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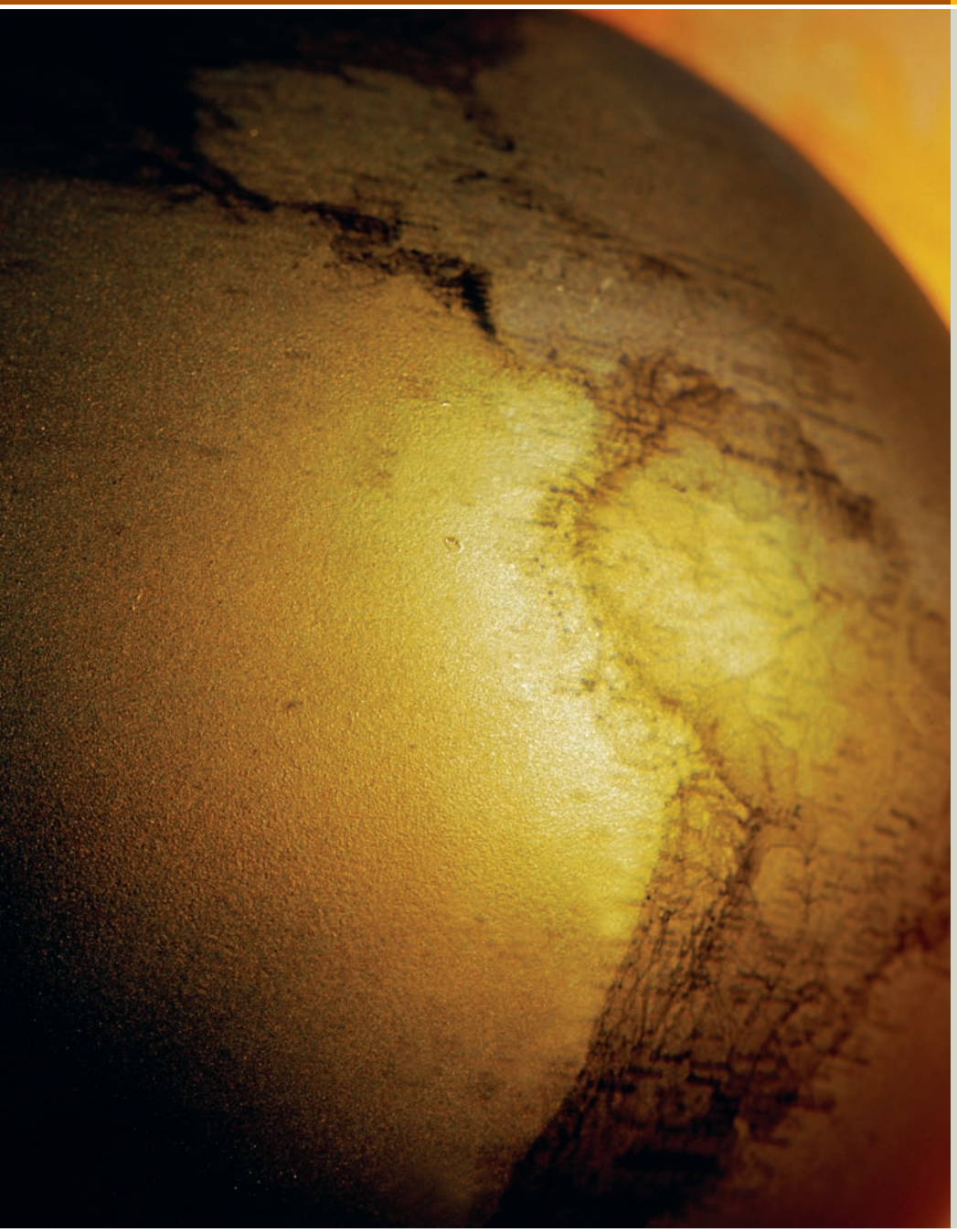

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The *LASA Forum* is published four times a year. It is the official vehicle for conveying news about the Latin American Studies Association to its members. Articles appearing in the *On the Profession* and *Debates* sections of the Forum are commissioned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

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President's Report

by John Coatsworth | Columbia University | jhc2125@columbia.edu

LASA's twenty-ninth Congress in Toronto is fast receding into the past. On to the thirtieth LASA Congress in San Francisco!

The Toronto Congress, held October 6-9, 2010, was noteworthy for its manageable size (about 3,500 attended), the appeal and quality of its over 900 sessions, the return of the book exhibit (after its absence in Rio for logistical reasons), and the convenience and comfort of the program facilities in adjacent hotels. For all this, thanks are due to program co-chairs Javier Corrales and Nina Gerassi-Navarro, the sixty-five track chairs and co-chairs who reviewed nearly 4,000 proposals for sessions and individual papers, the local arrangements committee co-chaired by Tommy Sue Montgomery and Eduardo Canel, and the great work of executive director Milagros Pereyra, her hard working staff, and the scores of student volunteers from local universities who helped keep the Congress running smoothly.

The LASA 2012 Congress in San Francisco, to be held May 23-26, 2012, will begin a new era in LASA's history. At its Toronto meeting, the LASA Executive Council voted unanimously to move to annual spring Congresses after San Francisco. Though several sites are still under consideration for dates in May 2013, the Secretariat is looking most closely at San Juan, Puerto Rico.

The LASA Executive Council also decided, again unanimously, to follow the practice of other associations in transforming its newsletter, the *Forum* you are reading now, into an on-line publication. Starting in 2011, the *Forum* will be emailed as a PDF file to all LASA members. It will also be accessible on the LASA Web page. Paper copies will no longer be printed and mailed, saving the Association considerable expense.

This issue of the *Forum* contains two essays reflecting on the centennial of the Mexican Revolution, both presented at a packed session in Toronto. Alan Knight reviews the historiography of the Revolution from the triumphalism of the fiftieth anniversary in 1960 to the collapse of the regime of the "institutional revolution" and the institutionalization of competitive elections in the past decade. The "monolith has become a mosaic," he writes. The issue is whether "the mosaic makes a recognizable picture." Emilio Kourí's essay focuses on the Mexican Revolution's iconic agrarian reform, the most notable achievement of the post revolutionary regime. Kourí concludes with a sharp challenge to conventional wisdom: "*la Revolución Mexicana redistribuyó la tierra*," he writes, but "*…no transformó sustancialmente el panorama económico de los beneficiarios, en buena parte porque no fue hecho para eso*."

Readers of the *Forum* will also find four essays "On the Profession," written by directors of leading area studies centers and reflecting on the academic and institutional place of Latin American Studies in U.S. universities. Bradley Levinson and Jeff Gould's thoughtful essay on the Latin American studies center at Indiana discusses the need to bridge the gap between area studies and the disciplines while walking a tightrope balancing between competing demands for basic and applied research. Globalization, they write, poses the central challenge for all of us: "the creation of a citizenry that questions its global privilege and seeks to engage with global cultural diversity in a spirit of respectful mutuality." Cristina Eguizábal raises similar issues. Despite high quality and effective organization, she suggests, a certain "malaise" still grips area studies communities in the United States. Dennis Clements and Louis Pérez describe the multiple advantages of consortium arrangements that facilitate collaboration and the pooling of resources between nearby universities, in this case the renowned Duke-University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill consortium established more than twenty years ago. Clements and Pérez express a common concern over the "challenge of diminishing institutional support." Eric Hershberg takes up this challenge as the director of the newest center in the country, the Center for Latin American and Latino Studies (CLALS) at American University inaugurated on Jan. 1, 2010. Hershberg shows how innovation in programming and approach can offer multiple opportunities to overcome resource constraints and other obstacles.

This is my last report as LASA president. My thanks to all the members, officers, staff, and friends of LASA who conspired to make these past eighteen months so enjoyable and fruitful for the Association. You will hear next from our new president, Maria Hermínia de Tavares, the first president of LASA who lives and works in Latin America. She is an exceptionally distinguished scholar, a former president (2004-08) of the Asociação Brasileira de Ciência Política, and currently directs the Instituto de Relações Internacionais at the Universidade de São Paulo. LASA is in good hands. ■

SILVERT PRESENTATION 2010

Edelberto Torres-Rivas

Recipient of Kalman Silvert Award for 2010

De manera directa, como sociólogo, hemos vivido los avatares de las ciencias sociales en Centroamérica como un asunto personal. Avatares son las tensiones que le atribuimos al sentido de la realidad cuando nos movemos con más pasión o con más razón, según los momentos que nos ha tocado vivir. El interés por la sociología fue siempre esa búsqueda de sentido, confundidos a veces por los resultados. Vivirlos como si ellos hubieran dependido de nuestra visión cuando a veces sucedió al revés y muchas veces, de cabeza, invertimos la realidad. ¿Cómo y por qué lo que sucede con las instituciones académicas se articula con lo que le ocurre a una persona? Esa es la respuesta que deberíamos desarrollar aquí; eso fue en todo caso lo que nos fue sugerido para este acto en el cual me honro en intervenir[1].

El recorrido que ahora me conduce al Kalman Silvert Award probablemente se inició hace cuarenta años cuando publiqué mi primer libro, *Centroamérica: Procesos y Estructuras de una Sociedad Dependiente"* en 1970 (Ed. PLA. Santiago). Dos años después, ampliado, se editó en San José, Costa Rica con otro nombre que yo no escogí: *Interpretación del Desarrollo Social Centroamericano*. Inadvertidamente se convirtió en texto universitario y desde entonces se han publicado muchas ediciones incluyendo varias ilegales[2]. La mención de ese libro vuelve obligatorio el recuerdo de cuáles eran las adhesiones y las antipatías en el medio cultural de Santiago, en la Universidad de Chile, en la FLACSO. En ese medio surgió.

[A Chile llegué en 1964, recién graduado de abogado, militante comunista, exilado, sabiendo de la política y de la vida muy poco, con una beca para estudiar sociología y con un entusiasmo juvenil porfiado por entender el sentido de la realidad. Me encontré en el aula con gigantes intelectuales para mi desconocidos: Weber y Parsons pero no con Marx… y en otro nivel, un profesor tan persuasivo con su arsenal metodológico como Johan Galtung. Salimos convencidos de que al manejar el análisis multivariable y las estadísticas no paramétricas, estabamos en los umbrales de la ciencia, de la sociología científica.]

Las ciencias sociales eran en aquel momento sudamericanas y estaban animadas por tres figuras señeras: Raúl Prebisch, economista y demócrata radical; Gino Germani, italoargentino, sociólogo, antifacista; y José Medina Echavarría, filósofo social, español, republicano y liberal. Poco tiempo después surgió con brillo propio, Fernando Henrique Cardoso, exilado brasileño, marxista prudente, a quien debo múltiples agradecimientos de trabajo, inspiración y amistad.

El clima de los sesenta lo calificaban los vientos del mayo francés, las revueltas estudiantiles y la matanza de Tlatelolco, la cultura hippie y los Beatles, la mariguana, el Che que cayó víctima de su propia estrategia, "Cien Años de Soledad" y muchas cosas más.

[*Con desconcierto, atendíamos el debate con el estructural funcionalismo, con la sociología de la modernización, el estructuralismo de la CEPAL. Fui conciente de mi radical ignorancia del marxismo. Un seminario convocado por Cardoso y Faletto en 1967/68, en el ILPES tuvo para mí efectos de un aprendizaje superior. La participación de varios latinoamericanos en esas reuniones estimuló, primero como una elaboración confusa, luego como un pensamiento crítico que llamaban histórico-estructural, la primera versión de la noción de dependencia. De lo que personalmente capté, surgió el libro al que hice referencia.*]

En enero de 1972 me trasladé de México a San José, Costa Rica con el auspicio del Consejo Superior Universitario Centroamericano (CSUCA). Ahí empezó la larga aventura de encontrar el sentido a la realidad de la patria centroamericana. En 1972 creamos el Programa Centroamericano para el Desarrollo de las Ciencias Sociales, y se produjo el primer impulso en la institucionalización de las ciencias sociales en la región. Se crearon centros de enseñanza, se organizaron numerosas reuniones regionales y una extensa labor editorial. El Programa financió profesores extranjeros en las Universidades de Honduras, Nicaragua, El Salvador y Costa Rica. Fundamos la revista trimestral *Estudios Sociales Centroamericanos* (que vivió 13 años), creamos con Sergio Ramírez e Italo López la Editorial Universitaria Centroamericano (EDUCA), iniciativa fructífera por su vasta producción editorial. ¡Recuerdo la discordia permanente entre publicar poesía o libros de sociología, que para mi fue una batalla perdida!

Organizamos (1973) el 1er. Congreso Centroamericano de Ciencias Sociales con la ayuda de la Fundación Friedrich Ebert (Alemania), de los que ya se han celebrado trece. Realizamos en 1974 el 8º Congreso de la Asociación Latinoamericana de Sociología (ALAS) con financiamiento de UNESCO; llegaron personalidades destacadas que trajeron noticias de los debates que en el exterior renovaban el pensamiento social. En 1975 en el seno de la Universidad de Costa Rica fundamos la Escuela Centroamericana de Sociología que graduó hacia 1979 más de ciento cincuenta estudiantes de toda la región. En 1976 trajimos el itinerante Programa Avanzado Latinoamericano en Sociología Rural, fundado por Francisco Delich, Fue este el primer postgrado (maestría) en ciencias sociales organizado en Centro América.

[La batalla íntima, personal, ha sido encontrarle sentido a la realidad en la que hemos vivido; tuvimos entonces la sospecha ingenua de que las ciencias sociales, la sociología nos ayudaría. De no ser así ¿cuál sería su utilidad?, pregunta surgida a lo mejor de urgencias políticas. Nacido en medios autoritarios, la sociología siempre fue un pensamiento de oposición. No la concebimos sino como una alternativa cultural, con un fuerte aliento crítico. Era para nosotros como diría Sartre, un compromiso intelectual, un gesto de responsabilidad..]

El impulso con el que se empezó la construcción institucional desde Costa Rica, se extendió a toda la región. Se vivía el espejismo del desarrollo y los primeros síntomas de la futura crisis política. Hubo al menos cuatro problemas iniciales que se enfrentaron con desigual fortuna.

Uno fue el impulso para nacionalizar los temas de investigación y docencia, historizar nuestros problemas, descubrir sus raíces; el escaso pensamiento social estaba atravesado por la moda de copiar lo que se hacía en el exterior, en los centros culturalmente dominantes. Otro, fue el énfasis en alcanzar la dimensión centroamericana como definición del objeto de estudio, buscar lo propio de una realidad nacional que sólo adquiere valor heurístico como un asunto regional. El Programa Centroamericano de Promoción, ya aludido, contribuyó mucho.

Un tercero fue la necesidad de superar o combatir la fraseología ideológica de un medio altamente politizado por los iniciales vientos de la revolución; ello facilitaba la tendencia "ensayística"[3] heredada de la tradición jurídico-literaria hispana. En otra óptica, eran las tendencias para sustituir lo académico por lo partidario, la docencia por la militancia, la investigación que culmina con la denuncia política. Por ejemplo, en abril de 1976, los estudiantes de la Escuela CA de Sociología paralizaron las clases protestando contra el programa de teoría que incluía una introducción a Weber. ¡Tuvimos que impartir esos cursos casi clandestinamente!

El último aspecto a resolver fue el sensible problema del financiamiento. Para crear la Escuela Centroamericana de Sociología vimos obligadamente hacia el exterior. ¡Y apareció por vez primera la oferta de la Fundación Ford! Me correspondió negociar la donación, en México, con Kalman Silvert, después de varios desencuentros, porque fui acusado por mis colegas de aceptar "los dineros del imperialismo". La brecha de la cooperación con la Fundación Ford se abrió desde entonces y fue particularmente generosa e importante.

En los años sesenta y setentas Centroamérica vivió el más importante momento de modernización de su estructura agroexportadora. Finalizó la monoproducción cafetalera con la que se fundó la república despótica y aparecieron el algodón, el azúcar, la carne, y las manufacturas como productos de exportación. El crecimiento de la región se mantuvo durante dieciocho años por arriba del promedio latinoamericano. Pero la modernización económica fue paralela a la gestación de la crisis política. Fue éste un período pleno de tensiones, una paradoja que no ha tenido aún una explicación satisfactoria de las ciencias sociales: ¡la guerra civil se originó en una época de prosperidad!

[*En estos años publiqué numerosos artículos (entre ellos, "Ocho claves para entender la crisis") y dos libros: La crisis política del poder en Centroamérica y la Democracia Posible, Educa, San José, 1980 y 1983 con varias ediciones.]*

En el inicio de los ochenta llegó la crisis de la deuda externa que castigó dos generaciones de centroamericanos pobres; ya desde los setenta la guerra incendiaba tres países: en 1979 triunfaron los sandinistas, un año después el EGP (Guatemala) inició su ofensiva con la adhesión de decenas de millares de indígenas; al año siguiente el FMLN anunció la "ofensiva final" (El Salvador). El huracán contrainsurgente trajo vientos de des-institucionalización de la universidad pública; las ciencias sociales experimentaron un estímulo contradictorio, perseguidas como un componente ideológico de la subversión y paralelamente como un desafiante tema para los intelectuales de izquierda. La represión del Estado terrorista no sólo destruyó infraestructuras y programas; arruinó proyectos, diezmó académicos y produjo un enorme daño cultural. La crisis política fue una extendida rebeldía de la juventud frente al orden oligárquico, su Estado y sus instituciones. Fue un proyecto violento, surgido del interior de la sociedad cafetalera, campesina, cuando la doctrina de seguridad nacional fomentó el anticomunismo como ideología del Estado contrainsurgente.

Hubo en esta etapa dos movimientos innovadores, sobresalientes e influyentes en la dirección que tomaron las ciencias sociales. Uno, fue el extraordinario interés de los académicos extranjeros, enfáticamente norteamericano, por estudiar las guerras y sus efectos (300.000 muertos, 159,000 huérfanos, millones de refugiados y desplazados, el castigo, el rescate de la memoria, la disyuntiva entre perdón y el olvido, el papel de la mujer). Atrajo la atención la victoria del sandinismo, lo de Guatemala por el genocidio indígena y la política de "sociedad-arrasada", luego las peculiaridades de la paz y la democracia pactada. La bibliografía sobre los estudios centroamericanos fue impresionante y pareció definir una especialidad, *"la*

TORRES-RIVAS *continued...*

literatura de la crisis"; no siempre con rigor, pero llena de simpatía y solidaridad. Los mejores estudios sobre Centroamérica los hicieron los norteamericanos, varios mexicanos/españoles/franceses. Muy pocos nacionales.

Otro, fue el movimiento hacia la privatización del ejercicio de las ciencias sociales, en forma parecida a lo que América del Sur se llamaron Centros Académicos Privados (CAP), como "casamatas" intelectuales que resistieron y crecieron gracias a la internacional. La CLACSO los reunió y les dio apoyo. De estas dos dinámicas institucionales y humanas surgió una nueva generación de científicos sociales centroamericanos.

[Durante muchos años mantuvimos un élan cientificista. De partida creímos que el mundo social podía ser conocido por la razón humana y los resultados de ese conocimiento se confiaban al ejercicio de una práctica aplicada. Había un vínculo entre conocimiento y realidad y entre ellos la posibilidad de que aquel permitiera las reformas de este: si con teoría y métodos se pueden reconstruir los encadenamientos que explican cada hecho, debiera entonces ser posible modificar esos procesos, orientarlos en la dirección deseada. De la actividad del saber se desprende la técnica del hacer, la inminente transformación del mundo. No encontrábamos contradicción alguna entre el determinismo que excluye la libertad y el voluntarismo del investigador que, por el contrario, la supone; nada impedía pensar en la creación de una nueva sociedad liberada de las imperfecciones del capitalismo. Con ánimo leninista, creímos en con Alain Besancon cuando dijo que "…la salvación la aporta el conocimiento."

En 1978, siempre en Costa Rica, encabezamos en el Instituto Centro Americano de Administración Pública (ICAP) la ejecución de dos programas de investigación: el "Proyecto sobre la Evolución del Sector Público en Centroamérica y Panamá" y un segundo, "Estado, políticas públicas y pobreza en CA", iniciando así en la región los estudios sobre el Estado, con un equipo multdisciplinario, que realizó seminarios temáticos y publicó una media docena de libros. En 1980, en la Universidad de Costa Rica participamos en la creación de la Maestría Centroamericana en Ciencias Sociales, que a la fecha ya cumplió 30 años y tiene 14 promociones. En 1981 fundamos con Xavier Gorostiaga el Instituto Centroamericano de Documentación e Investigación Social (Icadis) y creamos la revista de estudios políticos POLEMICA, que vivió 13 años. En todas estas aventuras la ayuda de la Fundación Ford fue indispensable junto a la que ya ejecutaban con mano abierta la cooperación sueca y noruega.

En 1985 fui electo Secretario General de FLACSO (hasta 1993). Desde ahí contribuimos a fundar los programas nacionales de FLACSO en Bolivia, República Dominicana, Guatemala, El Salvador y Costa Rica. Diversos esfuerzos realizó la FLACSO en América Latina por multiplicar su presencia después de la caída de Allende. Es innecesario recordar los detalles. Destacamos de este periodo lo que íntimamente tiene un mayor significado: dirigir y materializar el Proyecto de Historia General de Centro América con la colaboración de 23 especialistas, publicado en 6 Tomos, en Madrid en el marco de las celebraciones del V Centenario del Descubrimiento. A la edición española siguió la edición centroamericana.]

El fin de los conflictos armados (1990s) dejó sociedades exhaustas, una generación diezmada o ausente en Nicaragua, El Salvador y Guatemala, salvo en Costa Rica donde la paz y la democracia concentraron como venía ocurriendo, esfuerzos, recursos y resultados. De nuevo, en la región ocurrió otra paradoja: del conflicto armado, de la guerra, salió la democracia. Las ciencias sociales no se han ocupado de cómo de "la boca del cañón" surgió la transición pactada hacia una democracia liberal, que bien o mal, estamos viviendo.

Y llegado a este punto, quisiéramos plantear una cuestión sustantiva que ya fue motivo de polémica, referida a cómo hay en la historia centroamericana muchas particularidades, una suma de *anormalidades históricas*, (calificación atrevida, pero necesaria) que parecieran constituir un desafío a la teoría social. Nos preguntamos ¿puede la teoría política explicar cómo se mantuvo por medio siglo un régimen republicano pero dinástico, un semi-sultanato en pleno siglo XX capitalista como fue el somocismo en Nicaragua? ¿y el asombro ante una guerrilla urbana convertida en un ejército de l0.000 hombres, hazaña sin paralelo por su dimensión en la historia de las revoluciones en el siglo XX, en el Salvador, el país mas pequeño de este continente? Sabemos que no puede haber una *teoría social nacional*; no obstante, ¿Tendremos que elaborar "una teoría de las anormalidades", encontrar el sentido de estas realidades que parecieran ir a contrapelo de la historia?

[Regresé a Guatemala, en 1996, después de treinta años de ausencia física; estuve aquí innumerables veces pero por poco tiempo. En los últimos diez años he escrito numerosos artículos sobre la violencia y la crisis en la región y el contradictorio destino de las fuerzas de izquierda; análisis sobre las elecciones, los procesos de paz, la naturaleza de la democracia y el Estado. Publiqué varios libros sobre estos temas, de los que menciono "Negociando el futuro: la Paz en una Sociedad Violenta" y "Desde el autoritarismo a la Paz" en colaboración con

Gabriel Aguilera, ambas en FLACSO, Guatemala, 1998 y 2001; y "¿Por qué no votan los guatemaltecos?", coautor Horacio Boneo, PNUD, Guatemala, 2001.]

A veces tuvimos la impresión que en los últimos años la sociología como disciplina fue perdiendo importancia. La confusión podría surgir del debilitamiento de los deslindes disciplinarios, particularmente entre sociología y ciencia política. ¿Dónde está el problema ¿en la teoría o en la disciplina? pues las cuestiones relativas a la vida social y a los productos culturales de la acción humana se extienden a todas las disciplinas. También tuvimos la certeza de que con la bancarrota del marxismo, las ciencias sociales perdieron su estímulo y se abrió paso a una dispersión teórica y temática, una época de caos.

Hubo influencias teóricas como el posmodernismo, que contribuyó a la confusión al ocupar el espacio que dejaba la crisis del paradigma marxista, confundiendo a muchos. Los problemas que plantea son ambiguos, diversos, con métodos y sensibilidades llenos de obstáculos y riesgos. La crítica a los metarrelatos de la filosofía de la historia, de sus leyes, se convierte en crisis del futuro. En esta radicalización del universalismo desaparece toda especificidad histórica. Y como lo dijo Lyotard, la crisis de los sujetos de la historia es la disolución de todo sujeto. Señalo todo lo anterior porque fue grave el desencanto de nuestra golpeada generación marxista, que vivió el derrumbe político y teórico de marxismo/socialismo y sufrió el trauma ético del Gulag. Nos convertimos en escépticos para un buen rato, con la utopía quebrada.

[Desde 1996 vivo en Guatemala, vinculado al Programa de las Naciones Unidas para el Desarrollo (PNUD), a la Universidad Rafael Landívar, donde dirigí la 1ª. Promoción de la Maestría de Relaciones Internacionales, y con la FLACSO-Guatemala, donde tuvimos la oportunidad de contribuir a crear (2005) y posteriormente, a dirigir por un período el Programa Centroamericano de Doctorado en Ciencias Sociales (2007/2009). Fue una excepcional experiencia como magisterio personal y una contribución señera para una generación de jóvenes centroamericanos. Dos promociones de doctorado plantearon exigencias múltiples y una prueba para la madurez de las ciencias sociales en la región. Están ya publicadas cuatro tesis, cuatro libros aceptables; faltan varios, pero el balance es positivo.

En el PNUD trabajamos en el área de desarrollo humano preparando hasta hoy diez Informes Nacionales. Ellos ya forman parte de otra forma de hacer ciencias sociales en América Latina. Los Informes se inspiran en la propuesta teórica del "desarrollo humano" de Amartya Sen, que rechaza las mediciones cuantitativas y sostiene que la mayor riqueza de una nación es su gente. Estos Informes constituyen los aportes más ambiciosos en el análisis de problemas tales como la pobreza y las desigualdades, la cohesión y exclusión sociales, el Estado y sus políticas sociales. Esos textos se han convertido en materiales para la vida académica, en respaldo a los políticos y funcionarios en la toma de decisiones, en respaldo para el trabajo social.]

¿Crecen las ciencias sociales en Centroamérica en los últimos años? Mencionemos cuatro trazos que contribuyen a explicarla: Uno, las escuelas de sociología no son buenas y se han cerrado varias, sustituidas por la ciencia política y las relaciones internacionales. La publicación de libros es mediocre, salvo excepciones individuales; no se publican revistas salvo las tradicionales. Hay varias instituciones privadas de muy buena calidad. Se ha acrecentado el fraccionamiento institucional, una "oeneigización" que es la formación de pequeñas entidades (ONGs), diminutos centros que sobreviven más por su activismo que por la investigación en temas de moda (feminismo, medio ambiente, derechos humanos, anomia juvenil, narcotráfico).

Un segundo trazo es el regreso a la óptica local, el desentendimiento con la región. *Hay que recuperar la reflexión desde y sobre Centroamérica.* Los estudios nacionales y microsociales son predominantes; se volvió de nuevo a un cierto aislamiento nacional, aún en Costa Rica donde todavía se valoriza lo centroamericano (se publica varias revistas, programas didácticos, investigaciones y reuniones con orientación centroamericana).

Es importante el tercer reconocimiento, la fuga del investigador académico hacia el terreno de las consultarías técnicas. Lo que está en crisis no es la modernidad sino una de sus dimensiones, la razón histórica. Su otra dimensión, la razón instrumental, el desarrollo científico-tecnológico y la lógica universal del mercado, no encuentran ya ni críticas ni resistencias. El académico ahora es experto, el conocimiento es información manejable. El profesor era un intelectual que enseñaba e investigaba a su propio tiempo, recibía un salario y era dueño de lo que producía. El consultor es un técnico que tiene destrezas, las vende y por ello tiene un precio. Los mercados han variado: el público universitario es un foro público y abierto donde se discuten los resultados de la investigación. El consultor no tiene público sino un usuario privado, el documento de asesoría ya no le pertenece al autor, sino al que pagó, que puede o no utilizarlo. En resumen, los usos han cambiado la naturaleza de los resultados o talvez mas bien la calidad de los resultados condiciona los usos, sus aplicaciones. Y muchos jóvenes graduados abandonan la docencia y las labores de investigación hacia el ejercicio mejor pagado de las Consultarías.

En cuarto lugar, desde hace dos décadas ha habido una extraordinaria renovación de los estudios históricos, de la enseñanza y las investigaciones. Los temas de género y medio ambiente ocupan un lugar preferente pero de manera sobresaliente se debe señalar todo lo relativo a los temas étnico-culturales, a la caracterización de lo multicultural, especialmente en Guatemala. La población y la cultura mayas son temas tratados con calidad, desarrollados por investigadores nacionales, norteamericanos y de otras nacionalidades.

Ya para terminar una breve referencia sobre el XIII Congreso Centroamericano de Sociología, recién celebrado (V-2010) en San José. Constituye una prueba de lo que venimos diciendo: mostró una dispersión temática y una debilitad teórica, énfasis en lo microsociológico, ausencia de sentido crítico y más pragmático. Talvez debiéramos rectificar y en lo que llamamos desorden temático habría que ver más bien una expresión de creatividad juvenil. El Congreso exhibió una notoria debilidad en la convocatoria y no pudo reflejar la calidad alcanzada por las ciencias sociales en la región hoy día. Habrá que hacer nuevos esfuerzos para poder hacer el recuento que hace falta.

Es el momento de terminar. Nos hicimos viejos y un balance de todo lo experimentado en lo personal ya no guarda relación con los desarrollos institucionales en Centroamérica. Ya no es suficiente la dimensión científica relacionada con la interrogante existencial: *alcanzar el sentido de la realidad*. También está la dimensión política, que no hemos abandonado nunca aunque a veces la realidad perdió el sentido; y aparecen las connotaciones morales, pues lo que se hace tiene consecuencias colectivas. Ciencia, política y moral me lleva a preguntarme ¿Qué hemos aprendido en estos cuarenta años? ¿Podemos hablar con la juventud sin transmitirle escepticismo? No lo sé, tengo más dudas que antes pero la misma confianza en lo que hacemos. Interrogantes habrá siempre. El científico es político porque lo anima una moral, y Kalman Silvert fue un ejemplo de ello. Agradezco profundamente el premio que ahora me otorgan, ocasión para saludar a los amigos de LASA y a mi familia que me ha acompañado en este largo trajinar.

Notas

[1] Es molesto hablar desde la primera persona del singular, pero existió más de un vínculo inevitable entre lo personal y lo institucional, referidos en muchas ocasiones recíprocamente.

[2] En El Salvador circularon varios miles de copias sin autorización editorial, cuando la Universidad lo utilizó como lectura apremiante, que en nada me perjudicó.

[3] Esta no es una crítica al valioso género literario del ensayo (Montaigne), sino una modalidad de investigación que no se apoya en datos, citas, referencias teóricas y mantiene un ánimo especulativo, muy parecido a la investigación periodística. ■

Treasurer's Report on LASA's Finances and Endowment

by Kevin J. Middlebrook | University of London | kevinmiddlebrook@aol.com

In the interest of providing LASA members with timely information concerning our Association's finances, this report reviews issues concerning LASA's permanent endowment and the Association's overall financial situation. The report published in the *Forum* in Fall 2008 (volume 39, issue 4) discussed the Association's general financial management; this report highlights developments since then.

Endowment

Decisions concerning the management of LASA's endowment are made by the Ways and Means Committee, on advice of members of the Investment Advisory Committee. In addition to its *ex officio* members (LASA's president, treasurer, and executive director), the committee's current membership consists of Judith Albert, Marc P. Blum, Kimberley Conroy, and Thomas J. Trebat, all of whom have substantial experience in private-sector banking and investment firms.

At its February 2010 meeting, LASA's Executive Council agreed that from October 2010 the past Treasurer will serve as an additional member of the Investment Advisory Committee for a period of eighteen months. The goal is to promote continuity in the transition from one elected Treasurer to the next.

Since June 2005 LASA's endowment has been managed professionally by Smith Barney (now MorganStanleySmithBarney), a major U.S. brokerage firm. The fund manager is Joan M. Fiore, who is based in the company's Pittsburgh office.

The non-LASA members of the Investment Advisory Committee have unanimously recommended that, as part of a periodic review of the Association's investment procedures and practices, the Ways and Means Committee should over the next six months rebid LASA's endowment management contract. Even if LASA decides to continue its contractual arrangement with MorganStanleySmithBarney, this action would be congruent with LASA's general commitment to transparency and accountability in its operations.

The distribution of a significant proportion of LASA's equity investments in broad "market category" index funds ("large capitalization" stocks, "small capitalization" stocks, "emerging market" funds, bonds, and so forth) reflects the Investment Advisory Committee's judgment that LASA's endowment is still too small to merit the higher fees sometimes associated with speciality portfolio management, in which an account manager would be actively involved in buying and selling shares in individual companies.

Overall Performance

As of October 13, 2010, LASA's endowment totaled $4,017,941. Despite a significant recovery in equity markets since early 2009, this total was still down from its peak of $4,294,232 million in October 2007—a consequence of the steep decline in global stock markets that occurred beginning in 2008.

The October 2010 total was allocated among three major categories: equities (stocks), 60.5 percent; fixed-income assets (bonds), 33.4 percent; cash (U.S. government-guaranteed certificates of deposit), 2.5 percent; and other investments (inflation-indexed U.S. Treasury bonds and a commodities index fund), 3.7 percent. This allocation reflects the Investment Advisory Committee's continuing recommendation that LASA retain a relatively cautious profile during a period of market uncertainty.

If one includes in the calculation the approximately $1.58 million in cash reserves that LASA held in October 2010, then at that time equity investments represented an even more conservative 43.4 percent of total LASA financial assets.

"Social Responsibility" Investing

Over the past several years the Executive Council has consistently expressed strong support for the allocation of a significant proportion of endowment funds in more socially responsible investments (SRI). Since October 2007 the principal means of implementing this policy has been via the Domini 400 Social Index. The "large capitalization" stocks (shares of companies with assets of more than US$1 billion) that comprise the Domini 400 fund are drawn from the Standard & Poor's 500 Index (giving it considerable market breadth), and they are "filtered" by quite rigorous SRI criteria. As of October 13, 2010, 24.5 percent of LASA's total endowment was invested in the Domini 400 fund.

Over the past three years the Domini 400 has performed favorably vis-à-vis the broader Standard & Poor's 500 fund in both "down" and "up" markets, even after accounting for the higher management fee LASA pays for the former (50 and 9 basis points, respectively). However, in order to diversify LASA's SRI investments while gradually expanding its overall SRI commitment, in July 2010 the Investment Advisory Committee identified the Neuberger-Berman SRI Fund as a second good option in terms of both SRI "filter" criteria and past financial performance. Although it is comprised of a smaller number of stocks than the Domini 400, a significant share (41.7 percent) of its holdings are in "mid" and "small capitalization" stocks. Management fees for the Neuberger-Berman fund are slightly

MIDDLEBROOK *continued...*

lower than those for the Domini 400 (45 and 50 basis points, respectively). LASA has allocated $157.888 (3.9 percent of the total endowment) to it and will monitor its performance carefully.

The Domini 400 and the Neuberger-Berman funds currently comprise all of LASA's "large capitalization" investments and together account for 26.7 percent of the total endowment and 46.9 percent of all equity investments. As shifts occur over time in allocations between "large cap" funds and other equity investment categories, it is possible that LASA's overall SRI commitment may also decline or rise somewhat. However, if the Neuberger-Berman fund performs well, it may provide LASA with an expanded range of investment options across the "large," "mid," and "small" capitalization categories.

LASA members with questions concerning any of the issues addressed in this report can contact me at <kevinmiddlebrook@aol.com>.

Cristina Eguizábal (Florida International University) began her term as LASA's Treasurer on November 1, 2010. ■

Open Access to *LARR* for Latin America and the Caribbean

by Philip Oxhorn, Editor, *Latin American Research Review*
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In recent years, *LARR* has sponsored a series of workshops on academic publishing at LASA Congresses. When LASA had its first Congress in Brazil I 2009, perhaps the strongest message that came out of the workshop discussion was the importance of open access to research; in other words the ability of researchers and students to be able to access current research via the web free of charge. We listened and on behalf of *LARR*'s Editorial Committee and the Executive Committee of the Latin American Studies Association, I am proud to announce that as of January 2011, anyone residing in Latin America or the Caribbean will be able to access all current and past *LARR* issues free of charge through the LASA/*LARR* website. To the best of our knowledge, we are the first among our peer journals to offer this service.

While the message coming out of the Rio workshop was perhaps unexpected, it should not have come as a surprise. The free exchange of ideas and research goes to the heart of any academic enterprise. Yet in Canada, Western Europe and the United States, we often take for granted how relatively privileged we are in terms of our ready access to extensive library collections and electronic resources such as JSTOR and Project Muse. For most people residing in Latin America and the Caribbean, the scarcity of resources makes such access much more problematic. For example, only 4 percent of universities in Latin America and the Caribbean have access to all *LARR* issues through their institutional membership in LASA.[1] Even adding to this the 2.4 percent of regional institutions that have access to back issues of *LARR* through Project MUSE and the 17.7 percent that offered their students and faculty the opportunity to purchase individual articles through their participation in JSTOR,[2] as well as the access to *LARR* enjoyed by the just over 2000 individual LASA members who resided in the region in 2009, it is clear that the vast majority of people in Latin American and the Caribbean simply are excluded from use the important research published in *LARR*.

While this new policy is an important advance, the ideal solution would be open access for all, allowing any interested person, anywhere in the world, the opportunity to download articles of interest to them free of charge. Inevitably, the problem is the cost involved: who will pay? While *LARR* is in a unique situation compared to other similar journals since it is the flagship journal of LASA and most of its subscriptions are paid for through individual and institutional LASA memberships, truly open access for all is not financially feasible, even for *LARR*. This is because LASA receives substantial revenues through royalties from Project Muse, in particular, and JSTOR. There are other, non-monetary, elements of risk as well. Open access initiatives are still very new and we know little about their potential implications, both positive and negative. How would potential readers and, perhaps even more important, potential authors view a journal that is available only online and free of charge? While there are some precedents, particularly in the natural sciences, any open access policy by *LARR*, however limited, is even riskier since we would be the first among our peer journals to do so. So while open access to residents of Latin America and the Caribbean definitely has clear and important advantages, restricting such access only to people residing in the region should be seen as a compromise and a strategic experiment; we are trying to address a real need at the same time that we are seeking to minimize risks and understand the larger implications of open access for possible future initiatives by *LARR*. While we have tested its feasibility and attempted to ensure that it is consistent with the various copyright and indexing

agreements *LARR* currently has, the new policy will be carefully monitored.

The new open access policy is also made possible by another policy adopted by the LASA Executive Committee: the third *LARR* issue in 2010 will be last that is automatically mailed to individuals and institutions located in Latin America and the Caribbean. For a number of years, we have been aware of the economic drain that mailing hardcopy issues of *LARR* to addresses in Latin America and the Caribbean entails for LASA. The average cost of printing and mailing the journal is $80 per member, although individual membership fees for people residing Latin America and the Caribbean is between $27 and $53, depending on their income level. This means that LASA is effectively paying a subsidy of between $53 and $27 dollars to each of the over 2000 members from Latin America and the Caribbean, which is obviously a substantial amount. The resulting savings will not only make open access feasible for all of Latin America and the Caribbean, it will free up more money for the travel fund that subsidizes the participation of people living in Latin America and the Caribbean at LASA Congresses, as well as other potential special initiatives. Of course, any member from Latin America and the Caribbean can request that hardcopies be mailed to them, provided they pay the difference between their membership fees and the actual cost of printing and mailing the *Review*.

Open access to scholarly literature is a dream shared by many. While we are still far from reaching that ideal, by providing open access to all of Latin America and the Caribbean we have taken a big—and unprecedented—step in realizing it. As this first experiment unfolds, we will inform LASA's membership of its progress. We also will continue to explore new ways of taking advantage of information technology to make the *Latin American Research Review* as accessible to as large an audience as possible, at the same time that we remain committed to maintaining the highest editorial standards.

Endnotes

[1] According to Braintrack 2009, there are 877 universities in Latin America and the Caribbean, of which 36 held institutional LASA memberships in 2009. I would like to thank Enrique Mu for his invaluable assistance in collecting this information, along with the essential help he and LASA Executive Director Milagros Pereyra-Rojas provided in developing a vague idea into a concrete proposal that the LASA Executive Council would accept.

[2] Of course, it is very likely that most LASA institutional members also belong to Project Muse and JSTOR. ■

ON THE PROFESSION

Latin American Studies Programs in the Twenty-First Century U.S. University

by Eric Hershberg | American University | hershber@american.edu

Latin American Studies (LAS) programs at U.S. universities fulfill a variety of functions oriented both toward their own campuses and to broader publics. The relative emphasis placed on research, teaching and off-campus outreach varies from one institution to another, but LAS programs have a valuable role to play in each of these three domains. This brief essay highlights unique contributions that LAS programs have to offer, while noting some of the principal constraints they encounter, and assets they provide, in the twenty-first-century university. One cannot escape the conclusion that these are relatively difficult times for such programs, if for no other reason than because we live in a context in which competition is keen for scarce and often declining resources. Nonetheless, there is considerable space for innovation, and I believe moreover that there are unprecedented opportunities. LAS programs are well situated to engage the communities that surround them and to play a trailblazing role in the efforts of U.S. universities to become more international in focus and action.

As has been the case since their dramatic expansion during the post WW-II and particularly post-Sputnik eras, a core mandate of LAS programs in the United States is to train the next generation of experts, imbuing in their students a deep knowledge of language and culture as well as the particularities of social, political and economic dynamics in the region. Whether through coordination of certificate and degree programs or simply by ensuring availability of a rich menu of courses across disciplines, provision of cross-disciplinary training has been and will remain central to our mission. This is especially the case for the couple dozen or so of the larger programs that benefit from U.S. Department of Education Title VI funding for Latin American Studies, but it applies as well to the countless smaller programs that operate across universities and colleges of different sizes and rankings. Many LAS programs also provide resources to enable students to gain first-hand exposure to Latin America and the Caribbean through field research, study abroad programs and exchanges. All of these instances of support for training are examples of highly worthwhile functions of area studies programs in contemporary universities. Where the necessary funding streams can be sustained, all LAS programs should do their utmost to preserve these important areas of work.

Outreach initiatives of many sorts are among the most visible activities undertaken by LAS programs across the country. In most universities these programs encompass film and lecture series, sponsorship of cultural events relating to Latin America, and efforts to connect to community organizations whose members share an interest in the region. For my own university as well as other institutions where Latino Studies is included as a core element of our mandate, fostering connections to Latino populations in the community is an important priority. In the Title VI universities, and occasionally elsewhere, LAS programs frequently partner with schools of education to provide curricular materials and training to secondary school teachers wishing to incorporate Latin America-related themes into their classrooms. Given the degree to which today's universities are called upon to demonstrate their relevance to stakeholders throughout society, these partnerships are important, as are those that endeavor to forge linkages with the private sector and with public officials with interests in the region. Our ability to work ever more productively with constituencies beyond the university will help to enhance the legitimacy of the scholarly enterprise among sometimes skeptical observers outside the walls of academe.

If training and outreach have long been central to Latin American Studies, and are likely to remain so, LAS and other regionally defined programs typically have been less directly involved in the design and facilitation of scholarly research, even while sometimes providing resources for faculty and graduate student travel to conduct fieldwork. Indeed, in most universities, faculty secure support for their research individually or under auspices of departments or thematically defined interdisciplinary institutes, and the funding for these efforts is channeled into the university accordingly. Yet regionally defined units can be ideal venues for linking currents of expertise in cohesive research groups, typically united by a thematic focus and drawing on both disciplinary and contextual expertise. By catalyzing such collaborative research and by taking a leadership role in securing resources for such initiatives, LAS programs can enrich intellectual life within their units, boost the research profile of their universities, and develop knowledge that can be packaged in ways that will engage the off-campus communities with which they develop relationships. In so doing, they can also gain credibility for the programs with university administrators eager to augment external funding for research.

Indeed, amidst the financial constraints affecting universities across North America, it seems to me unlikely that area studies programs will receive increased institutional support merely on the basis of their contributions to curricula, however essential these may be. Rather, an emphasis on outreach and research is likely to become increasingly imperative. At American University (AU) in Washington DC, where I work, the administration chose last year, despite the country's turbulent economic times, to make significant investments to create the new Center for Latin American

and Latino Studies (CLALS). Inaugurated as a campus-wide center on Jan. 1, 2010, CLALS's mission is in part to work with AU's six schools and colleges to strengthen course offerings related to Latin America—and to the study of Latino populations in the United States—and to provide other educational opportunities for our students both on campus and in Latin America.[1]

But whether with regard to Latin America or to Latino populations in the United States, or the intersections between the two, the principal goal of our new center is to facilitate the research of our sixty-five faculty affiliates and their students, and to engage the campus with stakeholders outside the university in efforts to create and disseminate knowledge in the public interest. For CLALS, as for LAS programs across the country, taking on a direct role in sponsorship of research inevitably will bring with it institutional challenges, particularly since externally funded investigation has traditionally been funneled through departments and schools. Creative mechanisms and a culture of collegiality will need to be developed and sustained in order for this to work smoothly. But I am optimistic, both about our own prospects and about the possibility that our effort can be replicated elsewhere. In the first instance this is simply because the intellectual rewards to conceptualizing and undertaking research in the multi-disciplinary setting offered by a regionally defined unit are substantial, and I believe that these will motivate our faculty to invest considerable time and effort. But two additional factors are worth mentioning.

First, the past decade has witnessed a welcome decline in the battle for legitimacy of area studies scholarship vis-à-vis skeptics in the disciplines, particularly in the social sciences but in the humanities as well. Readers of the *Forum* will recall the debates of the 1990s, when critics of LAS and other area studies programs questioned the value of in-depth knowledge of the complexities of diverse cultures and societies, preferring instead to privilege the teaching of method and technique and ignore the risk of losing nuanced understandings of the contextual variations that characterize the real world. In my own field of comparative politics, it was not uncommon to encounter the argument that the need for doctoral students to develop competence in advanced statistical techniques outweighed that of gaining exposure to cultural diversity. According to those who held such views, understanding of local specificities would have to be derived from readings of the secondary literature, or, in the most egregious cases, could be ignored altogether in a context where universality was assumed to have replaced contingency in the age of globalization. Fortunately, events in the real world as well as in our disciplines have done away with the enchantment with the simplicities of the post-Cold War, putatively unipolar order, and the intellectual case for area studies is now accepted by all but the most recalcitrant among our colleagues.

Second, part of what drew me to AU was that the university is structured in a way that is unusually conducive to collaboration across traditional departments and faculties. Moreover, unlike most area studies programs, which are located in colleges of arts and sciences, the new center reports directly to the provost and is explicitly charged with building on expertise distributed throughout the university. But even where the traditional organizational chart prevails, I see other universities moving in analogous directions as they actively seek mechanisms to encourage synergies across campus units. In part this reflects the endless and nowadays often frantic quest for cost-saving mechanisms, but I think that there is more to it than that. Leaders of countless universities across the country, like those at AU, are genuinely committed to finding ways to internationalize their institutional profiles. How best to do so, and what exactly internationalization might entail, is the subject of ongoing discussion on our campus as elsewhere, but regionally focused units undoubtedly have a role to play.

One thing that I believe it ought to entail is the development of ongoing relationships between U.S. universities and their counterparts in Latin America, and in my view LAS programs can be at the forefront of efforts to bring about those partnerships. We can do this through the development of collaborative research programs with scholars based in the region, who frequently are the leading innovators in their fields, and we can do so by re-conceptualizing how we go about providing state-of-the-art graduate training in the twenty-first century.

This last point merits elaboration. There once was a time when the most promising Latin American students would come to the United States for doctoral study, and while this still occurs on occasion, several factors increasingly militate against it. Most notably, the cost has become prohibitive, and faced with the alternative of strengthening graduate programs in the region or paying for individual students to pursue degrees in the North, foundations and other funding sources (including Latin American governments) are opting not to send individual students to complete multi-year training programs in the United States. But beyond that, and crucially for LAS programs and for the internationalization of American universities, the past decade has witnessed a remarkable strengthening of graduate training within many Latin American countries. It is difficult to make the case nowadays that Latin American graduate students should pursue Latin

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America-focused degree in the United States when they can do so for a fraction of the cost at numerous high-quality Brazilian and Mexican universities, or in Bogotá, Buenos Aires or Quito, to cite but a handful of examples.

In that context, if we are looking for a particularly ambitious way to truly internationalize our universities, perhaps we should question the notion that the best graduate programs in Latin American Studies, or for students pursuing Latin America-focused topics in doctoral programs, ought to take place solely under the auspices of U.S. universities. My sense is that the time is ripe for U.S. universities to begin developing joint degree programs with the very best among their counterparts in Latin America. Newly minted Ph.D.s would emerge from such joint programs with exposure to the state-of-the-art work being undertaken in both U.S. and Latin American academic communities, and the disciplines in both North and South would be enriched as a result. By facilitating these sorts of exchanges and joint training programs, the field of Latin American Studies can be at the forefront of a drive to internationalize the disciplines—disciplines that provide the core building blocks for the contemporary American university. In so doing, we can give substance to the rhetorical commitment to internationalizing our universities. As we contemplate the twenty-first century role of Latin American Studies, at my own institution and elsewhere, this is among the major innovations, controversial though it will no doubt be, that I believe merits consideration.

Endnote

[1] Analysis of the relationship between Latin American Studies and Latino Studies is beyond the scope of this brief essay, but several points are worth noting. First, the origins of these two fields are very different, and their trajectories will remain so. Thus, Latin Americanists and Latino specialists should retain their separate identities, even while in some institutions they may be housed under a single academic unit, such as our Center for Latin American and Latino Studies. Second, just as LAS Programs have multiple objectives, encompassing research, teaching and outreach, so too should Latino Studies Programs, regardless of whether they are set up as independent entities or combined with Latin American Studies. Third, while these are in part separate scholarly communities, some sub-sectors of both fields intersect increasingly, around themes that reflect the flows of people, ideas and resources throughout the hemisphere. Indeed, one of the advantages of combining Latin American Studies and Latino Studies in a single unit is that it may maximize opportunities for collaborative work analyzing the complex and fascinating intersections between the two subjects of study. ■

Latin American Studies Then and Now

by Cristina Eguizábal | Florida International University | ceguizab@fiu.edu

The Latin American and Caribbean Center (LACC) at Florida International University (FIU) was established in 1979, seven years after the creation of the university itself. At the time, the university was relatively small, 10,000 students, and was yet to establish most of its graduate-level programs. LACC was its first area studies center.

Today, with a student body of 40,000, FIU is one of the twenty-five largest universities in the United States. Located in southern Florida, an area with a large Spanish-speaking population, 60 percent of its student body is Hispanic. On its main campus, Helena Ramírez is the Student Government President, William José Vélez, the Senate Speaker and Verónica Guerra the Chief Justice. Official university business is conducted in English, but everyday campus life is largely bilingual. LACC is one of four area studies centers at FIU, but Latin America is present all over campus: in the music, in the food, in the conversations and in the preoccupations.

The period of LACC's founding was a time of great turmoil in Central America, turmoil that reverberated in south Florida. After the Sandinistas overthrew Anastasio Somoza in Nicaragua and the strength of the Salvadoran left grew, increasing numbers of Nicaraguans and some Salvadorans began settling in Miami. And on a national level, Washington was paying close attention to these events. As we know, Central America would become Ronald Reagan's presidency foreign policy obsession.

With the end of the Cold War, however, area studies centers in U.S. universities began to be questioned from various quarters. Globalization was erasing geographical and cultural particularities; geography did not matter in an age of instant communication and mass air travel. While in the United States sushi and guacamole were rapidly becoming staples of the urban professional diet, much of the rest of the world was wearing jeans and eating Big Macs. These changes, the thinking went, had made the area-studies approach to world problems obsolete.

Despite the support that private foundations such as Mellon and Ford had given to the creation of area studies centers and the grant program created by the defense department in order to encourage area studies, the empirically based approach had never been an easy fit in U.S. universities for at least two reasons. An epistemological reason: The social sciences have long felt a need to build general theories, the more abstract the better. A second, more pedestrian, but probably more important reason: The promotion system at universities predicated on peer-reviewed publications was—and is—discipline-based.

With the exception of Soviet and Eastern Europe Studies, which were lavishly funded for obvious reasons, no other area studies received more funding and more recognition in the United States than Latin American Studies. Not even Vietnam eclipsed Latin America. We might have Fidel Castro to thank for that.

The 1980s are often referred to as Latin America's lost decade, and that is probably the case from an economic point of view. However, it was also the decade of South American transitions to representative democracy, of new constitutions introducing important changes concerning women and indigenous rights, of Contadora, of the Esquipulas peace process, of many important events and new unfolding processes. It was a rather busy time for Latin Americanists. The globalizing years of the 1990s, on the other hand, were years of decline for area studies.

Enter 9/11: Since the terrorist attacks on the twin towers and the Pentagon, Middle Eastern and Central Asian Area Studies have been energized and revamped. This has not been the case for Latin American Studies, many of whose practitioners still feel uneasy about the status of the field. The Latin American Studies scholarly community continues to be by far the best-organized area studies grouping in the country and probably in the world. LASA is an incontrovertible proof of that.

So why the malaise? Let me suggest five reasons: to begin with, the old bureaucratic challenges are still there and the academic credentials of area studies are still not fully accepted. A second reason is that there is less funding available for research in area studies and therefore in Latin American Studies. Private foundations that had traditionally, and generously, funded international and area studies have changed their funding priorities.

A third reason is, yes, globalization and the redefinition of regional groupings. There has been a blurring of boundaries between the international and domestic spheres as a result of the deepening integration of the world's economies and of the world's peoples. Fourth, we have seen rapidly expanding demographic integration of the United States with Latin America, particularly with Mexico, Central America and the Caribbean, but increasingly with South America as well. This is modifying the contours of the region.

And finally, the fifth reason for the malaise stems from the way the U.S. Department of Education and other governmental agencies funding scholarly work—research, training and education—define the world. I would argue that the most prestigious grant program of all, the National Resource Centers Program, strictly defines its mandate

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EGUIZÁBAL *continued...*

in an "us" versus "them" way. Despite references to the increasing interconnectedness of today's world, we all know that Title VI, as it is commonly referred to, does not consider migration, diasporas, heritage speakers, or other similar transnational issue-areas as belonging to (in the words of the program's brochure) "the fields necessary to provide a full understanding of the areas, regions, or countries in which the languages are commonly used."

At close to fifty million, the Hispanic population of the United States is the second-largest Spanish-speaking community in the world, second only to Mexico's and larger than Spain's. Univision, headquartered in Manhattan, is the largest producer of Spanish-language television programs and also one of the most popular networks in the United States among the 18-35 demographic. The electronic version of *El Nuevo Herald*, Miami's Spanish language daily is widely read in Latin America. Alongside Madrid's *El País*, it has the best regional coverage in the world.

Thirty-eight percent of Hispanics in the United States are foreign-born and more than half entered the country after 1990 (63 percent of Mexicans, 66 percent of Salvadorans, and even 21 percent of Cubans.) One in four Salvadorans, one in five Mexicans, and one in ten Cubans live in the United States.

Are they here? Are they there? Those are questions from a bygone era. They are here and they are there. They are everywhere. ■

A Consortium that Works: The Consortium in Latin American and Caribbean Studies at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill and Duke University

by **Dennis A. Clements III** | Duke University | cleme002@mc.duke.edu
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The Consortium in Latin American and Caribbean Studies at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill (UNC-CH) and Duke University is a collaborative program of teaching, research, and public outreach. Created more than twenty years ago as a result of a deepening shared interest in Latin America at both universities, the consortium is a partnership between the Institute for the Study of the Americas (ISA) at the UNC-CH and the Center for Latin American and Caribbean Studies (CLACS) at Duke. The geographic proximity of the two campuses—less than ten miles apart—greatly encourages and facilitates regular collaboration among faculty, staff, and students. The consortium is committed to the development of the Latin American and Caribbean undergraduate curriculum, the enhancement of the capabilities for graduate student training, support for faculty and student research projects representing all disciplines and professional schools, and the promotion of institutional and public awareness of the importance of Latin America and the Caribbean. The consortium works to fulfill its mission and meet program goals through educational activities, research and training support, collaborative outreach activities and the dissemination of relevant information. It seeks to integrate into a single community, members of the faculty, staff, and students with interests in Latin America, in all fields of knowledge.

Encouraged by the enthusiasm and collegiality among faculty and administrators from both campuses, the consortium was formalized in 1990 with funding from the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation. In the mid-1990s the consortium received subsequent endowment challenge grants from the Mellon Foundation. During those years academic administrators of both universities committed new staff positions and expanded faculty appointments in Latin American studies. In 1990 Carolina and Duke joined together as a consortium program to prepare the first successful Title VI National Resource Center and FLAS Fellowship grant application. Rather than competing with each other, Carolina and Duke combined their formidable resources in library collections and deep faculty and staff assets to offer a joint program in Latin American studies. This tradition of collaboration and cooperation has continued for more than two decades.

The Consortium has maintained the practice of frequent communication between directors and staffs from both campuses. Staff members speak with one another almost daily and meet periodically. The consortium organizes social events, including picnics, pot-luck dinners, and faculty book-launching parties, all of which are designed to enhance a sense of community. There is a commitment to the development of the partnership at all programmatic levels. The continuity of staff members and faculty leadership has contributed to the maintenance of the tradition of collaboration between ISA and CLACS. New students and faculty members are informed of the resources and activities offered on the other campus and are apprised of joint activities and activities unique to each campus. Students from one campus are able to take classes on the other campus. It is not unusual for graduate students from one campus to have faculty representation from the other campus on their committees. Both libraries are open to students and faculty from the other campus.

Among the key activities that support teaching, outreach and research are the following:

Yucatec Maya Language Instruction
The consortium now offers three levels of instruction during the Summer Intensive

Yucatec Maya Institute provided through UNC-CH. Beginner-level instruction is offered every other spring semester. Important language-learning materials have been developed and distributed to students. In the past twenty years more than 400 students from around the world have enrolled in this program.

Latin American Film Festival
Inaugurated at UNC-CH almost twenty-five years ago, the month-long film festival is now a collaborative project organized under the auspices of the consortium and involving five other local university and colleges campuses, as well as Durham City Parks and Recreation, a local movie theater in Durham, and a public library in Greensboro.

The Consortium Conference
The annual Consortium Conference provides a forum for UNC-CH and Duke faculty and graduate students in the social sciences, humanities, and professional schools to engage one another in a constructive exchange of ideas derived from a variety of methodological perspectives, divergent theoretical frameworks, and differing thematic interests. The conference is intended to provide a venue for intellectual debate, exchange of ideas, and the development of collegiality. Conference themes vary from year to year.

Interdisciplinary Research and Training Working Groups
The working groups provide one of the principal means by which the consortium discharges its missions to promote interdisciplinary research and innovative scholarship, enhance the experience of graduate education, and disseminate knowledge of Latin America and the Caribbean to the wider university community. The program supports collaboration among faculty and graduate students from different departments, professional programs, and curricula on both campuses. Working group themes range from Afro-Latin American perspectives, to the environment in Latin America, to Latin American political and economic regimes. The working groups have often organized panel presentations at national and international conferences such as the Latin American Studies Association, and have also published scholarly books and journal issues.

Latin America in Translation/en Traducción/ em Tradução
Through a collaborative agreement with the consortium, the university presses of Duke University and the University of North Carolina publish English translations of Spanish- and Portuguese-language works from Latin America and the Caribbean. More than thirty such titles have appeared in the series, with additional titles currently scheduled for publication in the near future.

The consortium has a long history of educational outreach services to local and regional schools, colleges, universities, the state of North Carolina, the Mid-South, and beyond. ISA and CLACS share an outreach coordinator position and sustain a commitment to supporting outreach initiatives. The consortium's outreach office is a dynamic educational center that partners with public schools and colleges while disseminating information and materials to educators and the general public and serving as a resource to museums, businesses, media and government.

In organizing workshops, film festivals, the film collection/lending library, art exhibits, lecture series, and other public events, the consortium draws upon the expertise of Latin Americanist faculty, students, and staff from both campuses. The consortium is especially committed to developing partnerships with North Carolina schools. To this end, it has instituted professional development workshops, in-service teacher training institutes, teacher study tours to Latin America, a lending library of instructional materials, and Web-based materials and curriculum units. Last year, the program partnered with Alexander County Schools in western North Carolina and Durham Public Schools to assist in the development of an understanding of the increasing population of students from Latin America.

Under current budgetary circumstances at both universities, the consortium faces the challenge of diminishing institutional support, principally in the form of decreased funding and reduced staffing. This necessarily has given new importance to enhancing fund-raising capabilities, both from private donors and foundations, a task to which members of the consortium have increasingly dedicated themselves. At the same time, an environment of diminishing internal support has encouraged innovative—and low cost—program initiatives designed to maximize the resources that are available.

The consortium is confident that it possesses institutional credibility of senior academic administrators at both UNC-CH and Duke. Certainly that has been the position articulated during the past two years of budgetary adversity. Members of the faculty and staff can look forward with optimism to the resumption of full institutional support in the not too distant future. ■

ON THE PROFESSION

On Bridges and Tightropes: The Center for Latin American and Caribbean Studies at Indiana University

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For at least the past two decades, the collective mission of the Center for Latin American and Caribbean Studies (CLACS) at Indiana University (IU) has been to build bridges across different constituencies, disciplines, and regions. Yet, rather than bridges, often we have laid nothing more than tightropes suspended by (potentially) creative tensions. Here we will briefly describe our experience with several of these creative tensions, most of which are already well known in the field.

Area Studies and the Disciplines

CLACS faculty and staff have sought to bridge the divide between the "hard" social sciences and the humanities, and, in particular, to foster scholarly dialogue within the framework of area studies. Despite the bitterness of the debates on the national level that often pitted rational choice theorists against others, locally we have managed to develop some, albeit limited, venues for scholarly interchange, notably in environmental and "sustainable development" studies. Yet the sharp methodological and theoretical division continues to limit the curricular and intellectual development of CLACS.

Like most area studies centers, ours is located in a college of arts and sciences. Other than our administrative staff and graduate assistants, we control no teaching lines other than our three language instructors, for Quechua, Yucatec Maya, and Haitian Creole. Indeed, we have enjoyed far-sighted support from the college for teaching these languages, especially when we lacked federal funding. Yet beyond CLACS, our college honors a long tradition of departmental autonomy and strong faculty governance. This means that departments are free to petition authorization for new hires according to their own perceived teaching needs, which invariably arise out of disciplinary prerogatives. There is little administrative counterweight from outside departments to ensure a regular or even distribution of area studies expertise—and the same seems largely true in the professional schools.

In such an environment, one of the perennial jobs of CLACS is to appeal to departments and schools to consider Latin American expertise in both their hiring decisions and their teaching assignments. We have done well enough in this regard at Indiana, since faculty strength in our geographic area has consistently grown in recent years—though constant vigilance is still required to guard against the erosion of gains. And such growth has not been even across departments and schools. As in other institutions, the departments of history, anthropology, Spanish and Portuguese, and folklore at IU have perennial faculty strengths in the region, in large part because knowledge of Latin America as a region is deemed central to such disciplinary identities. On the contrary, due to the aforementioned theoretical and methodological divide, our departments of sociology, political science, and economics have spotty regional expertise at best. And course scheduling suffers from some of the same challenges as faculty hiring. Because we have no formal input or control, in order to ensure a strong and varied offering of courses to undergraduate minors, master's degree students, and doctoral minors in CLACS, we often are left making moral appeals to colleagues and curriculum coordinators to take our needs into consideration.

Latin American and Latino Studies

The divide between Latin American and Latino studies is far less daunting. At IU, we enjoy cordial relationships and close programming agendas with both Latino Studies (the academic program, which offers a minor at the undergraduate and doctoral level) and the Latino Cultural Center (the student program, which offers services and non-academic programming about Latino culture). Indeed, several years ago this triumvirate proudly announced its mutual collaboration as an expression of "Latinidades" around the campus.

Yet the programs do remain distinct, and there is good reason for this. CLACS enjoys federal Title VI funding as a National Resource Center, and such funding of international studies accounts for a major portion of its overall budget. The national security logic that originally motivated the creation of Title VI produces a geopolitical map of tightly compartmentalized nation states, thereby creating a sharp division between the "domestic" (e.g., U.S. Latinos) and the "international" (Latin Americans). Yet most current humanities and social science scholarship reveals a vibrant world of transnational flows, connections, and identities that challenge the containerized world of national security imagination. We address this by sponsoring speakers and events on, for example, the origins and diffusion of "Huapango" music across "Greater Mexico," or on the migratory circuits of Brazilians in New York, insisting that such "domesticated" phenomena remain vibrantly connected to their cultures and regions of origin.

Not unrelated, we also navigate a perennial tension between scholars and students who are most interested in the Iberian heritage in Latin America, and a smaller constituency of Caribbeanists. At IU, we have been helped by a vibrant community of transnational and Atlantic historians and literary critics whose work, especially on race, illuminates the connections and influences stretching

from the former Iberian colonial world across the British and French colonial Caribbean.

Academic Knowledge Production and Outreach

Like many of our counterparts, we state our mission to be one of "teaching, research, and outreach." In reality, though, it may be easier to conceptualize our mission as a commitment to two arenas that we traverse on a tightrope. On one side we have the production of scholarly knowledge, located mainly in the disciplines but also in area studies discourse and debate. We would place much graduate, and some undergraduate teaching on this side, since it is primarily oriented to training either the next generation of researchers, or a cadre of applied scientists and activists who draw on area studies knowledge to achieve their professional missions. To catalyze and energize research, we organize working groups, fund conference and research travel, and sponsor workshops and symposia. Most of our affiliated faculty are avid supporters of such activities.

On the other side is "outreach," broadly conceived as the diffusion of knowledge to varied constituencies, some of whom may have little initial interest in, or knowledge about, the region. Although we maintain healthy enrollments in our undergraduate minor, many other undergraduate students are exposed to knowledge about Latin America through our aggressive campus-based outreach program: speakers, film festivals, art exhibits, language expos, and so forth. Beyond campus, we pursue outreach through a number of channels. Many of these outreach efforts are developed in conjunction with other area studies centers on campus, as well as our Center for the Study of Global Change. They include programming for K-12 teachers, business, the media, and community colleges. Perhaps our most innovative and influential outreach program is the Indiana Project on Latin American Cultural Competency (IPLACC). Located in the School of Education, IPLACC draws on extensive professional contacts to conduct programs and workshops with both pre-service and in-service teachers, as well as administrators, throughout the state. IPLACC has been developing a professional development model that looks to create commitment and reflection in communities of practitioners. Once these small communities have engaged in study of various aspects of Latin American culture and society, and applied the results of such study to make changes in both curriculum and teaching method, they look to draw peers into the process. Despite our modest successes in outreach, though, we continue to walk a tightrope between research and outreach because tenure and promotion procedures invariably militate against robust faculty participation in outreach programs.

Knowledge for Security and Knowledge for Solidarity

Federal funding for area studies comes attached to the pursuit of the "national interest." In an earlier age, Title VI funding was clearly part of a Cold War strategy for containing Communism; nowadays it is more likely to be a strategic part of the global war on terror, or the drive for global economic competitiveness. Among other things, federal funding of area studies seeks to ensure a continual flow of linguistically and culturally competent professional cadres that will enable the United States to maintain national security and assert its power effectively with global reach.

Yet there is another impetus for federal funding of area studies, one that is more consonant with the humanistic mission of a college of arts and sciences: the creation of an educated workforce and citizenry that understands and appreciates cultural diversity on a global scale. Such an impetus dovetails more closely with the ethos of most of our Latin Americanist faculty, who might take it one step further: the creation of a citizenry that questions its global privilege and seeks to engage with global cultural diversity in a spirit of respectful mutuality. This is what we might call "knowledge for solidarity," and it centrally informs some of our most important programs and projects. Our goal is to negotiate this creative tension while recognizing that knowledge for solidarity remains inextricably bound to the funding impetus to create knowledge for security and global competitiveness.

Our Minority Languages and Culture Program (MLCP) is an example of a program that fits within the framework of national security concerns, in that it promotes the teaching of indigenous languages and Haitian Creole, but at the same time produces scholarship, teaching, and outreach sympathetic to the contemporary and historical plight of the indigenous and Afro-descended peoples of Latin America. CLACS and the MLCP also work closely with two related federally funded programs: the Central American and Mexican Video Archive (CAMVA) and the Cultural and Linguistic Archive of Mesoamerica (CLAMA). Both projects aim to create digital archives of video, audio interviews, photographs, and other digital sources stored at physical archives in Mexico, El Salvador, and Nicaragua, with the explicit goal of preserving and disseminating sources related to minority languages and cultures and the contemporary social history of the region. These projects depend entirely on our partnership with regional institutions: the

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Museo de la Palabra y la Imagen (El Salvador); the Instituto de Historia de Nicaragua y de Centroamérica (Nicaragua); and the Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores de Antropología Social (México). Video archives are now available for scholars and students at <archivomesoamericano.org>.

In summary, CLACS seeks to promote scholarship and outreach on issues of importance to a broad array of constituencies, both on campus and beyond. Budgetary constraints and guidelines, as well as disciplinary boundaries and the very definition of scholarship (e.g., tenure and promotion guidelines), can create divides that make this task quite difficult. In the midst of considerable success, we still must walk a long tightrope toward becoming a national resource center that produces and disseminates knowledge—for security and solidarity—that effectively reaches and edifies all of its potential constituencies. ■

The Revolution is Dead Viva la Revolución

by ALAN KNIGHT | Oxford University | alan.knight@lac.ox.ac.uk

When the Mexican Revolution turned fifty, in 1960, the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) still ruled in all its pomp, and the economic "miracle" was still going strong. The official commemorative volumes, *México: cincuenta años de revolución*, were upbeat and celebratory. They dwelt on the onward and upward progress of the revolutionary regime, the regime of what Howard Cline[1] called the "preferred" (that is, the stable, civilian, pro-business, industrializing) revolution, and said surprisingly little about the bloodshed and destruction that had preceded it.

Fifty years on, as we commemorate (but, perhaps, do not celebrate) the centenary of the Revolution, we do so in a different context: the PRI has lost national power, and, at least for two more years, the presidency is in the hands of a member of the National Action Party (PAN), a party born, in 1939, as a reaction to and a repudiation of the Mexican Revolution. For the PAN, the coincidental bicentenary of independence strikes a happier and more consensual note; it was, after all, initiated by a patriot-priest (whose bones President Calderón will not leave to rest in peace) and, except for a few reactionary *enragés*, emancipation from Spain and the forging of a new nation was, in the terminology of Sellar and Yeatman, a decidedly Good Thing. The Revolution is another matter. It may be a hundred years old but, like other revolutions (recall France in 1989), it can still stir partisan feelings.

Among historians, however, the partisanship is less pronounced than it was fifty years ago. There are still major disagreements but they are less clear-cut, and there are certain areas of general consensus. The most obvious point of consensus is that the Revolution had many facets. "Many Mexicos"—to quote again Lesley Byrd Simpson's much-cited phrase—produced "many revolutions." The official 1960 view of the Revolution as a mighty monolith, a solid bloc of popular, progressive, patriotic collective action, has given way to an intricate mosaic, above all, a geographical mosaic, which reflects the stark spatial complexity of Mexico in 1910: macro-regions (such as "the north"), states, micro-regions (La Laguna, Las Huastecas), municipalities, pueblos, even barrios.

Of the numerous relevant monographs, articles, and symposia one, in particular, deserves mention: Luis González's *Pueblo en vilo*, the pioneering *microhistoria* that many have sought to emulate but few, if any, have equalled.[2] Thus, regional and local historians have, over the last fifty years, made the biggest contribution to our better understanding of the Revolution (and, being a national historian with no historiographical *patria chica* of my own, I can make that claim with some degree of objectivity). Even thematic studies, e.g., of workers, women and peasants, or biographies of major, and minor, caudillos often necessarily adopt a regional or local stance: first, because the individual or collective actors were rooted in their regions and localities (Villa in Chihuahua/Durango, Cedillo in San Luis, Zapata in Morelos, Gabriel Barrios in the Sierra Norte de Puebla; labor insurgents in the textile factories of Atlixco or Orizaba; the stevedores, tenants and prostitutes who rallied behind Herón Proal in the port of Veracruz); and, second, because the kind of detailed research that the revolutionary mosaic demands can often be done best at the local or regional level. Older studies usually viewed workers and peasants as a kind of undifferentiated mass (so do a few recent ones, unfortunately); but the thrust of research in recent decades has involved greater discrimination, granting "subalterns" a diversity of motives, and striving, where possible, to delineate the "faces in the

crowd." Such an approach has also affected research on anti-revolutionary movements (such as the Cristeros); and, of course, it fits within a broader historiographical trend, evident worldwide.

If the monolith has become a mosaic, however, the question arises whether the mosaic makes a recognizable picture, or is no more than multicolored melange of individual *tesserae*. Certainly the old monolith of a progressive, popular revolution, directed against a tiny minority of Mexican and foreign exploiters has given way to more discriminating explanations, which (usually) avoid simplistic class labels, recognize regional and local diversity (including "non"- or "anti-revolutionary" regions, like Oaxaca or the Bajío), and which accept—in a way that official PRI discourse did not—that the Revolution was a fratricidal struggle in which many revolutionaries were killed by other revolutionaries. But, if the simple "social" interpretation of a popular uprising by workers and peasants is spent, what new interpretations are available? Some, in throwing out the old soapy bathwater of the "social" interpretation, manage to throw out the revolutionary baby as well. No revolution is left; it is simply a "great rebellion," as Ramón Ruiz[3] called it, unworthy to be mentioned in the same breath as the French or Russian Revolutions; or, as Macario Schettino[4] has recently stated, the revolution "never existed"—it was a discursive construct of Cardenismo.

But more often than not, I think, revisionism dissents (and often dissents intelligently and constructively) from the old social interpretation, and puts in its place a state-centered interpretation that stresses the Revolution's destruction of the old Porfirian regime and its creation of a new regime, ultimately more powerful and enduring (and, some would say, neo-Porfirian). We could call this the state-centered (or, in its more extreme form, statolatrous) interpretation; or we could term it Tocquevillean. As such, it again fits with scholarly trends elsewhere. It involves "bringing the state back in"; it echoes French historiography (from Tocqueville via Cochin to Furet: a genealogy that profoundly influenced François-Xavier Guerra); and it resonates with state-centered theories of revolution, such as Skocpol's.[5] The Tocquevillean turn does not deny that there was a revolution, but it sees the revolution as political (perhaps as forging a new "political culture") and has little time for class struggle and changing modes of production. In its more extreme form (and like all exciting new waves, it carried some over-enthusiastic surfers on to the rocks), statolatry created the image of a Leviathan state, which could crush and co-opt as it chose. It is hardly surprising such a depiction of the Mexican state— *el Leviatán en el zócalo*—should exert a strong appeal in the wake of the 1968 repression and the ballooning Federal budgets of the late 1970s. And there is no doubt that the victorious revolutionaries—the Sonorans in particular—were wedded to an ambitious state-building project, which, in the teeth of both domestic and foreign resistance, they carried through with considerable success. The revolutionary state clearly enjoyed greater social penetration and lasted longer than its personalist Porfirian predecessor.

However, the most recent macro-interpretative turn has questioned statolatry. Leviathan has been shown to have feet—or fins?—of clay. The revolutionary regime achieved some clear-cut successes: it survived, in the face of U.S. antagonism; it barred the Catholic Church from partisan politics; and it expropriated the Anglo-American oil companies. But it also had to compromise with a host of socio-political actors—regional elites, local caciques, military commanders, the Monterrey bourgeoisie. Catholics could not resurrect the briefly successful Partido Católico Nacional, but they could colonize the conservative wing of the National Revolutionary Party/Party of the Mexican Revolution (PNR/PRM), which was a broad church, capable also of accommodating radical worker and peasant movements, especially during the radical heyday of Cardenismo. As recent studies by Bantjes, Pansters, Fallaw and Smith, among others,[6] have shown, elites in Sonora, Puebla, Yucatán and Oaxaca could, like the Monterrey bourgeoisie, resist the radical thrust of Cardenismo and the Confederation of Mexican Workers (CTM). Cardenismo, as I have suggested, proved more a jalopy than a juggernaut. It was genuinely reformist (hence can be fairly seen as the last fling of the radical revolutionary generation); but, like all revolutionary administrations, it had to wheel and deal, compromise and concede. ("Negotiate" is the favored term these days, but it strikes me a little too cozy and consensual). Political outcomes, again displaying considerable regional and local variation, depended on a dialectic involving pressures from "the center" (under Cárdenas a radical center) and "the provinces." Temperamentally, Cárdenas was no Stalin, and institutionally the PRM—despite its impressive corporatist façade—was no engine of totalitarian rule.

If Cardenismo was the "last fling," it follows that the revolution did not last beyond the 1940s. This is a traditional view, eloquently expressed at the time by perceptive observers like Jesús Silva Herzog and Daniel Cosío Villegas. But traditional views can be correct. The Mexican Revolution never experienced a clear-cut counter-revolution (Huerta tried and failed in 1913-14); there was no sudden Thermidor, no military intervention, such as Bolivia's MNR suffered in 1964. Again, the institutional bases of the

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regime proved solid. But, from the time of Alemán (if not before), a new generation took power and, on the same bases, set about building a new national project: civilian, industrializing, urbanizing, anti-Communist, anti-anticlerical, pro-business, pro-Cold War and pro-American.

The oxymoronic PRI, born in 1946, was to be much more institutional than it was revolutionary. The rhetoric of revolution was maintained; indeed, the barrage of images, icons, murals, slogans, and textbooks grew in volume, even if, to repeat the comparison, this was no totalitarian project, and, given the growing strength of the private sector and the enduring influence of a non-partisan Catholic Church, Mexico remained culturally plural and diverse. Cantinflas would not have been permitted in Stalin's Russia. Mexican repression of dissent, though real enough, tended to be discreet and evasive. Compared to the "bureaucratic-authoritarian" regimes of the Southern Cone, shouting their national security doctrine and their defence of Christian civilization from the rooftops of Buenos Aires and Santiago, Mexico's civilian, "inclusive-authoritarian" regime seemed mild and respectable; again, a "preferred" sort of regime. Meanwhile, revolutionary rhetoric was occasionally backed up by reformist action: bouts of land reform, which sustained rural clientelism and (notably under Echeverría) burnished the dull "revolutionary" reputation of the regime. Most clearly—and, again, Echeverría is the best example—a progressive foreign policy (over Cuba, the UN, the Middle East, and South America) compensated somewhat for domestic conservatism.

Mexicans lived in a schizoid political culture: they were aware of the gap that separated rhetoric and reality; they endorsed, in many cases, the democratic and reformist goals of the Revolution; but they took a cynical view of *políticos* whose policies (and private peculation) contradicted those goals. Most, if not all, national political cultures display such contrasts (between what Jim Scott calls the "public" and the "hidden" transcripts),[7] even in so-called consolidated democracies; Mexico was unusual in that the contrast was large and enduring, and, rather like the "workers' democracies" of Eastern Europe, involved a decidedly radical public transcript, one to which reformers and popular groups could appeal. Thus, over time, the discourse of the Revolution—and the images of, say, Zapata and Cárdenas—were wrested from the PRI and turned into the discursive weapons of the opposition: insurgent labor unions, protesting peasants, dissident students and, by the 1990s, a new more radical movement for Indian rights.

It has been suggested that the PRI's belated, and partial, abandonment of revolutionary discourse in the 1980s and '90s helped bring about its fall from power in 2000. In repudiating revolutionary nationalism, embracing the Washington consensus, and, in the case of Carlos Salinas, seeking historical legitimation in the ersatz doctrine of "social liberalism," the regime cut its ideological moorings and, eventually, drifted to electoral defeat. There may be something in this, but not a lot. The regime of the PRI was sustained not by historical allusions and deft use of iconography; it depended on a ruthless but effective political machine, and reasonably successful economic policies, which, for some thirty years, managed to combine steady growth and low inflation. Mexicans were well aware of the regime's discursive hypocrisy; but while jobs were available and families could expect some modest betterment, the appeal of the opposition was limited. And, as Stevenson and Seligson[8] have argued, the memory of a distant but bloody revolution induced caution: social peace was valued, violence and rabble-rousing were not. Look at the rest of Latin America during the decades of the Pax PRIísta. As late as 1994, when the PRI seemed on the ropes, the *voto miedo* came to the rescue of Ernesto Zedillo. Thus, I do not think that Salinas's abandonment of revolutionary legitimation brought about the PRI's downfall. Salinas, after all, was a popular president; his promise of North American integration and First World status—a quite different brand of neoliberal legitimation—appealed to many Mexicans. Rather, the PRI failed because it could not live up to its new legitimation: it gravely mismanaged the economy and, in 1994-5, the country entered its third major economic crisis in a dozen or so years. The mirage of First World membership dissolved; and in 2000, Mexican voters turned, not to the neo-Cardenista and neo-Zapatista heirs of the old revolutionary cause, but to an ex-Coca Cola executive, the standard-bearer of the anti-revolutionary PAN. Even more surprisingly, they made a similar choice (just) in 2006.

This does not mean that the Revolution is dead and buried. It lives on, not just in the plethora of academic events scheduled for this centenary year, but as part of Mexicans' collective memory. Of course, it is no longer a direct, personal memory; it is mediated through three generations of rhetoric, images, textbooks, and films. Nor is it a monolithic memory, since the old fissures—left and right, anticlerical and Catholic—are still apparent (indeed, church-state friction seems to be on the increase right now). The Revolution may be safely consigned to history and to the earnest debates of specialist historians previously mentioned, but it retains some contemporary political relevance: not as a blueprint for the future (the notion that 2010 will produce a revolution because 1910 and 1810 did is, of course, a "hectohistorical" delusion), but as

a source of historical example and inspiration. Cardenismo acquired a fresh cachet after 1988; Zapatismo revived after 1994. Even the PAN can trade on its Maderista heritage (both personal and ideological). The Revolution may be history, a long-dead corpse for historians to continue dissecting, but some of the revolutionary DNA lives on, coursing through the Mexican body politic.

Endnotes

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DEBATES

Claroscuros de la reforma agraria mexicana

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En imagen e interpretación, la Revolución mexicana proyectó desde un principio un carácter primordialmente rural: las batallas en el campo, los ejércitos campesinos y populares, las demandas y promesas de corte agrario, los rústicos de Zapata y Villa ocupando la Ciudad de México y sus jefes posando en la silla de Don Porfirio en Palacio Nacional. No había terminado aún la guerra cuando circulaban ya libros sobre la raíz agraria de "la Revolución Mexicana". Los generales triunfantes, quienes habían batallado para liquidar o al menos someter a los movimientos agrarios y populares, adoptaron sin embargo esa idea de la Revolución, un poco por conveniencia y otro poco por necesidad. Los que asesinaron a Zapata muy pronto comenzaron a rendirle honores, y aquella larga lucha por recobrar la tierra, hacer justicia y restaurar las libertades locales—que había tenido en Morelos un significado muy específico—saltó la barda, perdió su filo y se hizo gubernamental. Hacia finales de los años veinte Frank Tannenbaum publicó un minucioso e influyente estudio—realizado con el apoyo del Presidente Calles—en que le explicaba a las élites estadounidenses que la Revolución mexicana había sido buena, justa y necesaria (o sea, no comunista), una revolución en esencia agraria, por la transformación de la tenencia de la tierra. Ochenta años después, y a pesar de algunos desafíos, es ésa aún la voz cantante.

La cristalización de tales luchas e ideales agrarios sería el Artículo 27 de la Constitución de 1917; complementado por una serie de leyes y decretos reglamentarios promulgados e implementados en medio de grandes debates, conflictos y presiones de diversa índole a lo largo de un par de décadas, el nuevo derecho agrario le otorgó al presidente la facultad y la obligación de reformar la estructura de la propiedad rural por vía de la expropiación para restituir usurpaciones previas y más ampliamente para dotar de tierras a las poblaciones rurales que las necesitasen y solicitasen, inicialmente sólo habitantes de pueblos y rancherías, pero a partir de los años treinta también peones en las haciendas. El principal resultado de este mandato al poder ejecutivo, impulsado contra viento y marea por la movilización de nuevas organizaciones campesinas, fue la creación de una nueva institución rural: el ejido, nombre que se le dio a la dotación federal de tierras otorgada a una asociación de usufructuarios. Los terrenos del ejido no se podrían vender, transferir, hipotecar o embargar; los ejidatarios serían derechohabientes protegidos, dueños restringidos, y la administración de la vida comunitaria—incluso el traspaso de derechos por herencia—se llevaría a cabo bajo la tutela de una nueva burocracia agraria.

La reforma agraria mexicana fue en muchos sentidos sui géneris, y la estructura organizativa del ejido exhibe claramente esa calidad. Sus razones fueron complejas, tanto históricas como coyunturales, y explicarlas requeriría un examen aparte. Ni socialista ni capitalista, el ejido no habría de ser kolkhoz, sovkhoz, cooperativa ni homestead, tampoco réplica de las propiedades comunales de los pueblos indios del virreinato. La dotación presidencial era grupal, a la asociación de ejidatarios, pero el uso de la tierra agrícola—el acceso a la parcela de cultivo familiar—sería un derecho férreamente individual. En los años treinta el General Cárdenas creó cientos de ejidos dedicados al cultivo colectivo de plantíos comerciales en grandes extensiones (frecuentemente para exportación), pero estos finalmente no prosperaron. A pesar del carácter nominalmente colectivo de la concesión territorial, la organización de la agricultura ejidal concebida por la Revolución no representó ninguna innovación, pues siguió siendo una empresa a escala familiar. Esta nueva forma de posesión y usufructo de la tierra llegó a denominarse "propiedad social", para distinguirla de la tradicional propiedad privada.

A pesar de la tenaz oposición—a menudo violenta—de numerosos terratenientes, de ciertos sectores políticos y de algunos grupos campesinos, y no obstante la inocultable tibieza al respecto (cuando no la obstrucción deliberada) por parte de los primeros presidentes de la Revolución, la institución del ejido se fue extendiendo—entre saltos, frenazos y desvíos, por el empuje de organizaciones agraristas y el afán clientelista de la nueva política—y alcanzó a transformar profundamente la estructura de la tenencia de la tierra en México. La reforma agraria, entendida como expropiación redistributiva de la propiedad rústica en la modalidad del ejido, tuvo dos grandes momentos de expansión: el primero—y mayor—durante la presidencia de Lázaro Cárdenas (1934-40) y el segundo—más cínico y marginal—durante el gobierno de Gustavo Díaz Ordaz (1964-70). Durante casi ochenta años de reparto agrario (el mandato constitucional cesó con la reforma de 1992) fueron creados casi 30,000 ejidos con alrededor de tres millones y medio de derechohabientes en posesión de más de 100 millones de hectáreas, cerca del 60% de la propiedad rústica en existencia y equivalente a más de la mitad del territorio nacional. México es un país bastante árido, y las dotaciones ejidales consistieron muchas veces de tierras inhóspitas (basta recordar *Nos han dado la tierra*, de Juan Rulfo), pero lo cierto es que a lo largo del siglo XX México se convirtió en un país de ejidos. La gran hacienda agrícola, que había dominado el paisaje y la vida política de muchas regiones durante el Porfiriato, perdió su hegemonía (y muchas de sus tierras) durante los años treinta, cuando el Presidente Cárdenas aprovechó la debilidad económica

causada por la Gran Depresión para impulsar una agresiva política redistributiva. Como lo ha dicho Arturo Warman, "con empujones y frenos, el reparto de la tierra fue la acción pública más trascendente en la primera mitad del siglo XX".[1] La Revolución reconfiguró el andamiaje institucional del campo con un claro elemento de justicia social, y eso no es poca cosa.

Es difícil valorar hoy en día, a un siglo de la Revolución, la trascendencia de la reforma agraria ejidal y su impacto sobre el desarrollo de la agricultura y el bienestar de los campesinos. En un clima de persistente pobreza rural e inseguridad alimenticia, en un país profundamente marcado por la incesante migración en gran escala de gente trabajadora a los campos y ciudades de los Estados Unidos, la reforma agraria es ampliamente considerada, si no un fracaso, ciertamente un malogro en términos económicos, pues resultó incapaz de generar una agricultura próspera que elevase el nivel de vida de la mayoría de la población rural. Desde hace ya medio siglo se habla de una u otra "crisis del campo", y en la mayoría de esos diagnósticos figura prominentemente la suerte de la reforma agraria. Para algunos, el proyecto de refundar la agricultura nacional sobre la base de la producción ejidal, ideado durante el gobierno de Cárdenas, fue traicionado por sus sucesores más conservadores y sacrificado, a partir de la Segunda Guerra Mundial, en aras del nuevo desarrollismo industrial. Para otros, el potencial económico del ejido se marchitó ante el boom demográfico de mediados de siglo, o bien se truncó por causa de la corrupción, el control corporativista y la desidia del aparato gubernamental PRIista. Faltó tierra para las nuevas generaciones, se escatimaron y manipularon los créditos, fueron pocas y confusas las inversiones en mejoras técnicas y los apoyos o incentivos para incrementar la productividad de la mayoría de los ejidos, se implementaron controles de precios y políticas de acopio y comercialización que no favorecieron el progreso de la pequeña agricultura, e imperaron criterios electoreros, mezquinos y frecuentemente tramposos en la barroca administración de una reforma agraria nominalmente sin fin, lo que tuvo como consecuencia generalizada el atrofio del desarrollo económico ejidal. Excepto para los brókers y los coyotes, el ejido fue rara vez un buen negocio. Más recientemente, a fines de los años ochenta, surgió otro argumento, de corte neoliberal, según el cual la falta de derechos irrestrictos de propiedad que caracteriza a la institución del ejido es lo que explica en buena parte su estancamiento económico, pues ésta implica prohibiciones o incertidumbres que ahuyentan la inversión externa y dificultan la utilización y combinación óptimas de las tierras de "propiedad social". Si el ejido languideció por falta de capital, para atraerlo y generarlo sería preciso flexibilizar su régimen de propiedad. Este fue unos de los propósitos de la controversial reforma constitucional de 1992, que además puso fin al reparto agrario.

Independientemente del valor analítico que pudieran tener estas diversas explicaciones del devenir económico del ejido, hay dos aspectos fundamentales de su diseño original—trazado con apremio a lo largo de dos décadas de difíciles coyunturas políticas y en medio de enormes presiones sociales—que incidirían profundamente en su desempeño, los cuales a menudo pasan inadvertidos. El primero es el hecho de que desde un principio la superficie de tierra per cápita susceptible de cultivo (de temporal o riego) otorgada a los ejidatarios fue muy pequeña. Esto fue un reflejo no sólo de las dificultades políticas y prácticas que enfrentaron los procesos de expropiación, sino también del modo en que las nuevas autoridades revolucionarias concibieron los fines de un reparto que se vieron obligadas a implementar en respuesta a las sublevaciones y movilizaciones campesinas. Luis Cabrera, autor de la primera ley agraria del nuevo régimen revolucionario (6 de enero de 1915) había propuesto desde 1912 "la reconstitución de los ejidos de los pueblos" como respuesta a las demandas zapatistas. El ejido colonial era la parte del territorio de los pueblos destinada a usos comunes para suplementar el sustento familiar (pastoreo, leña, recolección de frutos y de materiales para artesanías, etc.), y la pérdida de ejidos durante el último tercio del siglo XIX había afectado muy adversamente la economía de los pueblos. Cabrera opinaba que la dotación de nuevos ejidos les proporcionaría a los habitantes del campo un "complemento de salario" que solucionaría por lo pronto el creciente problema agrario. Su modelo era el piojal o pegujal, un pequeñísimo pedazo de tierra que le daban los hacendados a algunos de sus peones para que con el cultivo de esas menudas milpas pudieran complementar su salario.[2] El nuevo ejido—que contrario al antiguo se destinaría a parcelas predominantemente agrícolas—no aspiraba a ser la base de una agricultura campesina pujante y medianamente independiente, sino apenas a paliar el hambre y calmar los ánimos levantiscos. En su nombre alberga esta institución revolucionaria ese defecto de origen.

Si bien el gobierno de Cárdenas redefinió la idea del ejido y propuso convertirlo en pilar de una nueva agricultura centrada en la producción campesina, lo cierto es que la reglamentación del derecho de tierras en las leyes de ejidos y códigos agrarios mantuvo hasta 1946 una concepción esencialmente pegujalera de la dimensión de las dotaciones ejidales, y aunque ésta se incrementó modestamente en las décadas siguientes, en realidad las superficies repartidas estuvieron siempre—en promedio—muy por debajo de las reducidas extensiones estipuladas por la

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ley. Arturo Warman ha calculado que entre 1915 y 1992 cada ejidatario obtuvo en promedio el equivalente a 2.7 hectáreas de riego o 5.4 de temporal, junto con otras clases de tierras inútiles para la labor agrícola. Tomando en consideración además el hecho de que antes de la introducción masiva de fertilizantes sintéticos las tierras debían descansar por una o más temporadas después de su cultivo, y sumando a esto el progresivo fraccionamiento de las parcelas producto de un sostenido crecimiento demográfico sin otra opción que no fuera la migración, queda claro que las posibilidades de desarrollo económico por vía del ejido fueron desde un comienzo muy limitadas. El ejido nació minifundista, y de esa condición no ha habido escape posible.[3]

El segundo aspecto fundacional apunta al hecho de que la peculiar conformación del reparto agrario fue producto ante todo de un proyecto de incorporación política. Los generales que ganaron la Revolución accedieron a reformar la tenencia de la tierra no por convicción propia sino por necesidad coyuntural, primero para sofocar las rebeliones y agitaciones agraristas y luego para comprar la lealtad de las incipientes organizaciones campesinas en medio de grandes luchas intestinas por mantener y afianzar el poder (e.g., en torno a la rebelión delahuertista de 1923-24). Repartieron tierra obligados por un alud de presiones populares, pero lograron hacerlo finalmente a su manera, a través de una nueva institución ad hoc cuyo carácter tutelar generó en la práctica vínculos clientelares duraderos y apuntaló la supervivencia del nuevo gobierno.

Es muy probable que sin el embate zapatista no hubiera habido reparto agrario, al menos no de inmediato, pero—al contrario de lo que comúnmente se asume—es un error pensar que la reforma agraria anunciada en la Constitución de 1917 y definida en las dos décadas siguientes incorporó, siquiera parcialmente, el ideario del movimiento zapatista. Si bien la imagen de Zapata el luchador agrarista pasó muy pronto a formar parte del panteón revolucionario, lo cierto es que su proyecto político fue derrotado y en lo fundamental descartado; en varios sentidos, la reforma agraria ejidal que vino después fue justamente la frustración de aquellas aspiraciones. Los zapatistas exigieron "Libertad, Justicia y Ley": el retorno incondicional de las tierras que según ellos le habían sido usurpadas a sus pueblos, y también el derecho a organizar y gobernar la vida política y económica de sus comunidades con autonomía y sin interferencia de intereses externos. Sin embargo, las restituciones de las tierras perdidas fueron a fin de cuentas muy pocas, y las dotaciones ejidales que obtuvieron a cambio limitaron sus derechos sobre esa tierra, les impusieron nuevas formas de administración política y subordinaron el manejo de su producción agrícola a los designios de intermediarios vinculados con la naciente burocracia agraria. Conquistaron la tierra, sí, pero fue una conquista plagada de amargas ironías.

Por qué las organizaciones campesinas—que adquirieron gran fuerza y presencia entre 1920 y 1940—aceptaron finalmente las condiciones del ejido tutelar, y por ende la incorporación dependiente a las redes de autoridad que fueron conformando el nuevo régimen, es un tema que requiere más investigación. Algunas ligas agrarias captaron desde un principio la naturaleza de este quid pro quo y pugnaron mientras pudieron por cambios más radicales, pero muchas otras organizaciones parecen haber calculado que el trato les era favorable, y la promesa de obtener más tierras, siempre presente, habría sido sin duda el mayor aliciente.

En suma, la Revolución mexicana redistribuyó la tierra, y ésa fue sin duda su gran gesta épica, pero la organización agrícola-campesina a que dio lugar por medio de un nuevo régimen de propiedad no fue capaz de emancipar a un gran número de sus miembros. Minifundista y tutelar, el ejido no transformó sustancialmente el panorama económico de los beneficiarios, en buena parte porque no fue hecho para eso.

Notas

[1] Arturo Warman, *El campo mexicano en el siglo XX*, (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2001), 18.

[2] Luis Cabrera, "La reconstitución de los ejidos de los pueblos" [1913], en Jesús Silva Herzog, coord., *La cuestión de la tierra*, (México: Instituto Mexicano de Investigaciones Económicas, 1961), II, 298-99.

[3] Warman, *El campo mexicano en el siglo XX*, 61-64. ■

Final Report from the Program Chairs

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In this final report we review some of the best features of the LASA2010 Congress, and reflect on some of the shortcomings. We begin with the positive.

Splendid weather, splendid facilities, and splendid company—that's how we will remember LASA2010. Plenty of sunshine and mild temperatures accompanied us from beginning to end. A Cuban jazz band, courtesy of the Cuban consulate in Toronto, provided the musical number for our opening reception. All meeting spaces, without exception, were equipped with a top-notch laptop and projector, and very few technical problems were reported. Most participants stayed at the convention site or within walking distance, which allowed people to spend more time in the common areas, even to return in the evening for more gatherings. There were few lines at registration and concessions. Given our central location in downtown Toronto, one of North America's culinary capitals, people had plenty of choices for meals, in terms of menus and budgets. The common areas were busy and alive without feeling crowded. People were able to work—privately or in groups—as well as to laugh and have a good time without disrupting LASA activities.

Academically, LASA2010 featured an impressive program, with 673 panels, seven presidential panels, eleven featured panels, and three distinguished keynote speakers: Ambassador Jon Allen from Canada at the opening reception, a keynote address by Mexican civil rights leader Sergio Aguayo and a discussion with U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Arturo Valenzuela. LASA members and guests hosted 28 receptions. We were able to offer 306 travel grants. And the film festival—always free to members and non-members—attracted almost 700 daily visitors.

LASA2010 also featured some well-received innovations. We offered three pre-Congress workshops, each attracting more applications than expected. The Political Economy workshop received approximately 32 applications (for 20 seats), the Film workshop received 49 (for 15 seats), and the Independence Bicentennial workshop received more than 20 (for 10 spots). The publishing symposium, which this year was moved to the pre-Congress part of the program, attracted the largest attendance in recent memory. Our three Cultural Dialogues demonstrated that there is interest in having a few sessions throughout the program in which panelists are interviewed—by moderators and audience members—rather than asked to deliver papers. Another important addition was child daycare. We received many positive comments even from people who did not take advantage of the daycare. It is an expensive addition for LASA, but we hope that Congresses continue to offer this service and that more members take advantage of it.

Despite these successes, not everything went flawlessly. First, there is no question that a smaller LASA Congress is financially risky. LASA2010 was intentionally designed to be smaller than recent Congresses. Individual submissions were discouraged, selection criteria were raised, and panelists with fewer than two pre-registered participants were canceled. Smallness afforded convenience and selectivity, but it also led to financial restrictions. Halfway during the summer of 2010, we were getting an insufficient number of confirmations from participants, which prompted us to cut the budget. While we were able to protect most key components of the program, we had to cancel some projects. Perhaps the two saddest casualties were a fabulous exhibit of photographs from the Mexican Revolution that we were going to bring from the United States, and an image-based system to make announcements for participants during the course of our meetings. While the number of confirmations rose eventually, the Association needs to take into account that smaller Congresses can be financially precarious.

Second, we were disappointed that a number of our members were unable to appear because they failed to receive visas from the Canadian government. The Canadian government was indeed a pleasure to work with, and the vast majority of LASA attendees were able to clear immigration and customs quickly and hassle-free; yet we know of perhaps three visa problem cases that LASA was not able to resolve. It was equally disappointing that one of our invited guests, Cuba's award-winning journalist Yoani Sánchez, was unable to attend because her own country denied her an exit visa. We had invited Sánchez to be one of the speakers in the Cultural Dialogue II, "*El impacto de los medios en la cultura*" (which regrettably appeared mistitled in the program—another glitch). Sánchez accepted our invitation immediately; we secured the necessary permits from both the Canadian and the U.S. governments, but in the end the Cuban government did not come through. LASA must strive to ensure that LASA members and guests can freely travel to future meetings.

Third, and in line with past meetings, LASA2010 experienced a complex no-show problem. The Secretariat launched a serious effort to collect data on no-shows in LASA2009 and continued it for 2010: since each attendee was required to check with LASA staff to collect a badge and program book, this is a check on attendance. For the Toronto meeting, the no-show rate was 19 percent, based on the number of pre-registered individuals who committed to participate in panels, were listed in the program book, but did not check in and

were thus presumed to be absent That nearly a fifth of participants did not show is worrisome indeed! While a few individuals were kind enough to give notice to their colleagues or the Secretariat of their pending absences, the vast majority of no-shows did not do so.

Needless to say, a significant number of no-shows is a huge problem. Panels can shrink to as few as one or two presenters. Organizers, chairs, and other remaining participants are disillusioned. Perhaps more seriously, if those to come to hear the presenters and discussants and expect rich and diverse discussions on their fields of interest do not find what they have bought into, this is the most serious kind of adverse publicity for LASA. It certainly can have an effect on attendance at future meetings. In addition, panels that simply disband are also abandoning a space that could have been used to allow more panels to meet; LASA members who were denied acceptance because of space constraints could have participated after all.

We urge all LASA members admitted to the program to consider these costs in the future. We also urge the Executive Council to consider policies to minimize the incidence of no-shows. For next year, the Executive Council approved our suggestion to institute a wait list. This list should help somewhat with this issue of last-minute cancellations and create opportunities for more LASA members to participate. But we still need to address the problem of very high no-show rates. If panelists and audience members lack firmer guarantees that LASA will offer what appears in the program, interest in returning to future LASAs will no doubt diminish.

Finally, despite the fact that most tracks had a healthy number of panels, some very valuable tracks this year were too thin:

Agrarian and Rural Life
Cities, Planning, and Social Services
Law, Jurisprudence and Society
Linguistics and Linguistic Pluralism
Technology and Learning

Increasing the relative number of submissions for these tracks will require strong efforts. Although some of these tracks, such as Linguistics and Linguistic Pluralism are very new, we program co-chairs could have done a better job encouraging more applications for these tracks. There are mechanisms that could be set in place to address the low submission rate of these tracks, such as asking relevant Sections and future track chairs to stimulate applications, but we realize that this is a difficult enterprise.

In the end, even though we had to work fast (we had only 15 months rather than the usual 18 months to plan the Congress) and there were financial constraints, the pluses far exceeded the glitches. The reason is simple: we had an amazing team to work with. Our 65 track chairs, representing 18 countries, worked under tight deadlines and with utmost professionalism, always ready to answer any questions we might have had. Having two chairs per track was one of the many superb ideas that we inherited from our predecessors, Evelyne Huber and Cynthia Steele. LASA's Executive Director, Milagros Pereyra, was brilliant, patient, creative and resourceful—always giving us practical advice and alerting us to potential mistakes. Melissa Raslevich, who helped with the selection and panel scheduling process, was phenomenal in trying to reconcile the multiple and conflicting demands coming from different quarters of LASA, including ours. The on-the-ground team in Toronto, including the 19 student volunteers, put in long hours in an effort to provide assistance for all. And our president, John Coatsworth, granted us full autonomy and support from day one.

We enjoyed serving LASA. While we faced a bit of a financial panic before the meeting, in the end, the Congress made us proud. LASA2010 offered everything that previous Congresses offered, and a bit more. We apologize to those who may have experienced inconveniences. Tim Power and Gabriela Nouzeilles, the program co-chairs for 2012 have already been in touch with us, and they are committed to fixing as many of these glitches as possible. We are confident that they will do a great job. We hope to see you in San Francisco in 2012 for an even more splendid LASA Congress. ■

Report of the LASA Business Meeting

XXIX International Congress Toronto, Canada | October 9, 2010

President's Report

LASA President John Coatsworth reported on two decisions taken by the Executive Council at its recent meeting. 1) The printed *LASA Forum* will soon be available exclusively on the Internet. Members will be notified about the dates of the mailing of the last printed issue and the availability of the subsequent issue on line; 2) LASA will hold Congresses *annually* following LASA2012 in San Francisco. An annual Congress is assumed to be at least somewhat smaller than meetings held each 18 months, allowing the Association to meet in cities in Latin America that currently cannot accommodate large gatherings. LASA2013 will take place in May, 2013, in San Juan, Puerto Rico.

Report of the Secretariat

LASA Executive Director Milagros Pereyra-Rojas reported that the membership had decreased twelve percent in 2010, compared to the same period in 2009. A decrease had occurred as well in 2008, typical in a non-Congress year. Moving to annual Congresses should aid in keeping up membership numbers and help prevent yearly fluctuations. The *LASA Forum* in electronic format will be available to everyone, regardless of membership. Pereyra is currently in negotiations with service providers for the Congress in San Juan. Posible sites for LASA2014 include Puebla, Mexico and Barcelona, Spain.

Treasurer's Report

Treasurer Kevin Middlebrook reported that LASA finances are very sound and that LASA's accounting is in line with all legal requirements He noted that the Association's books are professionally audited each year, and reported that LASA has new auditors, The audit report will be available before the end of 2010 to any member who wishes to examine it

In line with good practices of transparency and openness, in the next six to ten months the Association will rebid the current account management contract that it has with current LASA Endowment managers Morgan Stanley Smith Barney in Pittsburgh. On the financial side, LASA has not yet fully recovered from the 2008-2009 crisis. At its height, the Endowment stood at $4.5 million; as of early September it was valued at a little over $3.8 million, about 20 percent off its peak. This is still better than many university endowments because LASA has remained rather conservatively positioned. The Endowment is invested about 60 percent in stocks, close to 35 percent in bonds and the remainder in cash. The Investment Committee remains cautious about a full return to the stock market; however this also means that when the market does recover LASA will be a little slow on the upside as well. Over the next six to twelve months the new Treasurer, working with the Investment Committee, may want to move gradually back into stocks, depending on market conditions

Over the past years LASA has taken a strong position in favor of social responsibility investment (SRI) as an option for management of the Endowment. At this point about 28 percent of the Endowment– about one-half of the equities–is in socially–filtered funds. These results are constantly checked against such benchmarks as the S&P 500 to make sure that LASA is not suffering losses. Thus far the Association has more than held its own on the SRI side. This may expand in the future.

LASA is also required to keep in cash reserves the equivalent of one year's operating budget; currently this amounts to $1.5 million. Thus total assets are equal to $5.3 million. If and when the markets return to good health it may be possible to move some of the cash reserve into the Endowment.

A question was asked regarding expected additional costs to emanate from the move to an annual Congress. President Coatsworth responded that some additional staff costs are assumed; one additional staff person will be hired. However, additional revenues from an annual Congress as well as savings generated by not mailing the *LASA Forum*, will offset these costs.

A second question had to do with the possible impact of an annual meeting on the activities of Sections, and concerns about attrition, since this has occurred with other associations. President Coatsworth responded that the EC will monitor the impact of the decision on the Sections. The decision to move to an annual Congress is not written in stone; it is being done to improve the quality of the meetings and make the program more open than it might be. The EC will re-evaluate the decision after three Congresses to make certain that the change has been beneficial. The Association will check with Sections about their activities/calendars to make certain that the decision does not adversely affect them.

A third question had to do with the size of Congresses. President Coatsworth's noted that the EC believes that a range of 3,000 to 3,500 Congress participants would be ideal. The largest Congress in LASA history took place in Rio de Janeiro. Many members as well as the EC felt that this was a bit large and impeded some activities because of its size. Congress size also restricts the number of cities in which LASA can meet, causing high costs for room rates and transportation. It was then asked if LASA had done a study

of other associations larger than LASA that meet annually and what was the result. President Coatsworth responded that such a study had been done but had inconclusive results. No association had decided to move to a longer interval between conferences. The point was made that these larger organizations do meet annually and find venues in which to meet. The President's response was that none of the associations meet outside the United States; it is the non-U.S. venues that are restricted by Congress size. Coatsworth reiterated the EC's desire to keep the quality of the Congresses high, to increase the number of possible venues outside the United States and keep costs lower, all without placing an undue burden on the Association or the Sections.

A final question addressed any possible negative affects on current funding bases. The President's response was that the annual Congress would allow LASA to be on foundation calendars on an annual basis, and to take better advantage of foundation schedules. The intention is to have outside funding sources know that they should put LASA on their schedules for funding every year.

Lastly, Coatsworth thanked Middlebrook for his excellent work as LASA Treasurer and announced that Cristina Eguizábal would take over the role of treasurer on November 1st.

Report of the XXIX Congress Program Committee

LASA2010 co-chairs Javier Corrales and Nina Gerassi-Navarro presented their report. The philosophy behind the LASA2010 program had been to raise the quality of panels. They had created a website entitled "panels wanted" especially for junior faculty and students to facilitate panel development. New for LASA2010 was a pre-Congress program, three workshops that were done as a trial. They provided "mini seminars" with only 15 to 20 panel members accepted for each. Two of the workshops wish to continue and will establish listservs. Also new were the Cultural Dialogues, venues for topics of interest and designed for discussion in a less structured manner. Thanks to Claudia Ferman, the Film Festival continues to grow. The child-care service at Toronto was popular and highly subscribed. Both co-chairs acknowledged the EC, the Secretariat, and the Local Arrangements Committee for their assistance. For LASA2009, 3,202 individual paper applications had been received; for the Toronto Congress there were 662. The panels stayed stable and perhaps had more people in them. For 2009, 974 panel proposals had been received; for 2010, 825 had been submitted—more than the number submitted for LASA2007 in Montréal.

President Coatsworth presented a small gift from the Association to each of the program co-chairs.

Vice President's Report

Vice President Maria Hermínia Tavares de Almeida indicated that she was honored to be able to continue "constructing" the Association, as begun by her predecessors. LASA has two to three special characteristics that distinguish it. The first is its pluralism, which means that people from different disciplines and methodologies may feel at home. The second is its universality with regard to discipline, intellectual pursuits and academic cultures. This makes the Association very rich indeed. LASA permits individuals to cross over disciplinary frontiers, stimulating research collaboration. Investigators from the "south" often sense that they are the "source," when they would like to be more than that.

Vice President Tavares de Almeida presented a gift to President Coatsworth as a thank you from LASA.

Resolutions

President Coatsworth reiterated the procedures for submitting resolutions and having them approved by the membership. He noted that three resolutions had been submitted for consideration by the Resolutions Committee; the two resolutions approved by the EC for a vote by the membership are a resolution on Honduras and one on Cuba. He asked if there were any friendly amendments. An audience member asked about the timing of the resolution on Cuba, and whether it would just be academic if not dealt with in an accelerated fashion. It was further noted that the president and the secretary of state have approved new regulations that deal with academic exchange, but for the resolution to have major impact it should reach the White House prior to the elections. President Coatsworth replied that the resolutions will be sent via email to current members; Executive Director Pereyra added that a minimum of a month is required to construct the website, send out the resolutions for consideration and tally the results. President Coatsworth added that this would probably mean that the resolution would reach the White House some time after the elections but hopefully before the official announcement of new government regulations

There being no friendly amendments to the resolutions they will be passed on to the membership for a vote.

New Business

There was no new official business; however Tommie Sue Montgomery provided some background on the fundraiser she is conducting on behalf of the people of Robinson Crusoe Island. President Coatsworth indicated that although it was too late to include something in the fall *LASA Forum* he, Pereyra and Montgomery should speak about how further to assist her in her efforts.

LASA Award Ceremony

President Coatsworth then called attention to the next item on the agenda, the Award Ceremony, and to the handout entitled "LASA2010 Awards and Recipients." He indicated that some awards would be acknowledged at this meeting but actually given out as part of a lecture or special presentation.

He acknowledged first the recipient of the Kalman Silvert Award, **Edelberto Torres-Rivas**, followed by the LASA/Oxfam America Martin Diskin Memorial Lectureship, which has two recipients since the 2009 lecturer could not be present at LASA2009 The recipients are **Terry Karl** (2009) and **Carlos Ivan Degregori** (2010). Degregori was not able to be present but had sent a statement to be read later at the Diskin lecture. The LASA/Oxfam America Martin Diskin Fellowship was awarded to **Louis Esparza**.

The recipient of the Media Award is **Carlos Dada**, founder and editor of *El Faro*, a groundbreaking on-line publication in El Salvador, and author of a compellingly written investigative report with new first-hand information on the assassination of Archbishop Romero.

Coatsworth next acknowledged the recipient of the first Charles A. Hale Fellowship for Mexican History, **Carlos Bravo Regidor**. Regidor accepted a check from the president on behalf of the Association.

President Coatsworth then turned to the recipients of the Bryce Wood Book Award and the Bryce Wood Honorable Mention, as well as the *Premio Iberoamericano*. The Bryce Wood Book Award was made to **Brian DeLay** for his *War of a Thousand Deserts*. Unfortunately, Dr. Delay was not present to accept his award. The Bryce Wood Book Award Honorable Mention was presented to **Lauren Derby** for *The Dictator's Seduction: Politics and the Popular Imagination in the Era of Trujillo*. The *Premio Iberoamericano* was then presented for the outstanding book on Latin America in the social sciences and the humanities. The 2010 recipient is **Guillermo Wilde** for his book *Religión y poder en las misiones de guaraníe*.

Coatsworth then recognized the editor of the *Latin American Research Review (LARR),* Philip Oxhorn, who was unfortunately not able to be present. Oxhorn's editorship has been extended for another five years.

Finally, Coatsworth recognized and presented a gift to the Director of the LASA Film Festival, Claudia Ferman. Ferman's directorship has also been extended. In accepting her gift, Ferman thanked Coatsworth and the Association and reported that in the first two days of the Festival there were more than 700 people in attendance.

Coatsworth thanked all in attendance and adjourned the meeting. ■

ON LASA2010

LASA2010 Awards and Recipients

Kalman Silvert Award

The members of the 2010 Kalman Silvert Award Committee include Chair Eric Hershberg (American University), Charles R. Hale (University of Texas/Austin), Sonia E. Álvarez (University of Massachusetts/ Amherst), Philip D. Oxhorn (McGill University) and Alfred Stepan (Columbia University).

The recipient of the 2010 Award is **Edelberto Torres-Rivas**. For more than half a century, Dr. Torres Rivas has been an intellectual leader in Latin American social science and a driving force behind the establishment and consolidation of institutions that are central to LASA's mission. His path-breaking publications, focused largely on Central America but influential far beyond the Isthmus, have shaped numerous sub-fields, encompassing pressing concerns of development and democracy, as well as peace-building and social justice. His impact on the institutional landscape of Latin American social science, including a highly successful period as Secretary General of FLACSO, is equally noteworthy, as has been his remarkable service to the profession as a mentor and advocate for successive generations of Central American intellectuals.

In making its selection, the Award Committee considered numerous nominations submitted by members in response to the call issued by the Secretariat in the *LASA Forum*. In addition, the committee reviewed nomination materials presented in support of candidates who were considered but not selected by previous committees. Each member of the committee was asked to identify up to five candidates whose candidacies were especially compelling. An iterative discussion ensued over e-mail, and while there were other candidates who the committee also deemed worthy of this prestigious prize, the committee reached a unanimous decision that Edelberto Torres Rivas should be designated the 2010 Kalman Silvert award recipient.

Bryce Wood Book Award

The members of the 2010 Bryce Wood Book Award Committee include Chair Shannon O'Neil (Council on Foreign Relations), James Dunkerley (Queen Mary University of London), Robert Pastor (American University), Catherine Conaghan (Queen's University), Scott Mainwaring (University of Notre Dame), Frances Aparicio (University of Illinois-Chicago), Michael Shifter (Georgetown University), Hillel Soifer (Temple University), and James Mahoney (Northwestern University).

The 2010 recipient is **Brian DeLay**, for *War of a Thousand Deserts*. In his exploration of the inter-relationships between Mexico, the United States, and the native American 'states' in the Southwest, DeLay's ambitious work offers a new way of thinking about the U.S.-Mexican war. Written in the tradition of Frederick Katz's book on the Mexican revolution, DeLay's depth and diligence of primary research and accessible prose present an interpretation that all actors are agents of their own destiny. *War of a Thousand Deserts* is an outstanding historical study that impresses well beyond the field of Latin American studies, however; in exploring the dynamic interaction between the local, regional and international, it also enriches one's sense of the global.

An Honorable Mention goes to **Lauren Derby** for *The Dictator's Seduction: Politics and the Popular Imagination in the Era of Trujillo*. Derby's rich cultural history of the Trujillo regime offers an important contribution to the comparative study of populism in Latin America. *The Dictator's Seduction* departs from the traditional study of dictatorship and the Trujillo regime to present a novel study of the General's complex and intriguing persona, how he created power, and how the public was a part of that journey. Derby's careful study of the origins, subtle mechanisms and consequences of autocratic power quietly yet tellingly trespasses across sundry disciplinary and analytical borderlines, giving her work relevance across the plurality of social science disciplines.

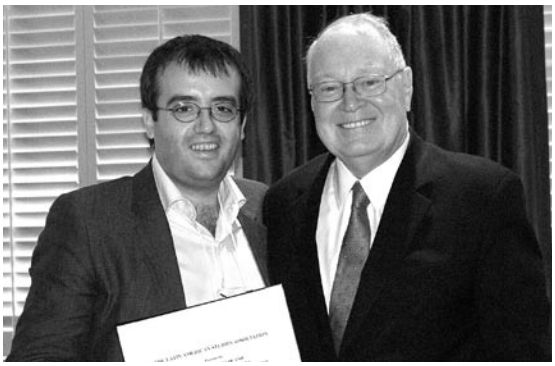
In making their decision, the committee chair divided up all entries between the members: each person was given 8-10 titles to read. From these books, each committee member recommended one or two titles that were then read by the entire committee. From this list, each member recommended a finalist and semifinalist, and their rationales for the selection were submitted to the rest of the committee via email. Finally, a conference call among all members of the committee made the final decision for the winner and the honorable mention.

Premio Iberoamericano

Los miembros del Comité de Selección 2010 son Co-chairs Judit Bosker M. Liwerant (UNAM) y Donna Guy (Ohio State University), con Guillermo Alonso (UNSAM) and Luis Roniger (Wake Forest University).

El título del Libro Seleccionado es *Religión y poder en las misiones de guaraníe* por **Guillermo Wilde**. Editorial: Serie Historia Americana, Paradigma Inicial, Argentina, 2009. (512 p.)

El premio se otorga al Profesor Wilde en reconocimiento de su trabajo sistemático, profundo y riguroso. En él libro confluyen la mirada histórica y la aproximación etnográfica en el ejercicio de una



FROM LEFT TO RIGHT:

Kalman Silvert Award Recipient Edelberto Torres-Rivas

John Coatsworth congratulates Premio Iberoamericano recipient Guillermo Wilde

Charles A Hale Fellowship recipient Carlos Bravo Regidor is congratulated by John Coatsworth

historiografía original, comprensiva de la experiencia vital de las misiones jesuíticas.

El libro reconstruye la experiencia guaraní en su inserción en el sistema colonial entre los siglos XVII y XIX, discerniendo la trama de redefiniciones en la relación entre religión y poder a lo largo de la experiencia reduccional.

Tanto en sus acercamientos conceptuales así como en la metodología desarrollada, Wilde permite ver que los pueblos indígenas jugaron un papel activo en el proceso cultural llevado a cabo a partir de la conversión al cristianismo. Los pueblos indígenas aparecen en el trabajo de Wilde jugando un role activo y negociando su concepción de tiempo y espacio de frente a los miembros de la orden jesuíta.

Aunque se explora un período de larga duración, a lo largo de los once capítulos se lleva a cabo una reconstrucción de acontecimientos o eventos críticos en los cuales, lo más importante no es el orden cronológico, sino el modo como se define la acción indígena a partir de las interacciones y las modulaciones del espacio misional.

La escritura clara y fluida nutre una estructura sólida y de destacada densidad, con múltiples líneas analítico-reflexivas articuladas simultáneamente.

El libro contribuye, de esta forma, a una comprensión más profunda del proceso de transformación cultural de las Américas, constituyendo un aporte tanto al estudio de la historia como al análisis de las ciencias sociales.

El autor tiene un doctorado de la Universidad Buenos Aires y es profesor asociado del Instituto de Estudios Sociales Avanzados de la Universidad de San Martín, en Argentina. Es investigador del Conicet. Ha sido profesor visitante Fulbright en Brown University, en los Estados Unidos y Fellow del British Council del Museo Nacional en Río de Janeiro, Brasil y de la Wenner- Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research.

Media Award

The members of the 2010 Media Award Committee are Chair John Dinges (Columbia University), Josh Friedman (Columbia University), Alma Guillermoprieto (Independent Scholar), Peter Winn (Tufts University), and Julia Preston (*New York Times*). **Carlos Dada** is the 2010 recipient of the Media Award. He is the founder and editor of *El Faro*, a groundbreaking on-line publication in El Salvador, and author of a compellingly written investigative report with new first-hand information on the assassination of Archbishop Romero.

LASA/Oxfam America Martin Diskin Memorial Lectureship and the LASA/Oxfam America Martin Diskin Dissertation Award

The members of the 2010 committee are Chair Laura Enríquez (University of California at Berkeley), Cecilia Blondet (Instituto de Estudios Peruanos), Cecilia Menjívar (Arizona State University), Greg Grandin (New York University), Kathryn Sikkink (University of Minnesota), Kimberly Theidon (Harvard University), and Jonathan Fox (Oxfam America and University of California at Santa Cruz).

The committee reviewed the materials submitted for the Lectureship, especially bearing in mind that **Carlos Ivan Degregori** had been a close runner-up prior to LASA's last International Congress. Upon reflection and discussion, the committee unanimously agreed that Professor Degregori should be the Lecturer. Professor Degregori is the Director of the Instituto de Estudios Peruanos and is on the faculty of the School of Anthropology at the Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos (Lima). He has also been a Principal Investigator at the Inter-American Dialogue and is a former Guggenheim Fellow. Professor Degregori is author of numerous books—including his most recent *El nacimiento de los otorongos. El Congreso de la república durante los gobiernos de Alberto Fujimori (1990-2000)*. IEP, Lima (2007)—on Peruvian politics, anthropology, and agrarian issues. Of equal importance, he was a member of the Comisión de la Verdad y Reconciliación de Perú (CVR), as well as chairing the committee that wrote up the final report of the CVR.

The 2010 committee reviewed the multiple nominations for the LASA/Oxfam America Martin Diskin Dissertation Award and unanimously agreed that **Louis Esparza** should be the recipient. Mr. Esparza's research has studied grassroots human rights activism in contemporary Colombia at length, with an eye to asking the question: why is it that activists stay active, even when the risks entailed in this endeavor become apparent? Much social science research analyzes why activists become active in the first instance; Esparza's work looks at the issue of activism from a new angle. His selection of the Colombian case, which highlights the factor of risk, is ideal for such an analysis. Of equal importance, Esparza has launched various exhibitions in Colombia of his photography depicting rights violations there, as well as being active in a number of organizations such as Humanitarian Corps and Sociologists without Borders, geared toward improving the lives of those who have no voice within their societies.

ON LASA2010

Photos from LASA2010

LASA2010 AWARDS AND RECIPIENTS
continued...

Charles A. Hale Fellowship for Mexican History

The Charles A. Hale Fellowship for Mexican History is offered at each LASA Congress to a Mexican graduate student in the final phase of his/her doctoral research in Mexican history. Candidates are evaluated on the scholarly merit of their work and the extent to which it contributes "to the advancement of humanist understanding between Mexico and its global neighbors." The members of the selection committee for 2010 include Chair John Coatsworth (Columbia), Javier Garciadiego (El Colegio de México), Charles R. Hale (University of Texas/Austin), Mary Kay (University of Maryland, College Park), and Mauricio Tenorio (University of Chicago).

The first recipient of this Fellowship is **Carlos Bravo Regidor**, now completing a dissertation at the University of Chicago under the direction of Professor Emilio Kourí. Bravo Regidor's dissertation focuses on electoral politics during the Porfiriato (1876-1910). According to established understanding, elections during the dictatorship served at most as scripted political rituals, with little impact on the distribution and contestation of political power. Bravo Regidor challenges this view, arguing that elections—and democratic deliberation more generally—had high stakes and required the intense involvement of establishment politicians, including Díaz himself. This research will contribute to a revitalization of the study of internal politics during the Porfiriato, while also revisiting questions of political continuities between the Porfiriato and the subsequent revolutionary era. These were both central concerns in Hale's life work on 19th and 20th century Mexican politics. ■

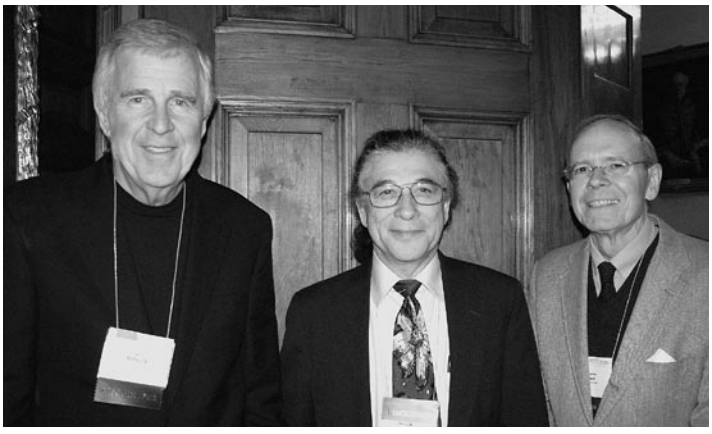
OXFAM-LASA Diskin Lectureship recipient Terry Karl and Committee Chair Kimberly Theidon

Claudia Ferman, Film Festival Director, is thanked by John Coatsworth

The Honourable David C. Onley, Lieutenant Governor of Ontario

LASA2010 Program Co-chairs Nina Gerassi-Navarro and Javier Corrales thanked by John Coatsworth

Seen at the Welcoming Reception and
the Special Recognition Reception



LASA2012 – XXX INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS
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Call for Papers

Toward a Third Century of Independence in Latin America

A number of Latin American countries already are celebrating, or soon will celebrate, the achievement of 200 years of national independence. The bicentennial commemorations represent not only an opportunity to convey and promote a sense of national unity based on collective accomplishments, but also an occasion for political, intellectual, and cultural reassessments of the past and present. In general, they are characterized by more complex views of the meaning of the revolutionary wars and of the scale of the social, economic, and human costs of nation-building and modernization, especially in relation to indigenous and other subaltern populations. The result of this reconsideration is a relatively more diverse and inclusive notion of collective identity—one that takes into account the coexistence of many different (at times antagonistic) ethnic, sexual, and social histories. Although deep social inequalities still persist, the celebrations also coincide with an unprecedented period of democratic rule. The bicentennials offer an excellent opportunity for a multidisciplinary discussion about the multiple ways of constructing the past and forecasting the future; the new meanings of "independence," "revolution," and "national identity;" the role of Latin America in the new global economic order; and the transformative power and limitations of democratic institutions in Latin America's third century of national independence.

Maria Hermínia Tavares de Almeida
University of São Paulo
LASA PRESIDENT

Gabriela Nouzeilles
Princeton University
PROGRAM CO-CHAIR

Timothy J. Power
University of Oxford
PROGRAM CO-CHAIR

THE DEADLINE TO SUBMIT PROPOSALS IS APRIL 1, 2011 *see next page for instructions.*

You are invited to submit a paper or panel proposal addressing either the Congress theme or any topics related to the program tracks. LASA also invites requests for travel grants from proposers residing in Latin America or the Caribbean as well as from students. Visit the LASA website for eligibility criteria. All proposals for papers, panels, and travel grants must be submitted electronically to the LASA Secretariat by **April 1, 2011.**

The deadline to submit proposals is April 1, 2011.

Proposal forms and instructions will be available on the LASA website: http://lasa.international.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
Darién Davis, Middlebury College
Edward Fischer, Vanderbilt University

Agrarian and Rural Life
Warwick Murray, Victoria University, Wellington
Roxana Barrantes, Instituto de Estudios Peruanos

Biodiversity, Natural Resources, and Environment
Kathryn Hochstetler, University of Waterloo
Barbara Hogenboom, CEDLA, Amsterdam

Children, Youth, and Cultures
Gareth Jones, London School of Economics and Political Science
Dennis Rodgers, University of Manchester

Cities, Planning, and Social Services
Brian Godfrey, Vassar College
Michelle Dion, McMaster University

Civil Society and Social Movements
Gabriela Ippolito-O'Donnell, Universidad Nacional de San Martín
Eduardo Canel, York University

Citizenship, Rights, and Justice
Lisa Hilbink, University of Minnesota
Daniel Brinks, University of Notre Dame

Culture, Power, and Political Subjectivities
Bruno Bosteels, Cornell University
Gareth Williams, University of Michigan

Democratization
Aníbal Pérez-Liñán, University of Pittsburgh
Detlef Nolte, German Institute of Global and Area Studies

Defense, Violence, and (in)security
Julia Buxton, University of Bradford
Lucía Dammert, FLACSO Chile

Economics and Political Economy
Diego Sánchez-Ancochea, University of Oxford
Juan Carlos Moreno-Brid, CEPAL

Education, Pedagogy, and Educational Policies
Inés Dussel, FLACSO Argentina
Gustavo Fischman, Arizona State University

Film Studies
Jens Andermann, Birkbeck College, University of London
Andrea Noble, Durham University

Gender Studies
Nora Domínguez, Universidad de Buenos Aires
Rita Segato, Universidade de Brasília

Sexualities and LGBT Studies
Licia Fiol-Matta, City University of New York
Carlos Figari, Universidad de Buenos Aires

Health, Medicine, and Body Politics
Diego Armus, Swarthmore College
Donna Goldstein, University of Colorado at Boulder

History & Historiographies/Historical Processes
Robin Derby, University of California, Los Angeles
Jocelyn Olcott, Duke University

Human Rights and Memories
Aldo Marchesi, Universidad de la República, Uruguay
Sonia Cárdenas, Trinity College

International Relations
Sean Burges, Australian National University
Andrés Malamud, Universidade de Lisboa

Labor Studies & Class Relations
Ilán Bizberg, El Colegio de México
Andrew Schrank, University of New Mexico

Latino(a)s in the United States and Canada
Arlene Dávila, New York University
José David Saldívar, Stanford University

Law, Jurisprudence, and Society
Elena Martínez Barahona, Universidad de Salamanca
Julio Ríos-Figueroa, CIDE

Linguistic and Lingustic Pluralism
John Haviland, University of California, San Diego
José Antonio Flores, CIESAS

Literary Studies: Colonial and 19th Century
Nicolás Wey-Gómez, California Institute of Technology
Juan Pablo Dabove, University of Colorado at Boulder

Literary Studies: Contemporary
Florencia Garramuño, Universidad de San Andrés
Esther Gabara, Duke University

Literature and Culture: Interdisciplinary Approaches
Graciela Montaldo, Columbia University
Luis Duno-Gottberg, Rice University

Mass Media and Popular Culture
George Yúdice, University of Miami
Juan Carlos Quintero-Herencia, University of Maryland

Migration and Latin American Diasporas
Jonathan Xavier Inda, University of Illinois
Corina Courtis, Universidad de Buenos Aires

Performance, Art, and Architecture: Critical and Historical Perspectives
Andrea Giunta, University of Texas at Austin
Alexander Alberro, Barnard College, Columbia University

Political Institutions and Processes
Mónica Pachón, Universidad de los Andes
Kirk Hawkins, Brigham Young University

Politics and Public Policy
Wendy Hunter, University of Texas at Austin
Moisés Arce, University of Missouri

Religion and Spirituality
R. Andrew Chesnut, Virginia Commonwealth University
Susan Fitzpatrick-Behrens, California State University, Northridge

Technology and Learning
Pamela Graham, Columbia University
Rafael Tarragó, University of Minnesota

Transnationalism and Globalization
Sarah Radcliffe, University of Cambridge
Gioconda Herrera, FLACSO Ecuador

NEWS FROM LASA

In Memoriam

Sociologist and Central American labor scholar **Henry J. (Hank) Frundt**, Professor of Sociology at Ramapo College of N.J., died on September 16, 2010 after a courageous struggle with cancer. Hank was born and raised in Blue Earth, Minnesota. He was the eldest of five children. In 1958, he entered the Jesuit seminary at St. Louis University, where he earned a Masters degree in sociology. He received a Ph.D. from Rutgers University in 1978 and joined the faculty of Ramapo College where he taught for the past thirty eight years.

Professor Frundt was a member of the Latin American Studies Association (LASA) from 1985 to 2010. He was an active member of the Labor Studies and Central America Sections of LASA, and made generous monetary contributions to the Association over the years.

He authored several books on workers' rights in Latin America, including *Refreshing Pauses: Coca-Cola and Human Rights in Guatemala* (Praeger Publishers, 1987), documenting one of the first international labor solidarity campaigns with workers in Latin America; *Trade Conditions and Labor Rights: US Initiatives, Dominican and Central American Responses* (University Press of Florida, 1998) and, most recently, *Fair Bananas: Farmers, Workers and Consumers Strive to Change an Industry* (University of Arizona Press, 2009), which he completed while undergoing treatment.

Hank was a staunch fighter for social justice throughout his life. He was an advocate for workers' rights in Guatemala and Central America for many years. He was an active member of the U.S. Labor Education in the Americas Project, serving on its board for many years. He was an officer of the American Federation of Teachers unit at Ramapo and its delegate to the AFL-CIO Industrial Union Council of New Jersey.

Hank is survived by his wife Bette, their six children and eight grandchildren. ■

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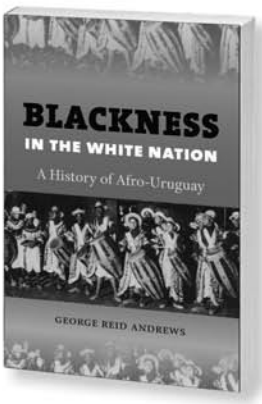

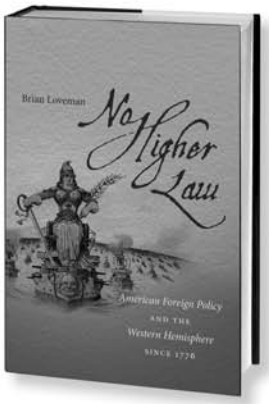

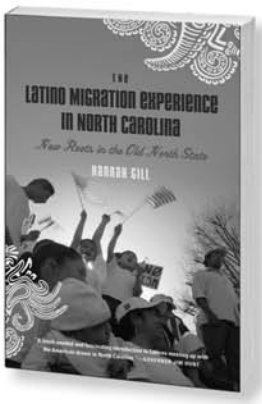

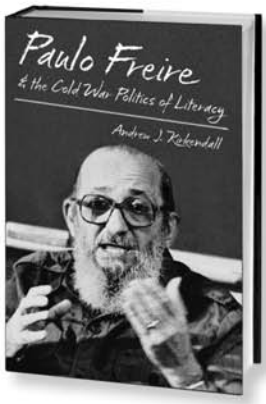

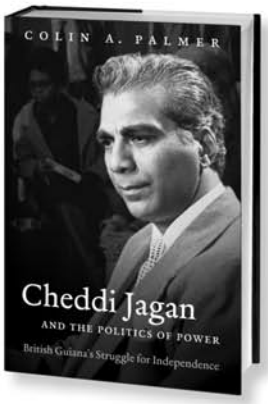

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