well as breakthrough journalism. Committee chair Guillermo Delgado thanked committee members Jorge Ruffinelli, Lidia Chávez, Eugenio Bermejillo, Rosalba Oxandabarat, Edgardo Vásquez, and Gonzalo Aguilar and presented the award to María Esther Gilio, for her persistent publication of articles, even at great personal risk, and for confronting authoritarian governments, especially in Uruguay in the 60s during the *golpe de estado*. In her efforts as newspaper writer, author and chronicler of events, she has always pursued the right to free expression.

Several **LASA Merit Awards in Film** were presented by Claudia Ferman, Film Festival Director. For LASA2006, twenty-eight films were selected. Several of the directors were present to receive their awards. They included Grace Barnes for "After the Black Book"; Cecilia Cornejo for "I wonder what you will remember of September"; Oscar Torres for "Voces Inocentes"; Regina Harrison for "Mined to Death"; Alexandra Halkin for "Mirando hacia adentro"; Héctor Cruz Sandoval for "KordaVision"; Erik Rocha for "Rocha Que Voa"; Víctor

REPORT OF THE LASA BUSINESS MEETING continued...

Ramos for “Frankie Desde la Calle”; Nancy Siboca for “Dirt”; and Oscar Torres and Margarita Estolaza for “Por Voces Inocentes”, representing the co-producer Eva Luz.

Alvarez then recognized **LASA2006 Program Co-chairs** Amalia Pallares and Frances Aparicio, for their “phenomenal and unprecedented job”. Margarita Ostolaza, Chair of the **Local Arrangements Committee**, was thanked for leading the “most fantastic local arrangements committee in LASA history”. Arturo Arias, **Associate Editor of the LASA Forum**, was acknowledged for his efforts to make the *Forum* a true forum for debate.

LASA Business Meeting

President's Report

President Alvarez began her report by thanking Executive Director Milagros Pereyra and the LASA Secretariat, President-elect Charlie Hale, Past President Marysa Navarro, and Treasurer Merilee Grindle. She acknowledged the members of the Executive Council (EC) who would be stepping down, i.e., Merilee Grindle, Joanne Rappaport and George Yúdice. The Puerto Rico Advisory Committee was lauded for contributing immensely to the success of the Congress. Alvarez noted that everyone who had served LASA during the past 18 months would be recognized officially and celebrated at the Special Recognition Reception to be held on Saturday.

Alvarez announced the results of the recent elections: Eric Hershberg was selected as Vice president; Kevin Middlebrook as LASA Treasurer, and Guillermo Delgado, Alcida Rita Ramos and José Rabasa as members of the Executive Council.

Alvarez commented on her goals during her administration, specifically “Latinoization”, “Latin Americanization”, and “internationalization”. LASA will establish a database of members who are willing to serve in specific volunteer areas. With the program chairs, Alvarez had worked to make the program and program tracks reflect recent trends in Latin American studies. The *Otros Saberes* initiative is a new and important effort to foreground the voices of indigenous and Afro-descendent peoples and also to help shape research agendas and build networks. All this should contribute to the formation of debates at future Congresses.

Lastly, Alvarez added that hosting the Congress in San Juan had greatly contributed to the LASA2006 theme “Decentering Latin American Studies”.

Report of the Executive Director

Executive Director Milagros Pereyra indicated that her report would address the LASA2007 Congress and general advances made by the Association during the past 18 months. The San Juan Congress had surpassed all prior records in terms of attendance and number of proposals. The Secretariat had received more than 1,500 individual paper proposals and approximately 650 panel proposals. The Program Committee managed to form 930 sessions from these submissions. Eight-hundred twenty-seven requests for funding had been received, and 212 grantees had been selected. Pereyra thanked the Local Arrangements Committee, headed by Margarita Ostolaza, for its work, as well as the Teacher's Association, for installing 25 computers for Congress attendees' use. She acknowledged the Program Co-chairs, Sonia Alvarez, and her colleagues in the Secretariat for their work on behalf of LASA2006, as well as Marysa Navarro for

her assistance in evaluating possible venues for LASA2009.

Pereyra then referred to advances at the Secretariat, including the introduction of a new LASA website, the revision of the *LASA Forum*, and efforts to select a site for LASA2009. After much investigation and visits to the three cities that were finalists, Rio de Janeiro was the first choice, with São Paulo as the second option.

Report of the Vice President

Vice president Charles Hale thanked President Alvarez, Milagros Pereyra, and her colleagues at the Secretariat for their assistance thus far. He acknowledged that the major challenge facing him and the Association was to assure that colleagues would be able to secure visas to participate in the Congress, and further, to guarantee a Congress with “pluralism”, in which different viewpoints could be presented, and marginalized peoples would be represented. He explained that similar discussions had given rise to the Other Americas/*Otros Saberes* Initiative, which would concentrate on the creation of research partnerships between teams comprised of both indigenous and/or Afro-descendent intellectuals and university-based scholars. The Initiative had been funded and the program was now underway. By June, 2006, the steering committee would be named, and teams would begin their work.

Hale then introduced the theme for the next Congress, LASA2007, “After the Washington Consensus: Collaborative Scholarship for a New America”. He referred to a continuation of “decentering study of the region” and making a “special call for methodological innovation and scrutiny” that incorporates “the horizontal, the collaborative and egalitarian principles that might be counterposed to the

Washington Consensus.” Neil Harvey of the University of New Mexico/Las Cruces and Maria Socorro Tabuenca, of the Colegio de la Frontera Norte have been named LASA2007 Program Co-chairs.

Report of the Treasurer

Treasurer Merilee Grindle indicated that the Association’s finances were in very good order and were well-managed by Executive Director Milagros Pereyra-Rojas.

Discussion of the Denial of Cuban Visas

Prior to the discussion, a video was shown in which Cuban participants who were denied visas described their own particular situations.

Hale provided a brief background of the history of Cuban visa denials for LASA Congresses. He indicated that at its meeting three days earlier the EC had voted to “explore every possibility for moving the Boston Congress outside the United States. Sites in Canada and Mexico would be explored. Alternatives will be presented to the EC within a month and a decision made. LASA will also work with other organizations to raise the profile of these visa denials. He referred to the declaration that had been prepared for publication in the *New York Times*, and asked if there were other suggestions for actions.

The meeting participants were reminded that scholars from other Latin American countries had also been denied visas. Still others could have participated but had refused on principle to do so. It was suggested that LASA should refuse to host Congresses in the United States until the policy with regard to Cuba changes. LASA could use the *LASA Forum* to lobby for change. Others spoke of the denial of academic freedom, and increased limitations on student and faculty travel to

Cuba. Wayne Smith, Co-chair of the Emergency Coalition to Defend Academic Travel (ECDAT) indicated that ECDAT will bring suit against the federal government for direct violations of academic freedom. He proposed additional wording to strengthen the resolution that had already been declared by the EC. Hale agreed to present the suggested changes to the EC for its consideration. Alvarez suggested that an *amicus* brief be filed by LASA in conjunction with the suit by ECDAT. Sheryl Lutjens, Co-chair of the Cuba Section, presented recommendations from the Section regarding the letter to President Bush and for dealing with the difficulties inherent in moving the 2007 Congress to a venue outside the United States.

Hale closed the meeting with a summary of the discussion: 1) there was strong support among those present for moving the venue of the 2007 Congress; 2) constructive suggestions had been made regarding how best to accomplish the move; 3) there was a need for continued discussion among interested parties regarding how to move forward; and 4) research by the Secretariat was needed to determine the full implications of the move before a final decision could be made by the Executive Council. ■

On the Scene at LASA2006



Charlie Hale, Arturo Arias and friends



Amalia Pallares, Milagros Pereyra, Margarita Ostolaza, and Frances Aparicio



Rita Schmidt presenting the Bryce Wood Book Award to Sybille Fischer



Claudia Ferman presenting a LASA Award of Merit in Film to Regina Harrison



Frances Aparicio, Sonia Alvarez, and Amalia Pallares



Norma Chinchilla presenting the Martin Diskin Award to William Leogrande.

Photo provided by Patrick Breslin.

LASA2007 – XXVII INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS

Call for Papers

After the Washington Consensus: Collaborative Scholarship for a New América

While the phrase “Washington Consensus” was coined in reference to the neoliberal economic reforms championed by northern development experts, it came to represent, more broadly, a U.S.-centric perspective and style of governance. In the past decade these policies and their associated worldview have been subject to deepening dissent and outright refusal: in the ballot box and in the collective re-visioning of economic and political futures for the region. Latin American Studies, though generally distanced from the policies of the Washington Consensus, have nonetheless developed under the shadow of U.S.-centric perspectives and premises. Building on the thematic focus of LASA2006, we continue to encourage “de-centering” our study of the region, emphasizing the enrichment that results when suppressed or marginalized voices come forcefully into dialogue with those who have

commanded the center stage. This principle applies both to north-south relations of knowledge production, and to parallel inequities along the lines of race, class, gender and region within specific countries and locales. For LASA2007, we make a special call for methodological innovation and scrutiny: what happens when our approaches to the study of history, society, politics and culture in Latin America explicitly incorporate the horizontal, collaborative, and egalitarian principles that might be contra-posed to the perspective of the Washington Consensus? How does this transform our scholarship, and how does the resulting knowledge relate to the new (or perhaps renewed) visions of *Nuestra América* that political actors throughout the hemisphere are hard at work to put into practice?

Charles R. Hale
University of Texas
LASA PRESIDENT

Neil Harvey
New Mexico State University
PROGRAM CO-CHAIR

María Socorro Tabuenca Córdoba
El Colegio de la Frontera Norte
PROGRAM CO-CHAIR

THE DEADLINE TO SUBMIT PROPOSALS IS SEPTEMBER 8, 2006

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**In its meeting on 14 March 2006, the LASA Executive Council voted unanimously to “make every effort to relocate the 2007 Congress to an alternative venue outside the United States.” in order to address the crisis provoked by the U.S. government’s delay and denial of visas for Latin American scholars. Evaluation of the feasibility of relocation is underway, and the final decision will be made no later than June 30, 2006. A revised call, with confirmed information on the Congress location, will be available online at that time.*

You are invited to submit a proposal for LASA2007 addressing the Congress theme and/or any topics related to the program tracks listed below. A complete electronic copy of the proposal, including requests for travel grants by proposers residing in Latin America or the Caribbean, or requests for student travel grants, must be sent to the LASA Secretariat by September 8, 2006.

The deadline to submit proposals is September 8, 2006.

Proposal forms and instructions are available on the LASA website: <http://lasa.international.pitt.edu>.

All proposals must be submitted by email to lasacong@pitt.edu. No submissions by regular mail will be accepted. The Secretariat will send confirmation of the receipt of the proposal via e-mail.

All participants will be required to pre-register for the Congress.

PROGRAM TRACKS AND COMMITTEE MEMBERS

Select the most appropriate track for your proposal from the following list and enter it in the designated place on the form. Names of Program Committee members are provided for information only. Direct your correspondence to the LASA Secretariat ONLY.

Afro-Latin and Indigenous Peoples: Racisms, Politics and Culture

Nancy Postero, University of California, San Diego
Eva Thorne, Brandeis University

Agrarian and Rural Issues

Nora Haenn, Arizona State University
Cristóbal Kay, Institute of Social Studies

Biodiversity, Natural Resources and Environmental Policies

Miguel Altieri, University of California, Berkeley
Scott Whiteford, University of Arizona

Children, Youth and Youth Cultures

Rossana Reguillo, Inst de Est Sup de Occidente
José Manuel Valenzuela, El Colegio de la Frontera Norte

Cities, Social Justice and Planning

James Holston, University of California, San Diego
Teresa Caldeira, University of California, Irvine

Citizenship, Rights and Social Justice

Evelina Dagnino, Universidade de Campinas
Rachel Sieder, University of London

Crossborder Studies and Migration

Robert Alvarez, University of California, San Diego
Norma Cantú, University of Texas, San Antonio

Culture, Power and Political Subjectivities

Héctor Fernández L'Hoeste, Georgia State University
Robert McKee Irwin, University of California, Irvine

Democratization and Democratic Performance

Joe Foweraker, University of Essex
Ken Roberts, Cornell University

Economies, Development and Regional Alternatives

Alejandro Alvarez Bejar, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México

Education, Pedagogy and Educational Policies

Graciela Riquelme, Universidad de Buenos Aires

Empire and Dissent

Greg Grandin, New York University

Feminist Studies

Amy Lind, Arizona State University
Fiona Macaulay, University of Bradford

Film and Documentary Studies

Lori Hopkins, University of New Hampshire
Claire Fox, University of Iowa

Gender, Sexualities and LGBT Studies

Dara E. Goldman, University of Illinois, Urbana

Governance: Public Policy, NGOs and Multilateral Institutions

Anthony Bebbington, University Manchester
Sarah Radcliffe, University of Cambridge

Health, Medicine and Body Politics

Tereza Vieira, Universidade do Grande ABC UniABC – São Paulo / Universidade Paranaense -UNIPAR

Histories and Historiographies

Matt O'Hara, University of California, Santa Cruz
Victor Macías, Univ of Wisconsin, La Crosse

International Relations, Transnationalism and Globalization

Blanca Heredia, The American University of Paris
Peter Smith, University of California, San Diego

Intellectual Property in Question: Knowledge, Value and Creativity

Cori Hayden, University of California, Berkeley
Michael K. Dorsey, Dartmouth College

Latina/os in the United States and Canada

Ginetta Candelario, Smith College
Teresa Carrillo, San Francisco State University

Law, Jurisprudence and Society

David Shirk, University of San Diego
Alejandra Ríos Cázares, University of California, San Diego

Literary Studies: Colonial and Nineteenth Century

José Rabasa, University of California, Berkeley
Daniel Torres, Ohio University

Literary Studies: Contemporary

Danny Anderson, University of Kansas
Rebecca Biron, Dartmouth College

Literature and Culture: Interdisciplinary Approaches

Debra Castillo, Cornell University
Javier Durán, University of Arizona

Mass Media and Popular Culture

Victoria Ruétalo, University of Alberta

Otros saberes: Collaborative methods and the Politics of Research

Irma Alicia Velásquez Nimatuj, Independent Researcher
Clara Arenas, Asociación para el Avance de las Ciencias Sociales

Performance, Art, and Expressive Cultures

Elizabeth Zarur, New Mexico State University
Kirsten Nigro, University of Texas, El Paso

Religion, Religiosity and Spirituality

John Burdick, Syracuse University

Social Movements, Labor Studies and Class Struggles

Maria Lorena Cook, Cornell University
Cirila Quintero-Ramírez, El Colegio de la Frontera Norte

States of Violence and (in)security

Daniel Goldstein, Rutgers University
John Gledhill, University of Manchester

Technology and Scholarly Resources

Pamela Graham, Columbia University
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LASA's mission is to foster intellectual discussion, research, and teaching on Latin America, the Caribbean, and its people throughout the Americas, promote the interests of its diverse membership, and encourage civic engagement through network building and public debate.



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