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Informe de la Presidenta

por MARIA HERMÍNIA TAVARES DE ALMEIDA | Universidade de São Paulo | mhbtdalm@usp.br

Científicos sociales tratan de tornar inteligibles los procesos resultantes de la acción humana. Al hacerlo unos indagan sobre las diferentes razones que fundamentan el comportamiento de individuos y grupos, orientados por representaciones socialmente construidas de sus intereses, valores y anhelos. Otros creen que el camino del conocimiento pasa por desentrañar una racionalidad universal subyacente a las conductas colectivas, haciéndolas inteligibles y, si es posible, previsibles en el sentido estocástico del término.

Sea cual fuere la forma de abordar los fenómenos sociales, lo que hacemos es siempre tratar de buscar razones. Quizá por ese motivo tenemos mucha dificultad para lidiar con eventos inesperados que rompen *ex abrupto* el curso de los acontecimientos, como son las catástrofes naturales y especialmente las catástrofes humanas provocadas por la enfermedad y la muerte.

Los temas tratados en esta edición de *LASA Forum* vienen teñidos por este último tipo de acontecimientos inesperados. En *Debates*, David Myers, Margarita López Maya y Daniel Hellinger discuten las consecuencias de la grave enfermedad de Hugo Chávez para el futuro de Venezuela.

En la edición de invierno del 2007, bajo el título de “For and Against Chávez: The Debate Continues”, habíamos reunido en *Debates* un conjunto de artículos representativos de la profunda escisión en

la sociedad venezolana —así como entre los estudiosos de la política de Venezuela— provocada por la ascensión de Chávez. Desde ahí la polarización política en aquel país, lejos de reducirse, se profundizó. De la misma manera se radicalizó el proceso capitaneado por Chávez, que para unos lleva el país, a pasos ligeros, a una modalidad de autocracia electoral, mientras que para otros avanza hacia un novedoso socialismo. En ese período, muchos escenarios del futuro fueran diseñados para Venezuela. Por supuesto, la desaparición del líder no surgía como posibilidad en ninguno de ellos. Frente a un proceso tan dominado por un liderazgo personal, cuyo proyecto era permanecer en el poder hasta 2031, ¿qué puede pasar cuando su omnipresencia está amenazada por la *ipsa humana* fragilidad?

Lo inesperado, que unos llaman destino, también privó a la comunidad de los latinoamericanistas de uno de sus más notables colegas: el sociólogo peruano Carlos Iván Degregori. En su homenaje, publicamos ocho cortos testimonios de colegas que tuvieron la suerte y el privilegio de convivir con “el CID”. Ellos fueron reunidos con cariño por Kimberly Theidon y hablan a nombre de todos nosotros. Carlos Iván fue el último ganador del Martin Diskin Award, un reconocimiento de LASA a la acción de un gran intelectual público. ■



ON THE PROFESSION

Homenaje a Carlos Iván Degregori

por KIMBERLY THEIDON | Harvard University | ktheidon@wjh.harvard.edu

El 17 de mayo, 2011, nuestro gran colega y amigo Carlos Iván Degregori se falleció. Cuando me pidieron desde LASA que escribiera un homenaje a Carlos Iván —o “El CID” como lo llamamos con cariño— sabía de inmediato que una sola persona nunca podría comunicar la influencia profunda que él tenía sobre todos y todas quienes tuvimos el placer y privilegio de conocerlo. Para ofrecer un homenaje adecuado, se necesitaría varias voces —y aquí están. Les agradezco a cada uno y una por sus palabras sentidas, las cuales nos ayudan a entender lo querido y admirado que fue El CID.

Recuerdos míos hay en abundancia, sin duda porque nadie tuvo una mayor influencia sobre mis propios estudios y trayectoria intelectual que Carlos Iván. Al principio fue por medio de sus prolíficas publicaciones, después por medio de tantas conversaciones enriquecedoras. En su generosidad académica y humana, definió lo que significa ser “mentor”. Empero, más allá de su influencia como antropólogo, fue su manera de ser que siempre me impresionó.

Durante la época de la Comisión de la Verdad y Reconciliación (CVR), tuve la oportunidad de ver como Carlos Iván interactuó con congresistas, empresarios, oficiales castrenses, jóvenes investigadores, autoridades comunales, y mujeres rurales quechuahablantes. Para algunos, el trato que extienden a otras personas varía según el estrato socioeconómico a lo cual esas personas pertenecen. Es decir, la corbata merece *un* calibre de cordialidad, y la falda pollera *otra*. Pero jamás con Carlos Iván. Su capacidad de ver la dignidad intrínseca

de cada ser humano con quien hablaba nunca varió. Estoy convencida que esta capacidad contribuyó en maneras incalculables a la labor de la CVR, y a la sensibilidad y agudeza analítica de su Informe Final.

Gracias a Carlos Iván por todo, y a mis colegas por compartir sus recuerdos con nosotros y nosotras. ■

Muchos recuerdos, un compromiso

por ELIZABETH JELIN | Consejo Nacional de Investigación Científicas y Técnicas, Argentina
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Aun cuando sea esperada, la muerte siempre golpea. Tuve varias conversaciones con Carlos Iván en los últimos meses. En una de ellas, me decía que siente que necesitaría toda otra vida para llegar a hacer todo lo que le quedaba por hacer. La conversación giró hacia pensar juntos que eso nos pasa a todos y a todas quienes vivimos con plenitud, con proyectos renovados, con ganas y con curiosidad. Y que lo que hay que tomar en cuenta es que uno deja los hilos y los retazos con lo que quienes quedan pueden seguir tejiendo y cosiendo, armando nuevos proyectos a partir de esos hilos.

Compartí con Carlos Iván proyectos varios. El principal, de varios años, fue el programa que promovió la investigación y la formación de investigadores/as jóvenes sobre las memorias de la represión política en el Cono Sur y Perú, desarrollado por el Panel Regional de América Latina (RAP) del Social Science Research Council (con sede en Nueva York). Comenzamos a pensarlo grupalmente hacia 1997, y pudimos empezar a desarrollarlo en 1998, con un seminario en Montevideo y el lanzamiento del programa de becas. Carlos Iván estuvo en ese seminario, donde la profundidad de su análisis sobre el Perú —tanto en las narraciones de la crueldad de los hechos como en la sutileza de sus análisis y en su compromiso político-emocional— comenzaron a nutrir y enriquecer el diálogo y la construcción colectiva que estábamos encarando.

A partir de esa instancia, su presencia fue central en el desarrollo del Programa. La primera cohorte de becarios/as cubría cinco países —Argentina, Brasil, Chile, Paraguay y Uruguay— y al año siguiente se incorporaron también becarios/as de Perú. Compartimos la coordinación del programa durante los años siguientes, con seminarios, talleres, lecturas y diálogos

continuos alrededor de los temas que, de distinta manera en cada uno, combinaban la búsqueda más racional de explicaciones e interpretaciones sobre la violencia política y sus memorias con nuestras propias emociones y afectos, nuestros compromisos cívicos y políticos.

Carlos Iván estaba muy dolido y preocupado por Perú. Miraba las transiciones que se estaban viviendo y las elaboraciones del pasado dictatorial en los otros países con algo de envidia, con la ilusión de que algo tenía que pasar en Perú. Y pasó. Pasaron los Vladivideos, la huida y posterior renuncia de Fujimori y el gobierno de transición que se estableció en Perú en noviembre de 2000. Lo que ningún analista había podido prever estaba ocurriendo. Y llegó también la idea del Presidente Valentín Paniagua de establecer una Comisión de Verdad para investigar la violencia de las dos décadas anteriores en Perú.

Cuando su nombre empezó a circular como posible comisionado, Carlos Iván lo tomó con cautela: sabía que su responsabilidad lo llevaría a aceptar si se lo proponían, que había una deuda con las víctimas y con la sociedad peruana en su conjunto que debía comenzar a ser saldada. Sabía también que si le tocaba esa tarea, venían tiempos oscuros, difíciles de enfrentar —porque lo que iba a tener que escuchar y tratar de interpretar, más que inimaginable o indecible era, como dice Jorge Semprún, invivible.

Las conversaciones sobre los desafíos que la labor de la Comisión entrañaba eran interminables. Su sabiduría y su compromiso con enfrentar las consecuencias de discriminaciones estructurales de larga data en el Perú lo hicieron especialmente sensible a la tensión —si no paradoja— entre una lógica de los

derechos humanos, según la cual se identifican daños, víctimas y responsables individualizados, y la idea de comunidades enteras que fueron destruidas o desarticuladas por años de violencia. ¿Llevar un registro de cada una de las violaciones a las que cada persona fue sometida? ¿Poner el acento sobre las dimensiones comunitarias y colectivas? La salida fue reconocer la tensión e incluir ambos niveles, lo cual permitió al informe de la CVR —producto de una labor colectiva elaborada con esfuerzo, sabiduría y dolor personalizado de cada comisionado/a— constituirse en una propuesta clave para iniciar una construcción democrática en Perú. Desde entonces, las ilusiones fueron alternándose con las frustraciones por los avatares políticos en Perú.

Su pensamiento es complejo. Sea en sus contribuciones académicas, centradas más que nada en la realidad peruana, o en sus intervenciones en el debate público en Perú, Carlos Iván transmitía una metodología de trabajo que combinaba el rigor en el análisis de la complejidad de los fenómenos sociopolíticos, su compromiso ético por denunciar desigualdades sociales y el racismo estructural, y su manera especialmente cuidada y llena de encanto de hacerlo.

Desde su dedicación, apego y generosidad hacia las generaciones jóvenes, entonces, debemos asumir el compromiso de seguir hilando, tejiendo y cosiendo. Creo que ese será el mejor recuerdo y el mejor homenaje a nuestro queridísimo CID.

PD Les pedí a colegas con quienes compartimos esos años y esas tareas que juntemos nuestros recuerdos:

El siempre encontraba qué decir ante cada situación, y encontraba el cómo, no solo

con agudeza intelectual sino en la forma; no solo en la expresividad que le daba a las palabras, sino también en como manejaba los tonos de su habla, hasta las pausas. (Alvaro Degiorgi)

Hay muchos académicos interesantes, inteligentes, trabajadores y hasta comprometidos. Carlos Iván transmitió todo eso, pero pocas veces me ha tocado conocer hombres cálidos, cariñosos, que saben escuchar, agradecer, estimular, compartir. Su humildad, su sonrisa, y la calidez de sus abrazos, en un académico inteligente y comprometido como él, es lo que yo quisiera encontrarme más seguido en esa generación de intelectuales latinoamericanos que nos han marcado. (Angélica Cruz)

La muerte me despierta muchas reflexiones que nos trascienden como individuos. Y particularmente en relación con los que trabajamos con el intelecto. ¿Qué dejamos? No creo que sean solo los libros. Hay una herencia inmaterial, sin copyrights claros, que permanece en las comunidades académicas. Conductas invisibles, una forma de leer, una manera de discutir, de argumentar, de citar un libro, de vivir la relación entre política y academia. (Aldo Marchesi)

“Se sienten pasos”. Así llamó Carlos Iván a su blog. Ese título lo pinta. Una mente sagaz, un espíritu inquieto, expectante. Tres dimensiones que en él parecían inseparables: la política, la académica, la personal. Jugadas con audacia, con humor, con compromiso y con desajustes, como sucede habitualmente con las personas que como él, hacen lo que hacen para conjurar eso que de otra forma les quedaría “apelmazado entre los colmillos”. Es esa actitud de estar atento al pulso de los tiempos y dispuesto, y abierto, pero también implacablemente crítico, lo que a

mi juicio nos deja como herencia. (Laura Mombello)

Quedé atrapada por sus retratos de gentes y paisajes sociales que describía con tanta sensibilidad y al mismo tiempo con tanto realismo. Su trabajo en la Comisión, el contacto con la gente, con los testimonios y sus textos sobre la violencia en Perú fueron el producto de su fuerza para contar, reclamar y transmitir. (Susi Kaufman)

Me impresionó su solvencia académica y su cancha en la vida cotidiana, su amabilidad en el trato y la capacidad de reflexionar y de dialogar formal e informalmente al mismo tiempo. Su humor pícaro, reflexivo, apareció con claridad. También sus preocupaciones por el futuro político y académico de su país. (Diego Sempol)

La sonrisa irónica y algo triste con la que evocaba su paso por la Universidad de Ayacucho y la forma en la que había conocido a Abimael Guzmán, para luego, con toda humildad, ofrecerme un artículo de su autoría que lo pinta de cuerpo entero como intelectual: “Qué difícil es ser Dios”. Ya en el título aparecía lo que creo es su toque distintivo: siempre combinando la erudición con el conocimiento libresco y la literatura, todo sazonado con la humildad de los grandes. (Federico Lorenz)

Lo recuerdo claro en sus intervenciones, con la solvencia intelectual y la humildad de los grandes, con un gran don de gentes y una ecuanimidad académica que traducía su saber estar en la vida. (Silvina Jensen)

Lo que más me sorprendía de Carlos Iván era el contraste entre las terribles tareas en las que se veía comprometido y su carácter modesto, alegre y festivo. El animador empático de los dolorosos debates y el líder resuelto de los bailes. Sus intervenciones siempre justas, catalizadoras ni su categoría

humana; la imagen del profesor ideal, con libros, calle, y ética no impostada; pero sobre todo, el resonar de la música, el cuerpo palpitando, la sonrisa extasiada y sudorosa comandando un meneaito. (Diego Escolar)

Un raro ser que se mueve entre las materias sensibles del arte y el conocimiento sin quedar manchado ni por la ingenuidad ni por la soberbia. Hablaba poéticamente y tal vez por eso sus citas se articulaban con sus exposiciones académicas de una manera honda y natural. Sus charlas emanaban belleza. Daba ganas de seguir escuchándolo por horas. Otro dato trivial: Carlos Iván jugaba admirablemente al ping-pong.

Ese hombre sensible y conocedor, afable y de buena escucha, supo también ser valiente a la hora de comprometerse con la titánica tarea de integrar la Comisión por la Verdad en Perú. Además de su legado, de los proyectos que concretó, de las ideas que puso en acción, yo me quedo con su sutileza, su capacidad para expresar lo sutil de la acción humana, del pensamiento y el sentir, los claroscuros, los matices, todo aquello que nos transmitía, como dice el poeta, “el anhelo de no ser lo mismo y buscar lo que asombra”. (Claudia Feld) ■

A Way of Living in the World: Carlos Iván Degregori

by STEVE J. STERN | University of Wisconsin-Madison | sjstern@wisc.edu

Carlos Iván Degregori was a great anthropologist, public intellectual, and mentor of students. His legacy of professional contributions is enormous and indispensable. These statements are true, but they don't go far enough. What made Carlos Iván special was not simply his incisive and creative intellect. Nor was it simply activism in pursuit of a more just, truthful, inclusive, and democratic society. He joined his intellect and activism to a way of being in the world. That way was open rather than closed, shaped by instincts empathetic and collaborative and eager to learn more. Without losing sight of his own analysis, he knew how to learn from other people and experiences.

Carlos Iván's way of being, as well as his intellect and civic activism, laid a strong foundation for the 2001-2003 Peruvian Truth and Reconciliation Commission.

Carlos Iván knew how to live life as an open journey, not a fixed destination. Intellectually and experientially, he traveled across the divides that can breed mediocrity or insularity. A poet as well as an anthropologist, Carlos Iván infused metaphorical sensibility and insight into his social science writings. He built a life as researcher, journalist, and professor in Lima in the 1980s, but remembered that his foundational experience in Ayacucho in the 1970s was fundamental to understand Shining Path and the national war crisis. An engaged citizen of Peru, he also taught abroad and thought comparatively about legacies of atrocity.

Our friendship was a 35-year journey. We first got to know one another in 1977, when I lived in Ayacucho while working on a doctoral dissertation. Notwithstanding the pressure cooker of social mobilization, repression, and splintered political ideology, he was a warm interlocutor—the kind of

person who pulls you into a community of debate, rather than pushing you out. Another memorable moment came in 1989, when we worked on the Peruvian edition of a book on Andean rebellions, resistance, and consciousness. Carlos Iván translated some of the essays, but his meticulousness and nuance turned the mechanics of translation into the art of translation—a seminar on the subtle interplays of language, culture, and analysis. Maybe I was sad when we finished.

But it was not until later that I gained deeper insight into Carlos Iván's way of living in the world. During January to May 1995, Carlos Iván joined the University of Wisconsin as a Tinker Visiting Professor. He joined our planning committee for a conference at UW-Madison on the Shining Path war, and we co-taught courses designed to prepare students for the conference. As a conference organizer, Carlos Iván cared deeply about his role as mentor for a next generation of Peruvian intellectuals. Younger Peruvians were important as persons whose research mattered and needed support, and critical for the intellectual and civic future of his country. As a teacher of U.S. students, Carlos Iván was kind and truly inter-cultural. He made the necessary critical analytical points, yet tempered them with awareness of the limited contextual knowledge of non-Peruvians. As an intellectual, he was hungry to read and discuss the works of colleagues, and to read and discuss social experiences beyond Peru.

My last conversation with Carlos Iván was not sad, at least not in the simple sense. The same rounded qualities of intellect, civic engagement, and openness to experience had prepared him to approach his illness with considerable wisdom. The cancer had brought suffering, but it had

not robbed him of lucidity and it had created a different perspective with which to reflect. That reflection included an honest awareness that he had accomplished much of value. He had not lost the capacity to laugh, or to take interest in others, or to analyze society and politics.

Carlos Iván left a legacy of accomplishment. He also left a legacy of affection. He lives in memory and heart, not only for me, but for many others. ■

Palabras para Carlos Iván Degregori

por FÉLIX REÁTEGUI-CARRILLO | Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú | felix.reategui@pucp.edu.pe

Se ha dicho en estos últimos tiempos que el Perú contemporáneo no puede ser entendido sin recurrir a los escritos de Carlos Iván Degregori. La afirmación podría sonar exagerada, pero en realidad encierra una rotunda verdad. El Perú de las últimas décadas es una sociedad que ha experimentado muchas transformaciones; es, sin duda, un país en transición. Interpretar un país así requiere de un espíritu abiertamente crítico; es decir, de una actitud crítica que, al mismo tiempo, no rehuya la empatía. Se necesita conocimientos y afectos, sentido de urgencia y algunas dosis de paciencia, indignación y voluntad de esperanza; se precisa, en suma, sabiduría. Carlos Iván fue, fundamentalmente, un hombre sabio en ese amplio sentido. Y de esa sabiduría, de esa voluntad de comprender y de juzgar con justicia, están impregnados sus escritos.

Se decía de él que era uno de los pocos científicos sociales que en el Perú cultivan el buen gusto en la escritura. Algunos atribuían ese don a su pasado recóndito de poeta. Pero más acertado sería atribuirlo, precisamente, a ese deseo suyo de pensar con empatía, de no ahorrar observaciones críticas ni juicios severos sobre las realidades que estudiaba, pero siempre rodeándolos de una expresión risueña, de una atención al detalle y a las circunstancias. Esa atención se pone en acto en sus escritos; estos nos dicen que el Perú de nuestro tiempo —el de las ciudades cada vez más andinas y rurales, el del campo cada vez más abocado a una modernización violenta y monocorde, el del persistente racismo y el de una inequidad que impacienta y subleva— merece algo más que recetas, dogmas y asertos mecánicos: amerita comprensión, pero no para aceptar dócilmente el *status quo* sino para construir esperanza sobre la base del conocimiento.

Un libro coescrito por Carlos Iván Degregori fue mi primer encuentro con la ciencia social. Era su trabajo compartido sobre la mentalidad de las nuevas generaciones de hijos de inmigrantes a Lima: *Conquistadores de un nuevo mundo*. Después, muy pronto, me tocaría leer sus escritos sobre Sendero Luminoso y sus inclasificables trabajos sobre la política peruana. No eran ciencia política, no eran antropología política; tampoco eran piezas periodísticas. Eran una reflexión original y creativa, que visitaba las más diversas disciplinas para inventar algo a partir de ellas: eran lo que, a la distancia, solemos reconocer como el trabajo de un intelectual libre.

Pero, si sus libros fueron, son, un aprendizaje ineludible para todo aprendiz de las ciencias sociales en Perú, tuve la fortuna de recibir de Carlos Iván una enseñanza directa, personal, cálida sobre lo que podríamos llamar una “ética de la sabiduría”. Como colaborador suyo en la elaboración del Informe Final de la Comisión de la Verdad y Reconciliación, aprendí de él el arte de equilibrar los matices y el rigor, tanto en la construcción de un argumento científico cuanto en la afirmación y la defensa de una postura moral. Ser firmes en la crítica, y al mismo tiempo dejar un puente tendido para el diálogo: esa es la lección que recibí, una lección que emanaba de nuestras charlas, pero sobre todo de su talante. Eran días de indignación, eran días de estupor ante el Perú que habíamos descubierto. Fueron, para mí, además, días en que mi admiración por el escritor se extendió hacia ese hombre sencillo e inteligente, que sonreía casi como excusándose por ser tan brillante, en quien encontré un maestro y un amigo inolvidable. ■

En memoria del maestro

por MARIANO ARONÉS PALOMINO | Fundación Acción Contra el Hambre, Perú | maronesp@hotmail.com

Lo sentía distante y cercano a la vez. Había comenzado mi travesura antropológica y lo más que sabía de ella era lo bonito que hablaba de las comunidades, de sus “creencias”, de sus costumbres, de lo “bien” que funcionaba la vida al interior de ellas. En mi colegio no faltaba un antropólogo en el jurado calificador de los concursos de danzas folklóricas, ya sea del “ipu para” o “del trigo eray”. Me decía qué bonito es ser antropólogo, estudiar y dar a conocer la vida de las comunidades campesinas. “Debo ser uno de ellos”, me decía.

Pero al mismo tiempo había crecido en medio de dinamitas, de esas que Sendero Luminoso detonaba en la puerta de alguna institución pública. Pero también cantando el himno patrio, mientras el “Glorioso” Ejército Peruano incursionaba en Putis o en Accomarca, en Cayara o en La Cantuta, con sus caras pintadas, diciendo “concha tu madre”, para luego asesinar senderistas o no senderistas y sobre sus cuerpos inertes gritar “¡viva la patria!” Mis sentimientos se encontraban entonces, pues el cariño que sentía por las comunidades campesinas se fue diluyendo gracias al “Presidente Gonzalo”, o gracias también a Clemente Noel, aquel General que había convertido el cuartel “Los Cabitos” de Ayacucho en un verdadero campo de concentración. Comencé más bien a mirarlos con reparo, tratando de comprenderlos, en sus virtudes y en sus defectos, tratando en lo posible de no crearme “lo bonito” que decían de ellas los antropólogos.

Entonces, algo me llevó a su libro, tal vez su nombre. Carlos Iván Degregori, me sabía místico. Me devoré entonces uno de sus mejores libros, *El surgimiento de Sendero Luminoso*. Y desde entonces comprendí que no había mejor forma de comprender lo que pasaba en mi país y en mi Ayacucho, si no a través de su prosa.

Comencé a admirarlo y a entablar con él una relación de afecto intelectual, casi igual o mayor al que mantengo con Arguedas o Mariátegui. Los leo y releo, no solo porque intento aprender de ellos, sino más bien porque representan la esperanza de una patria con todos y para todos. En mi caso, porque alientan las ganas de vivir, porque cuando mi país, ha veces se torna nauseabunda, como cuando casi elegimos a la hija del dictador, leerlos es como volver a la vida y encontrarle sentido. Y Carlos Iván es eso, Degregori también y Caso mucho más.

Gracias Maestro y descansa tranquilo. Has cumplido con creces tu papel de peruano, de antropólogo e intelectual público. A tu luz, quienes te seguimos lo seguiremos haciendo, pendiente de nuestro país, y pendiente también de tu llamado, de tu correo, de tu aliento, de tu mirada sonriente, de tu seriedad cuando exponías o de tus garabatos de cuando pensabas. Pendientes también de tus escritos en *Ideele*, *Argumentos*, *Perú 21* o *La República*, o de tus certeros libros, que con “talante cachaciento” (uso tus palabras) hablaban del Perú, de sus problemas y sus posibilidades.

Hasta siempre maestro. ■

ON THE PROFESSION

Remembering Carlos Iván Degregori

by PETER WINN | Tufts University | Peter.Winn@tufts.edu

Carlos Ivan and I became friends in 1993, when he was Tinker Visiting Professor at Columbia University. For many years after that we were “LASA friends,” who would make sure to have a lengthy lunch or dinner at LASA meetings or at other conferences we attended. Our conversation was mostly about Peruvian politics, and Carlos Iván was an incisive analyst, as well as an engaged intellectual.

We talked at length about Sendero Luminoso. Carlos Iván’s years teaching at Ayacucho’s Universidad Nacional de San Cristóbal de Huamanga gave him a unique perspective on Sendero. “Abimael Guzmán was my dean and signed my paychecks,” he would tell me with an ironic laugh, detailing Sendero’s efforts to recruit him. Degregori’s book, *El surgimiento de Sendero Luminoso: Ayacucho, 1969-1979*, published in 1990, is still essential reading for anyone who wants to understand Sendero and political violence in Peru during the 1980s and 1990s. Soon Carlos Iván would be in a position to officially document that violence and explain Sendero Luminoso to all of Peru, and to help reshape his country’s historical memory of its tragic past.

Our friendship both deepened and took a different turn during the first years of the new century when I was asked by the Social Science Research Council (SSRC) to evaluate its program on collective memory that Carlos Iván co-directed with Elizabeth Jelin, a program to train young Latin American scholars in memory studies. Carlos Iván worked mostly with the Peruvian fellows in the program and it became clear to me in the course of my evaluation that he was their mentor as well as their teacher. My role as external evaluator led to long conversations with Carlos Iván about the battles over the historical memory of the traumatic recent

past in both the Andean Region and the Southern Cone, including the important role played by truth commissions in Chile and Argentina.

As the SSRC program was drawing to a close, Carlos Iván was asked to become a commissioner on the Peruvian Truth and Reconciliation Commission (CVR) formed after the fall of Fujimori. I remember him giving a cautiously optimistic impromptu talk about the CVR for the SSRC fellows at their final meeting in Ica in December 2001, at a time when its likely outcomes were still unclear. His caution was understandable given Peru’s recent history, but mostly misplaced where the CVR was concerned. The CVR would prove a transforming experience for Peru, and for Carlos Iván. He would play a major role on the CVR and emerge as one of Peru’s leading public intellectuals.

The Commission’s report, with Carlos Iván as a principal writer, stressed the need to place the deaths of almost 70,000 rural indigenous Peruvians within the larger context of the country’s history of racism, inequality and neglect. When I visited him in Lima, Carlos Iván insisted that I see Yuyanapaq, the remarkable photography exhibit created in the wake of the CVR to transmit its findings to broader publics who were unlikely to read its dense volumes of evidence and critical analysis, an exhibit that broadly contextualized Peru’s recent political violence. Carlos Iván had the gratifying experience of putting his knowledge into practice, and having that practice transform his knowledge. But, as an activist scholar, he worried about what would happen to the CVR’s recommendations *after* its report was presented and published, and continued to research and write about Peru’s struggle for truth, memory and justice during the years that followed. He was a fitting winner of

the 2010 LASA Martin Diskin Award for activist scholarship.

His final blog, analyzing Peruvian politics in the lead-up to its runoff presidential election was a typical combination of insight, wisdom and style. It was posted only a month before his foretold death, after long goodbyes to friends, relatives, students and colleagues. In the personal, in the public, in the political, Carlos Iván Degregori was a model to us all. His passing leaves all of us poorer. He will be sorely missed. ■

Contemplación, curiosidad, comprensión y crítica

por TAMIA PORTUGAL | Instituto de Estudios Peruanos
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Trabajé con Carlos Iván los dos últimos años. Su casa era preciosa por su sencillez. Tenía lo necesario para una felicidad tranquila. Violetas, un escritorio, adornos bellos —la mayoría ayacuchanos— libros, un pequeño equipo de música. Me reconocía intimidada cuando él abría la puerta: pronto escucharía sus palabras para enseñarme nuevas dimensiones de la diversidad de existencias, con un compromiso político que implicaba contemplación, curiosidad, comprensión y crítica.

Nunca me mostró autocompasión o rabia, ni en los momentos menos gratos. Ante las mezquindades solo perdía el hilo de su sonrisa para decir “en fin”, y continuaba buscando en nuestras conversaciones otro motivo de curiosidad y asombro.

Se sorprendía no solo de los hallazgos del trabajo, sino también de encontrar —en su camino de trámites y tratamientos— tanta gente que le daba una mano. En realidad, no hacía más que recoger lo que en su andar por la vida había creado: esos lazos de energía que lo ponían en contacto con la bondad de tantos corazones antes tocados por él.

La vida de Carlos Iván significa mucho para mi país. Nos permite reconocer, con la mente y el corazón, lo que nos enriquece y lo que nos falta, para actuar con humildad y aprender que todo lo que otro ofrece tiene un valor único. ■

Es difícil

por ROSA SOLANO | Instituto de Estudios Peruanos | rosa@iep.org.pe

Es difícil hablar de Carlos Iván, y lo es por dos razones: porque fue un increíble ser humano que ha dejado un gran vacío, y porque tengo aún dificultad en conciliar los tiempos de los verbos y hablar de él en tiempo pasado. Su calidad humana va de la mano con el intelectual que fue, un ser humano comprometido con los problemas de su tiempo. Amó la docencia, la cual le permitía enseñar y sobre todo aprender y fue así que nos dejó, viendo la vida misma como un aprendizaje, pues a menudo repetía “aprendiendo a vivir se nos va la vida”. ■

DEBATES

The Illness of President Hugo Chávez Frías: Catalyst for Crisis or Revolutionary Consolidation?

by DAVID J. MYERS | Penn State University | djm8@psu.edu

Introduction

On June 30, 2011 President Hugo Chávez unsettled Venezuelan politics by revealing that doctors had removed a cancerous tumor from his abdomen and that he would undergo chemotherapy. The 56-year-old president had opined on many occasions that he expected to continue in office until 2031, but the discovery of cancer raised questions about his ability to run in the 2012 presidential election. Opponents of the regime feared that should Hugo Chávez Frías win those elections he would snuff out the last vestiges of representative democracy, impose a command economy, restrict civil liberties and render political competition meaningless. For this reason they had united in an umbrella organization, the United Democratic Table (MUD), to contest the upcoming presidential election. Chávez's supporters, in contrast, looked forward to consolidating their socialist model during the 2013–2019 presidential term. Indeed, most Venezuelan elites saw the 2012 presidential election as a possible tipping point.

This work examines the impact of President Hugo Chávez's illness on Venezuelan politics. It views Venezuela as approaching an important fork on the path of political development. Tensions are escalating but President Chávez's illness did not create the tensions; it merely added seasoning to an already dicey situation. Probing the political impact of the President's illness requires us to ask four questions: What were the salient characteristics of the country's politics on June 30, 2011? How did the announcement by President Chávez that he had cancer affect the behavior of important political actors? How did the President deal with the reaction of political actors to his illness? What political scenarios are most

credible as Venezuela approaches the 2012 presidential election?

Venezuelan Polity on the Eve of the Cancer Announcement

Measures introduced by President Chávez during the run-up to presidential elections in 2006 tilted the electoral playing field in his favor. Nevertheless, opposition political leaders did not repeat the mistake made during his first term when on three occasions they attempted to remove him by force. In 2006 the opposition played by the rules when they ran Manuel Rosales in the presidential election and Rosales graciously recognized President Chavez's victory. Two years later, in regional elections, opposition political parties competed and elected governors in the most populous states. In the legislative elections of December 7, 2010 opposition candidates split the popular vote evenly with candidates of the government political party, the Partido Socialista Unido de Venezuela (PSUV). However, the electoral system limited opposition parties to 40 percent of National Assembly deputies.

Abandonment of efforts to remove President Chávez by extra-constitutional means did not soften his hostility toward the opposition. For him they remained *Los Escuálidos* (the squalid ones), linked to the discredited political parties, the oligarchy, multinational corporations and the U.S. government. In December 2007 President Chávez held a referendum that would allow for his indefinite reelection, end the Central Bank's autonomy and recentralize the state. Voters rejected these changes, but in a second referendum on February 14, 2009 they approved reelection for all office holders. This emboldened the president who speeded up the pace of social transformation. On January 15, 2010, for

the first time, he declared that he was a Marxist. Eleven months later the Chavista-controlled National Assembly (AN) passed an "enabling law" that gave the president legislative powers for eighteen months and approved a collection of laws (the so-called Cuban Package) that imposed most of the changes that had been rejected in the referendum of December 2007. These actions brought a strong public rebuke from the Archbishop of Caracas, Cardinal Jorge Urosa Savino.

As of June 2011 social and economic conditions in Venezuela were improving. This reinforced positive attitudes toward the Chávez government (52 percent of those polled) and identification with the official political party, PSUV (30 percent). Except for the construction industry, the economy had recovered from the recession of 2009. Industrial production was up 7.8 percent, Gross Domestic Product had grown 4.5 percent and unemployment hovered around 8.5 percent. The rate of government spending was set to increase by one third, which would benefit the pro-government middle class known as the "Boliburgesia." High crime rates and lack of personal security remained a major problem, as did deterioration of the physical infrastructure. On balance, however, satisfaction with economic gains trumped concern over increasing social control by the state.

Fallout From the Illness

In his June 30 address to the nation President Chávez declared that he was well along the road to recovery. However, reports circulated that he had only a 50 percent chance to live more than eighteen months. Vice-President Elías Jaua and the cabinet quickly proclaimed their unity in support of the stricken leader, but

uncertainty over the nature of Chávez's illness sparked the fiercest conflict within his movement since it had taken power. Two important factions emerged. One centered on the military and the other included leftist civilians such as Foreign Minister Nicolas Maduro, Vice President Jaua and the President's older brother, Adán Chávez.

Diosdado Cabello and Jessie Chacón cast long shadows within the armed forces. They belonged to the President's military cohort and acted as trusted lieutenants in the unsuccessful coup of February 4, 1992. Each received an important cabinet portfolio under President Chávez, but more recently they had devoted themselves to private economic activity and accumulated fortunes. Many active-duty military personnel are also rumored to have amassed personal wealth. These opportunities would vanish if the Chavista movement lost power. Like most of the President's supporters his generals were not confident that Chavismo without Chávez could carry the day. News of the president's cancer led the generals to begin laying the groundwork for justifying their refusal to accept defeat in the 2012 presidential elections.

Militantly leftist Chavista civilian leaders made many of the same calculations as their military comrades. As early as June 27 Adán Chávez opined in the Venezuelan media that it would be "unforgivable" for the government "to limit itself only to electoral ways, and not to pursue other methods of struggle, including armed struggle," to stay in power. This suggested that ideological and operational differences between the two factions of Chavismo were not great. The core conflict between them, and it should not be underestimated, was over control of the rent-dispensing state.

Within the opposition, reaction was guarded to news of the president's illness. In the first place, opposition leaders did not know how grave the illness was. Most believed that a life-threatening or incapacitating illness presented them with a golden opportunity to defeat the Chavistas in free elections. However, open rejoicing over the president's predicament would appear to be in poor taste and likely self-defeating. Thus, opposition leaders attended public religious services in which Roman Catholic, evangelical and Santeria clergy offered prayers for the President and petitioned for his recovery. Those who planned to compete in the opposition primary elections scheduled for February 12 followed the lead of Henrique Capriles Radonski, the governor of Miranda State, who declared that he looked forward to campaigning against and defeating a healthy President Chávez in the 2012 presidential elections.

Reasserting Control and Regaining Momentum

Infighting among his supporters brought President Chávez back to Caracas on July 4, earlier than planned. In a meeting with visiting heads of state the following evening and by appearing at Fort Tiuna (the most important military base in Caracas) on the morning of July 7 President Chávez proclaimed that he remained in control. During an early morning jog with cadets at Fort Tiuna their *comandante* told reporters that never again would the opposition govern the fatherland. On that afternoon the President convened a cabinet meeting during which he confirmed the portfolios of all incumbents and added a new Minister of Youth (Mari Pili Hernández). The following week, in a highly publicized telephone call to educators at the headquarters of the National Bolivarian

University, President Chávez concluded with the boast that "the transition that is coming is to socialism." In subsequent television appearances he displayed his fiery rhetoric by calling the opposition MUD a "nest of serpents and snakes." On July 17, as he departed for Havana to begin a new round of chemotherapy, President Chávez boasted that he would rise "like a phoenix." He appeared satisfied that he had succeeded in restoring the political situation to what it was prior to the announcement of his illness.

Chávez returned to Caracas on July 23 and remained in Venezuela until September 17, when he again journeyed to Cuba for a fourth (and final?) round of chemotherapy. Soon after his return he announced that he would run for reelection as president. A flood of press releases from the President's office followed, highlighting the Comandante's determination to fight for his people while defeating the disease that had invaded his body. However, he no longer appeared on television for hours at a time, as he had in the past. When he did appear in public he emphasized the themes that marked his discourse since 2007: the importance of completing the transition to Twenty-First Century socialism, the corruption of the oligarchy and their "squalid" minions and the dangers posed by the United States.

Opposition leaders responded to the President's improving health and efforts to accelerate the Bolivarian Revolution by resuming preparations to fight what they viewed as an epic battle for survival. More opposition politicians announced their intention to run in the February opposition primary elections while promising to campaign for the victor in the general election. As of late September, Henrique Capriles Radonsky (Governor of the state of Miranda) and Pablo Pérez (Governor of

the state of Zulia) had established themselves as first-tier candidates. The former appealed mainly to interests that in the previous regime had backed the Social Christian party (COPEI). The latter drew support from groups once associated with Acción Democrática, the social democratic party. The chronology of confrontation gelled in mid-September, when the National Electoral Council scheduled the presidential election for October 7, 2012 and the regional elections for governor and state legislatures for December. In a brazen challenge to the government, the MUD petitioned the National Assembly to pass a transition law, arguing that it was necessary because the government would surely lose the election. President Chávez called the petition “a bad joke.”

To summarize, as of late September 2011 the political ground in Venezuela lay much as it had in early June, prior to the cancer surgery. In addition, President Chávez had announced that he would run for a third term and half of all Venezuelans viewed his government favorably. The Comandante appeared capable of waging a vigorous reelection campaign although doubts persisted. The position of the opposition was not hopeless. It was better organized than at any time since the national elections of 1998. Nevertheless, President Chávez stood an excellent chance of winning a third term. This would devastate the opposition’s ability to prevent him from dismantling the last vestiges of representative democracy.

Health, Still the Wild Card

The “Chávez Recovery Scenario” discussed above assumes that the President will be able to conduct a credible reelection campaign. However, should the return of

cancer incapacitate him two other scenarios will come into play.

In the first, the President’s older brother Adán or Foreign Minister Nicolas Maduro would step forward. In consultation with the Castro brothers—who have much to lose if the opposition wins the 2012 presidential election—Chávez nominates either Adán or Maduro as the government’s presidential candidate. The former has been the President’s top liaison with Cuba’s regime. He is currently governor of the Chávez family’s native Barinas state and is part of the Chavismo’s radical leftist, pro-Cuban wing. Nicolas Maduro is close to the President, charismatic and more popular with the inner circle than Adán. Both have indicated that they would go beyond “electoral ways” to insure that the revolution remained in power.

The second scenario revolves about a military-supported “Boliburgesía” candidate. It would come to pass should a fierce power struggle erupt within the president’s inner circle. To prevent chaos, Venezuela’s military hierarchy would persuade the president to appoint former Vice President Diosdado Cabello—Chávez’s all-purpose aide—as the government’s presidential candidate. This would appeal to top military officers who have become multimillionaires but do not support a Cuban-style communist model. Also, the military fears that radical civilians in the inner circle would replace the armed forces with Cuban-styled semi-independent territorial militias. In the final analysis the generals would support Cabello because they believe he would lead a crony capitalist government without abandoning Chávez’s radical leftist rhetoric.

President Chávez would likely prefer the first alternative although he might opt for the second if he believed that only the

armed forces could maintain order and preserve the revolution. Regardless, it is clear that the return of the President’s cancer would destabilize Venezuela, transform Chavismo and open the door to victory by the opposition in the 2012 presidential election. The scenario in which President Chávez is capable of conducting a credible reelection campaign appears more probable. ■

Venezuela entre incertidumbres y sorpresas

por MARGARITA LÓPEZ MAYA | Universidad Central de Venezuela | malopezmaya@yahoo.com

Encarnando el Presidente Hugo Chávez uno de los liderazgos más carismáticos, mesiánicos y/o populistas de la política latinoamericana de todos los tiempos, este año 2011 ha sido particularmente extravagante para mi país. El término extravagante puede sonar extraño para iniciar un análisis sociopolítico. Sin embargo, no encuentro otra palabra para caracterizar la atmósfera que se está viviendo en la sociedad venezolana como resultado de varias situaciones que se estaban desarrollando con anterioridad, y el totalmente imprevisto episodio que saltó en junio: la enfermedad del titánico Presidente.

Desde 2006, cuando Chávez fue reelecto para un segundo mandato con una mayoría contundente, comenzó una fase nueva del proceso de cambios en Venezuela. El Presidente propuso lo que llamó una radicalización de la democracia participativa, dejando atrás el capitalismo, para ir a un “Socialismo del siglo XXI”. La concreción de lo que significaba este socialismo se dio en la propuesta de reforma a la Constitución que Chávez presentó a la Asamblea Nacional (AN) en 2007. Durante la discusión en la AN —entonces totalmente controlada por partidarios del gobierno— se añadieron algunas propuestas más, lo que significó un proyecto de reforma a 69 artículos, para introducir, entre otros, la reelección indefinida del Presidente; la creación de unas milicias populares llamadas bolivarianas; la creación de un Poder Popular que no seguiría el principio del sufragio universal, directo y secreto; procesos de recentralización político-administrativos; la elevación de los topes en el número de firmas necesarias para la convocatoria de los diferentes referendos populares; la potestad del Presidente para crear regiones especiales con fines estratégicos y nombrar autoridades

especiales para garantizar la soberanía y defensa del territorio; y la ciudad como unidad político primaria de organización territorial en vez del municipio. La reforma causó bastantes dudas y polémicas y fue rechazada en referendo popular ese diciembre (López Maya, 2011).

Pese a este rechazo, Chávez continuó en su empeño de modificar la democracia participativa según su nuevo proyecto político. Consiguió una oportunidad a fines del año siguiente. Al resultar en las elecciones de gobernadores y alcaldes de noviembre de 2008 fortalecido el Partido Socialista Unido de Venezuela (PSUV), Chávez introdujo inmediatamente en la AN una propuesta de enmienda constitucional para someter a aprobación popular una de las propuestas rechazadas: su reelección indefinida. Esta propuesta inicial fue modificada poco después para hacerla extensiva a todos los cargos de elección popular, lo que parece haber sido decisivo para que fuera aprobada en referendo realizado en febrero de 2009. Con esta enmienda, las nuevas élites políticas obtuvieron un dispositivo legal importante para su consolidación en el poder.

Así mismo, el Presidente y sus seguidores calcularon haberse recuperado totalmente de la derrota política sufrida en 2007 y volvieron sobre las propuestas del rechazado socialismo. Utilizando ahora la AN, todavía controlada casi totalmente por ellos, las reformas rechazadas han venido siendo replanteadas como leyes. Esto ha sido un camino de dudosa legalidad y legitimidad, pues la Constitución es taxativa en asentar que reformas constitucionales presentadas y rechazadas en un período constitucional, deben esperar a uno nuevo para volver a proponerse (art. 345). Sin embargo, en la actualidad, la subordinación de los otros poderes públicos al presidente Chávez es diáfana y

se ha expresado en incontables oportunidades. De modo que las interpretaciones de la ley por parte del Poder Judicial se ajustan a las exigencias del Presidente (López Maya y Lander, 2010).

De esta manera 2011 abrió especialmente turbulento. En el país y afuera comenzó a considerarse que Venezuela, en virtud de la Habilitante y del “paquetazo legislativo”, entraba en una fase ya más claramente dictatorial. ONG de derechos humanos denunciaron la Ley de Defensa de la Soberanía Política y Autodeterminación Nacional, por la ambigüedad en las definiciones de organizaciones “políticas” afectadas por dicha ley, lo que vieron como estrategia gubernamental para debilitar y desaparecer cualquier organización de la sociedad civil que no fuera complaciente con las políticas de Chávez (Tal Cual, 5-1-11)¹. Miembros de juntas parroquiales, muchos de ellos chavistas, acudieron ante el Tribunal Supremo de Justicia (TSJ), para exigirle la anulación de la reforma de la Ley Orgánica del Poder Público Municipal por eliminar la elección de los integrantes de esas instancias de gobierno por comicios universales, directos y secretos y pasar la elección a asambleas de los consejos comunales (*El Nacional* 22-1-2011). En el plano internacional, el secretario general de la OEA aseveró que la ley Habilitante era “completamente contraria” a la Carta Democrática Interamericana e insinuó la posibilidad de que el organismo multilateral convocase una reunión para deliberar sobre este asunto. Muy similar fueron las declaraciones del secretario de Estado Adjunto de EEUU (*El Universal*, 7-1-11).

El presidente Chávez pareció afectado por estas crecientes denuncias y el 15 de enero, al presentarse a la AN para entregar su Memoria y Cuenta de 2010, negó que fuese

un dictador y que tuviera un proyecto comunista bajo la manga. Habló de superar la confrontación, eliminar la diatriba amigo-enemigo y pasar a hablar de adversarios políticos. Ofreció al nuevo Parlamento reducir la Ley Habilitante de 18 a 5 meses de duración (*El Universal*, 16-1-11). Esto no pasó de ser una declaración sin consecuencias, pues poco después Chávez presentó “cinco líneas de acción” para el relanzamiento del PSUV con cara a las elecciones de 2012, donde asentó como quinta línea “repolitizar” y “repolarizar”. Sobre su ofrecimiento de retirar o disminuir la Habilitante dijo: “Sigan gritando en el vacío (...) Bájense de esa nube...” (*El Universal*, 22-1-11).

A inicios de mayo 2011, ciertos desarreglos en la salud del Presidente lo obligaron a posponer una gira a Brasil, Ecuador y Cuba. La causa, se dijo, era una inflamación de rodilla, que lo mantenía guardando reposo. No es, empero, inusual que Chávez se ausente algunos días del escrutinio público. Cuando ocurre, los medios oficiales alegan dolencias sin importancia.

Chávez salió de gira el 5 de junio, pero fue el 11 cuando el gobierno informó que había sido operado en La Habana. Primero se diagnosticó su dolencia como un “absceso pélvico” y se dijo que se recuperaba sin problemas. Siguió días con escasa y falsa información, lo que produjo alarmas, rumores y diversas conjeturas. Declaraciones dadas por funcionarios del alto gobierno reflejaron que también a ellos se les vedó la información fidedigna.

Finalmente, el 30 de junio Chávez se dirigió a la nación a través de una grabación hecha en Cuba. Poco antes había comenzado a enviar mensajes por twitter a sus seguidores y se transmitieron imágenes de él con Fidel

Castro, en lo que pareció el centro hospitalario donde se recuperaba. El mensaje fue de pocos minutos, transmitido en cadena nacional, donde el Presidente dio la versión oficial de su mes de ausencia. Explicó que había sido operado dos veces porque se le consiguió, luego de la primera operación, células cancerígenas. Más delgado y demacrado, pero en su estilo titánico y épico característico, apeló a la imagen del abismo desde el cual luchaba por salir, y convocó a dioses y santos: “comencé a pedirle a mi señor Jesús, al Dios de mis padres, diría Simón Bolívar; al manto de la Virgen, diría mi madre Elena; a los espíritus de la sabana, diría Florentino Coronado, para que me concedieran la posibilidad de hablarles, no desde otro sendero abismal, no desde una oscura caverna o una noche sin estrellas. Ahora quería hablarles desde este camino empinado por donde siento que voy saliendo ya de otro abismo. Ahora quería hablarles con el sol del amanecer que siento me ilumina. Creo que lo hemos logrado. ¡Gracias, Dios mío!” (*Aporrea*, 7-1-2011).

El 4 de julio Chávez regresó al país, apareciendo esa tarde en el balcón del Palacio Presidencial, vestido de uniforme, con la bandera en la mano y dándose vítores a sí mismo². Desde entonces, ha vuelto a La Habana dos veces más para comenzar su tratamiento de quimioterapia, del cual dijo que serían tres etapas (*Últimas Noticias*, 17-7-2011). El mes de julio se llenó de rezos, vigiliat, y grabaciones estrambóticas sobre el caudillo resucitado, como una del Presidente y sus ministros haciendo ejercicios al amanecer —él dando, como siempre, las pautas— y toda una parafernalia de actividades y eventos alrededor de su persona, que han conformado un culto a la personalidad pocas veces visto en país democrático alguno³. Mientras tanto, el discurso ha venido variando; Chávez sugirió retirar el

slogan “Patria socialista o muerte” por el de “Viviremos y venceremos”, y ha exhortado a los magistrados del TSJ para que dicten medidas cautelares a los presos con cáncer, lo que ocurrió inmediatamente. A sus seguidores pidió “unidad, unidad” y acabar con el “caudillismo” [sic]. En una reunión con empresarios, el vice-presidente declaró que no busca “confrontar o aniquilar al sector privado” (*Últimas Noticias*, 28-7-2011). Otra novedad es que después de regresar por segunda vez de Cuba, Chávez se presentó vestido de civil, dice que no hay porque vestirse de “rojo”, ahora usa lentes y cabeza rasurada, anunciando un “new look” y un nuevo estilo de gobernar.

Para concluir este análisis es necesario detenernos en el desempeño político de la Mesa de la Unidad (MUD), plataforma de coordinación de la mayoría de las fuerzas sociales y políticas de oposición. También mencionar al partido Patria Para Todos (PPT), que se separó de la coalición de gobierno y no se ha incorporado a la MUD tratando de abrir una alternativa política distinta a la polarizada. En las elecciones parlamentarias de 2010 la sumatoria de los votos del PPT fue de 354.677, un caudal pequeño pero nada deleznable con miras a las presidenciales de 2012, probablemente reñidas.

En las parlamentarias de 2010, los votos no chavistas superaron los chavistas por 406.301 votos⁴. Fue una victoria política importante, resultado de estrategias acertadas, que lograron capitalizar el desencanto creciente de los venezolanos con la gestión pública del chavismo y sus tendencias autoritarias. El éxito no fue solamente de la MUD, pues la diferencia señala que el PPT logró recoger un descontento en las filas del chavismo, que marcó la diferencia. Para las fuerzas de la oposición, el gran reto ahora es lograr que

este caudal electoral se exprese a favor de una alternativa presidencial distinta a Chávez, que rectifique el proyecto político. Una tarea nada fácil.

Este año, al inaugurarse la AN, una iniciativa interesante de los partidos de oposición, fue la conformación de los llamados bloques parlamentarios. Siguiendo un criterio de afinidades ideológicas y sin salirse de la MUD, los 67 diputados de la oposición (65 de la MUD y 2 del PPT) se agruparon en varios bloques parlamentarios con la finalidad de hacer avanzar actividades y leyes cónsonas a intereses más parciales. En esta política de los bloques, el partido PPT se incorporó al de partidos que vienen de la izquierda: Podemos, Causa R y el MAS. Otros bloques reúnen a socialcristianos, socialdemócratas e independientes. La política de los bloques mejora el trabajo legislativo de la oposición, y le permite al PPT colaborar con sus afines, sin necesidad de identificarse con la MUD. Esta política de bloques ha trascendido el ámbito legislativo y se está practicando en espacios locales, regionales y sindicales, agregándose en éstos otras organizaciones y redes que no tienen representación parlamentaria. Otra actividad importante de las fuerzas de la oposición está centrada en la escogencia de un candidato unitario para las presidenciales. Son muchas las tensiones y dificultades de esta estrategia política, dada la heterogeneidad que anida en el seno de la oposición. Sin embargo, la dinámica electoral polarizada impuesta por Chávez y su partido, no deja posibilidad de éxito de una “tercera alternativa”. Las fuerzas de la MUD acordaron privilegiar el mecanismo de una consulta amplia a los electores — unas primarias— como el fundamental para la escogencia del candidato unitario. Este proceso ha sido fijado para realizarse en febrero de 2012.

Pero, sin dudas, el desafío es enorme. El Presidente cuenta hoy con los poderes públicos subordinados a él, con los recursos públicos prácticamente puestos a su disposición, con una maquinaria partidista, como es hoy el PSUV, que cada vez que convoca a una manifestación en su apoyo moviliza a millares de personas de todo el país mediante una vasta y costosa logística, con el control de un emporio mediático que ha sido puesto al servicio de su partido e ideología. Ese emporio incluye las cadenas, que Chávez antes de enfermarse usaba a un promedio inter-diario, y el programa dominical *Aló Presidente*. A esto se añade la nueva estructura estatal de los consejos comunales y las comunas, a los cuales Chávez aprueba recursos de manera personal y directa, además de dar recursos a través de las misiones sociales, que aunque deficitarias siguen proporcionando a sectores pobres acceso a servicios de salud, vivienda, y educación que en el pasado les estuvieron vedados. Las fuerzas que se oponen al proyecto chavista deben remontar la cuesta del “Estado Mágico”, creador de ilusiones que se disparan, como ahora, con el alza del precio del barril petrolero en el mercado internacional (Coronil, 2002). El lanzamiento de la Gran Misión Vivienda, es otro conejo que sale de la chistera de ese Estado Mágico. Con tantas necesidades insatisfechas, esta misión busca despertar entre los pobres una vez más las expectativas.

El Presidente ha sido claro en sus aspiraciones de mantenerse como candidato electoral para el 2012 por lo que sólo un impedimento biológico lo detendría. Como todo el andamiaje institucional gira en torno de su persona, un escenario donde no pueda presentarse debilitaría enormemente la opción electoral chavista en 2012. Una encuesta reciente señaló que fuera del Presidente, los demás dirigentes del chavismo tienen menos

popularidad que el liderazgo joven de las fuerzas de oposición (IVAD-Martínez en *El Universal*, 21-7-11). La imagen de su gobierno no es ni de cerca tan popular como el Presidente, por lo que nada garantiza la transferencia de su capital político a algún dirigente, cuyo mayor mérito sea su lealtad a Chávez. El hipotético retiro de la candidatura de Chávez abriría, por otra parte, una caja de pandora. Son muchos los intereses económicos, políticos, internacionales (como los del gobierno de Cuba), que se verían amenazados. El resultado sería impredecible.

Mucho se ha especulado sobre los cambios de discurso y ciertas nuevas actitudes del presidente Chávez a raíz de su tratamiento. Dichos cambios deben leerse en clave electoral y no como señales de un cambio de rumbo del proyecto socialista, o de una rectificación del estilo despótico y polarizado del poder que caracteriza al líder y sus seguidores. Chávez y su entorno han percibido el cansancio de sus discursos incendiarios y promesas grandilocuentes en una población que sufre los rigores de una pésima gestión de los servicios públicos y está asediada por el hampa, el crimen y la violencia social. Ataviarse crecientemente de civil e invitar a sus seguidores a trajearse con colores distintos al rojo, parece revelar que Chávez ha entendido, que pese a todo su poder y recursos, la intolerancia comienza a hacer mella también entre sus seguidores, y que no las tiene todas consigo para reelegirse en 2012. También ha dicho que no hay que amenazar con las expropiaciones. En fin, necesita de esa porción de chavistas no ligados a él de manera emotiva, que aprecian sus esfuerzos por la inclusión e igualdad, pero rechazan su vocación autoritaria y el quiebre de las instituciones democráticas. Ya en las parlamentarias del año pasado ese “chavismo light” o ese “demócrata

socialista” se inclinó por la oposición⁵. Es una porción relativamente pequeña, pero si recordamos que el partido PPT obtuvo sin alianzas poco más de 354.000 votos, podemos comprender el juego que comienza a desarrollarse ante nuestros ojos (CNE, 2011). Se trata de ver quién captura ese chavismo desencantado.

Por otra parte, el Presidente está enfermo. Era impensable hasta que ocurrió. El titán se ha visto reducido a proporciones humanas. Puede que las limitaciones físicas del Presidente faciliten la apertura de condiciones para mejorar la gestión pública en manos de cuadros y funcionarios del PSUV y su alianza, al no tener permanentemente encima de ellos el control del Presidente y sus cambios humorales. Puede que algunos alcaldes, gobernadores y hasta ministros, se atrevan a tomar iniciativas en sus áreas de desempeño y se dejen asesorar por profesionales en materias específicas. Ya debe ser un alivio para muchos, no tener que permanecer los domingos enteros sentados en un Aló Presidente esperando hablar cinco minutos, o que lo regañen o despidan frente a las cámaras. El Presidente dijo recientemente que debe aprender a delegar. Parece tarea casi imposible, pero quizás la naturaleza misma de su condición humana así lo oblige. Y ganaremos todos.

[A longer version of this article will appear in an upcoming issue of Nueva Sociedad.]

Notas

- ¹ La Ley, que prohíbe el financiamiento internacional, rige para “organizaciones con fines políticos, organizaciones para la defensa de los derechos políticos o personas naturales que realicen actividades políticas; así como la participación de ciudadanos extranjeros, que bajo el patrocinio de estas organizaciones, puedan atentar contra la estabilidad y funcionamiento de las instituciones de la República” (LDSPYAN, 2010).
- ² Su alocución en el llamado “Balcón del Pueblo” esa tarde estuvo llena de invocaciones religiosas y terminó con un “Viva Chávez”.
- ³ El Presidente dando consejos de salud a sus ministros mientras junto con ellos hace ejercicios en <<http://www.noticias24.com/actualidad/noticia/289634/difunden-imagenes-de-hugo-chavez-realizando-su-rutina-de-ejercicios>>.
- ⁴ Los votos chavistas sumaron 5.451.422, los no-chavistas 5.857.723.
- ⁵ En una encuesta de opinión sobre “valoraciones de los venezolanos” realizada por el Centro Gumilla se encontró al país dividido en tres tendencias políticas muy parejas. El “demócrata socialista” compartía con el chavismo la preeminencia de valores de igualdad y un Estado robusto, pero mantenía también valores de la democracia liberal como el pluralismo y el aprecio a los partidos (Virtuoso, 2010).

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A Future Without Chávez?

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The uncertainty about President Chávez's health makes predictions about the proximate future difficult, but it confirms that the transition from the Punto Fijo era (1958-1998) to the current Bolivarian period is far from consolidated. The personal crisis of the president highlights the institutional weakness of the Bolivarian Revolution, which in turn jeopardizes processes that cannot be reduced to old-style populism.

The political conjuncture in Venezuela today is quite different from the middle years of the last decade. Chávez's solid victory in the recall election of August 2004 seemed to portend the consolidation of Bolivarian hegemony. The landslide re-election of Chávez in December 2006, after a massive campaign to register voters and restore effective citizenship to hundreds of thousands of *barrio* dwellers, reinforced the sense that the political game would have to be played within a consensus defined by Bolivarianism, though with room for an opposition.

Chávez read his victories as mandates to accelerate the revolution and to re-engineer the state. A new law encouraged the formation of communal councils, local bodies that would be funded through the executive branch and by *Petróleos de Venezuela* (PDVSA), the state oil company. The councils would be composed of *voceros*, mandated representatives from various *misiones* and social movements, and would set priorities for projects to meet needs defined by the community. State and municipal boundaries would be reconfigured, and the councils would be drawn together into networks to govern above the community level. Rather than envision participatory institutions as complementary to representative ones, Chávez, though not proposing abolition of the National Assembly (AN), now

considered supplanting representative with participatory democracy.

Complementing this shift was the creation of the United Venezuelan Socialist Party (PSUV) to replace the Fifth Republic Movement (MVR). The PSUV was to be an electoral vehicle for grassroots activists, such as *voceros*, and to diminish the role of professional politicians, be they *oficialista* or opposition. In addition, Chávez called for the rapid deployment of programs of "endogenous development," emphasizing the direct "sowing" of oil profits into the solidaristic economic sector. Private property and the market would remain, but the state would use oil wealth to promote cooperatives and micro-enterprises, to accelerate land reform, and to encourage worker co-determination, leading eventually to self-managed enterprises. The resulting solidaristic sector was to coexist with the capitalist private sector, but eventually it would grow and subordinate the market, producing "twenty-first century socialism."

Under the best of circumstances such a transformation would not fully materialize in five years. The more important question is whether Venezuelans sensed that a "process" toward such an outcome was underway, and it is hard to escape the conclusion that optimism is fading. The *rentier* mentality fostered by the oil dependent economy and the low governance capacity of the regime partially explain this loss of momentum, but in the social media, many chavistas lay much of the blame on the "bureaucracy," the "Boli-bourgeoisie," or the political class for the faltering revolution.¹ Many of these activists absolve the president from responsibility for failure to overcome these obstacles; but many others recognize that the concentration of authority around the

figure of Chávez has made them more, not less difficult to overcome.

In this limited space I cannot adequately place these problems in the context of the considerable accomplishments of the regime, including poverty reduction and rolling back the tide of neoliberalism in the region (Weisbrot 2011). Absent this context, we risk validating the media narrative and most Washington politicians, who stereotype Chávez as a Third World thug. Even in the academic community we tend to reduce political processes in Venezuela to the character of Chávez, ignoring a reality that is much messier, more complex, and not subject to easy generalization.

Consider the cooperative movement. A study undertaken by the Venezuelan affiliate² of Prout Universal (an NGO "dedicated to promoting a practical socio-economic alternative to global-capitalism") and the International Cooperative Alliance³ reaches the conclusion that Venezuela deserves the label "graveyard of cooperatives" because three quarters of the 268,000 cooperatives formed and registered between 2001 and 2008 were no longer functioning in 2009. However, 23 percent continued to function, meaning that the country saw a jump from 1,045 active coops in 2001 to 62,879 in 2009.⁴ That same year, Brazil had around 20,000, Argentina approximately 10,000. The "graveyard" of cooperatives was also its cradle.

Though he remains the single most popular politician in the country, it is not unimaginable that Chávez could lose next October's presidential election. The main opposition candidates have attempted to present themselves as centrists. They will capitalize on the high crime rate and chronic corruption, and if they are smart,

they will attempt to lure “ni-ni” (neither nor) voters, the crucial swing bloc, by promising to improve rather than dismantle the most popular social and economic programs.

Still, the prospects for the opposition depend in part on its ability to remain united. Here the presence of Chávez helps more than hurts their chances. Should Chávez be entirely incapacitated, his absence would deprive the fractious and ambitious opposition of its point of unity. The PSUV might also fracture. The picture gets even muddier should Chávez have to resign or retire but not entirely leave politics. Even from a sickbed Chávez would command enough authority to designate the PSUV candidate, but could the opposition remain united under such circumstances?

We might also ponder what chavismo would be like should it lose the presidential election. A healthy Chávez would be leader of a formidable opposition determined to defend highly popular social programs. For two years at least, he would command a majority in the National Assembly, and he would retain ability to convoke popular mobilizations to defend land reform, the Barrio Adentro health program, the communal councils, subsidized food markets, and other signature programs. Defeat in the presidential election could force the PSUV to undertake a much deeper self-examination and reckoning than chavistas undertook after the defeat of the constitutional reform package of 2007 or the gains of the opposition in state and local elections of 2009 and the National Assembly election of 2010.

Chávez’s health crisis also raises important questions about the future of his international policies. We tend to overlook the leadership role that Chávez has played

in advancing new hemispheric institutions, such as UNASUR, the Banco del Sur, and, of course, ALBA, the Bolivarian Alliance for the Americas. The discounted oil sold to Cuba has generated the most headlines in the North, but the program of sales to other nations has been equally important. PetroCaribe has been a vital energy lifeline to many small states in Central America and the Caribbean, and the loss of these discounts would deal a heavy blow to these economies.

Upon news of Chávez’s health crisis, *Stabroek News*, the leading independent newspaper in Georgetown, Guyana, editorialized that the region should be concerned that a successor might terminate PetroCaribe. The oil program has “proven to be critical to the immediate solvency problems of many countries in the context of the rise in oil prices,” and Venezuelan aid was needed for “critical infrastructure projects.”⁵ An opposition government might have to think twice about cutting the oil lifeline to the Caricom region, where Venezuela has historically sought to extend its influence.

One of the main achievements of the Bolivarian Revolution has been recovery of national sovereignty over the subsoil. The oil reform of 2001 insured majority state ownership in joint ventures (adhering to the spirit, if not the letter, of the 1976 nationalization law) and a substantial increase in royalty payments (compensation for extraction of a non-renewable nature resource). These measures followed Chávez’s diplomatic success in strengthening OPEC and his victory over the three-month production stoppage orchestrated by PDVSA executives beginning in December 2003 (Mommer 2011).

Recently, however, Chávez has returned to a practice that helped sow the demise of the Punto Fijo era—borrowing against future earnings from oil exports. In fact, some new investment contracts and loans have been collateralized with future deliveries of crude, an opaque arrangement that may seriously undermine the fiscal reforms. These reforms have ensured state appropriation of windfall profits in boom times, and maximized revenues in times of low oil prices. With Chávez still in power, the signature accomplishment of his administration, maximizing appropriation of oil rents, is already in jeopardy.

From the founding of the Bolivarian movement within the military in the 1980s to the present, Hugo Chávez has assigned to himself a mission of national transformation, one that would earn for himself historical immortality—“glory” in the Machiavellian sense (Zuquete 2008). Early signs indicate that his cancer has intensified rather than tempered his sense of urgency to complete this mission.

David Smilde, introducing a co-edited volume (2011), recently advised that we devote more attention in Venezuela to “ground-level research on the relational contexts in which politics occurs in everyday social life...The most tangible effects of the revolution might not be the concrete institutions and actors the government creates, but the development of new discourses, identities, networks, and forms of association” (2011: 2). Julia Buxton writes in the forward to the same volume, “A consuming focus on the figure of President Chávez in the academic and policy literature further obscured the dynamics of change at the grassroots level, while marginalizing the complexity of the process of social change” (2011: xi).⁶

Over the years I have had many conversations with chavistas—ambassadors, community organizers, musicians, taxi drivers, professors, cabinet ministers, journalists, local mayors, military officers, and other traditional and organic intellectuals who identify with the Bolivarian Revolution. In recent exchanges I have sensed growing pessimism about the direction of the country. A high-ranking official of the oil ministry expressed concern that the country is mortgaging its economic future by borrowing against future oil deliveries. A young professor at the Universidad Bolivariana described the process as *entablada*—stalemated. A local PSUV activist in an eastern city complained that the primary for a selection of candidates to the National Assembly last year was rife with clientelism and abuse of campaign regulations.

For some, continued support for Chávez is based on a mixture of personal interest and a desire to keep alive the Bolivarian project, even if it is stalled. A long-time community organizer fears that she will lose her job, the first steady one in thirty years, with the labor ministry processing cessation claims. Members of a textile cooperative know that an opposition victory will likely result in loss of its contract to provide uniforms for Bolivarian schools. Thus, despite their misgivings, every chavista I know fears a future without Chávez.

Endnotes

- 1 To get a sense of chavista thought beyond Chávez, consult <www.aporrea.org>.
- 2 For more information, see the web page for the Venezuelan organization <priven.nhlf.org>.
- 3 For more information, see the web page of the ICA <www.ica.coop/al-ica>.
- 4 See “Diagnosis and Perspectives of the Social and Solidarity Economy in Venezuela,” *Venezuela Analysis* August 25, 2011 <venezuelanalysis.com/analysis/6443>, accessed September 20, 2011.
- 5 “Chávez and His Neighbors,” *Stabroek News* <stabroeknews.com>, July 20, 2011.
- 6 Ironically, when our final manuscript was about to go to press, the publisher insisted that the original title be amended to include the term “Chávez” somewhere so that it would show up more readily in on-line searches. Though we are not the keenest marketers, we recognized the wisdom of doing so in order to get our book in more readers’ hands.

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CALLING ALL MEMBERS

Elections 2011

Nominating Committee Slate

The LASA Nominating Committee presents the following slate of candidates for vice president and members of the Executive Council (EC). The winning candidate for vice president will serve in that capacity from June 1, 2012 to May 31, 2013 and as president from June 1, 2013 to May 31, 2014. The three winning candidates for EC membership will serve a two-year term from June 1, 2012 to May 31, 2014.

Nominees for Vice President

Reid Andrews
University of Pittsburgh

Merilee Grindle
Harvard University

Nominees for Executive Council

Daniel Balderston
University of Pittsburgh

Ruth Collier
University of California, Berkeley

Robin Derby
University of California, Los Angeles

Graciela Montaldo
Columbia University

María Clemencia Ramírez
Instituto Colombiano de Antropología e Historia

Catalina Romero
Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú

The Candidates

George Reid Andrews is Distinguished Professor of History, UCIS Research Professor, and Chair of the Department of History at the University of Pittsburgh. He received his university degrees from Dartmouth College (BA, 1972) and the University of Wisconsin-Madison (MA 1974, PhD 1978). He began his academic career at the Social Science Research Council, where he was Staff Associate for Latin America and the Caribbean (1978-81). He then moved to the University of Pittsburgh, where he has taught Latin American history since 1981. While carrying out research in Latin America, Andrews has been affiliated as a visiting researcher with the Instituto de Desarrollo Económico y Social (IDES, Buenos Aires), the Centro de Estudios de Cultura Contemporánea (CEDEC, São Paulo), and the Centro de Estudios Interdisciplinarios Latinoamericanos (CEIL, Montevideo). His research was supported by fellowships awarded by the John Simon Guggenheim Foundation, the National Endowment for the Humanities, the Rockefeller Foundation, the Social Science Research Council and the U.S. Department of Education. In his research and writing, Andrews has concentrated on the study of race in Latin America, and in particular on the history of African-descent peoples in the region. His books include *The Afro-Argentines of Buenos Aires, 1800-1900* (University of Wisconsin Press, 1980), *Blacks and Whites in São Paulo, Brazil, 1888-1988* (University of Wisconsin Press, 1991), *Afro-Latin America, 1800-1900* (Oxford University Press, 2004), and *Blackness in the White Nation: A History of Afro-Uruguay* (University of North Carolina Press, 2010). All those books have been published in Spanish and/or Portuguese translation: *Los afroargentinos de Buenos Aires, 1800-1900* (Ediciones de

la Flor, 1989), *Negros e brancos em São Paulo, 1888-1988* (EDUSC, 1998), *Afro-Latinoamérica, 1800-2000* (Iberoamericana-Vervuert, 2007), *América Afro-Latina, 1800-2000* (EDUFSCar, 2007), *Negros en la nación blanca: Historia de los afro-uruguayos, 1830-2010* (Linardi y Risso, 2011). He is also the author of numerous articles in professional journals published in Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, Israel, the United Kingdom and the United States. Within LASA, Andrews has served on the Program Committee (1986), the Nominating Committee (2001), and the Mellon-LASA Selection Committee (2009-11). He was General Editor of the University of Pittsburgh Press Latin America Series (2002-07) and currently serves, with his colleagues Alejandro de la Fuente and Lara Putnam, as Senior Editor of *Hispanic American Historical Review*.

Andrews Statement

There has never been a better time to be a student of Latin America. Continued advances in scholarship have sharpened and deepened our discussions of such widely varied topics as race, gender, socioeconomic inequality, models of economic development, state- and institution-building, cultural studies, and environmental change. Rapidly advancing communication technologies have transformed and intensified trans-regional scholarly collaboration; electronic databases, searchable newspaper archives, and the digitalization of archival materials are starting to have similar impacts on research. Perhaps most important of all, the democratic openings of the 1980s and 1990s have gone on to produce, in recent years, an extraordinary wealth of new political, social, and economic experiments. None of these experiments is perfect, but all of them represent serious, purposeful efforts to break centuries-old patterns of social hierarchy and injustice and to live up

to equally longstanding promises, dating back to the independence period, of social, political and economic equality. The nations of the region have broken emphatically with the neo-liberal orthodoxies of the 1980s and 90s to craft new policy initiatives: the Oportunidades and Bolsa Familia programs in Mexico and Brazil, multicultural constitutions in Bolivia, Colombia and Ecuador, Plan Ceibal in Uruguay, Bolivarian socialism in Venezuela, and many others. This flood of creativity gives the title of Oscar Guardiola-Rivera's recent book, *What If Latin America Ruled the World? How the South Will Take the North into the 22nd Century*, far more plausibility than it might have had ten or twenty years ago. LASA's members have shared in and contributed to all of these recent developments. An association founded in 1966 by U.S. academics, over the last forty-five years LASA has been thoroughly internationalized. Almost half its members, including its current president, live and work outside the United States; and its last four International Congresses have all been held outside the U.S.. Such a transformation could easily have been traumatic for the organization; but my sense is that LASA's institutional experience has been almost exactly the opposite. The Association's internationalization has occurred in an atmosphere of great good will and collegiality; LASA members from around the globe recognize the enormous benefits to be derived from free, open, and egalitarian intellectual exchange and the incorporation of new experiences, perspectives and ideas. LASA's growth and diversity are its great strengths, but they also come with an imperative to make sure that the voices and needs of different constituencies are heard. Regional diversity is one vital component of this, and removing barriers to full participation by members based across the hemisphere has

been and will continue to be a central concern. But our members also come from a diversity of disciplines, whose academic conventions create divergent expectations and needs. Meanwhile, we range from beginning graduate students to emeritus professors, and from those who have chosen to concentrate their energies within academia to others who have chosen paths of activism, policy-making, the arts and journalism. What structures should LASA strengthen, or where might we innovate, to make our organization a productive home base for all? If elected to the vice-presidency, I will consult closely with the current and in-coming presidents, Maria Hermínia Tavares and Evelynne Huber, with the Executive Council, and with the LASA staff, on the organization's most pressing current needs and how best to address them. I will also be pleased to hear and learn from LASA members at any time. Thank you for your attention and for the honor of this nomination, and don't forget to vote!

Merilee Grindle is Edward S. Mason Professor of International Development at the Harvard Kennedy School of Government and Director of the David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies at Harvard University. A political scientist with a B.A. from Wellesley College, an M.A. from Brown University, and a Ph.D. from MIT, she has focused much of her work on the politics of policy reform. She has recently completed a book on issues of public sector reform in historical contexts and the development of professional public services in Latin America. Currently, she is engaged in research on scholarly engagements between the U.S. and Latin America in the 19th and early 20th centuries. More broadly, she is a specialist on the comparative analysis of policymaking, implementation, and public

management, the policy process, and the politics of reform, with a particular focus on countries in Latin America. Grindle has been at Harvard since 1983. In addition to her teaching and research activities, she has held a number of administrative positions and served on many committees at Harvard and in the academic world. She served for ten years as the faculty chair of the MPA programs and on the faculty steering committee at the Kennedy School. She serves on several University-wide committees on international engagement and has played an active role in the promotion of international student activities at Harvard. She has been a member of the editorial boards of a number of journals and has been actively engaged in promoting graduate education in public policy in Mexico and Bolivia. She was LASA Congress Program Chair in 1986 and served on the LASA Executive Council and was Treasurer from 2004-2006. She teaches courses on the political economy of development policy making and implementation and in 1991 received the Manuel C. Carballo Award for Excellence in Teaching at the Kennedy School and in 2007 was recognized by Harvard University as an outstanding teacher. She has received research grants from the Social Science Research Council and the Tinker, Ford, and Rockefeller Foundations, among others. Grindle is the author of *Jobs for the Boys: The Politics of Public Sector Reform* (Harvard 2012); *Going Local: Decentralization, Democratization, and the Promise of Good Governance* (Princeton 2007); *Despite the Odds: The Contentious Politics of Education Reform* (Princeton 2004); *Audacious Reforms: Institutional Invention and Democracy in Latin America* (Johns Hopkins 2000); *Challenging the State: Crisis and Innovation in Latin America and Africa* (Cambridge 1996); *Searching for Rural Development: Labor Migration and Employment in Mexico*

(Cornell 1988); *State and Countryside: Development Policy and Agrarian Politics in Latin America* (Johns Hopkins 1986) and *Bureaucrats, Politicians, and Peasants in Mexico: A Study in Public Policy* (California 1976). She is co-author, with John Thomas, of *Public Choices and Policy Change: The Political Economy of Reform in Developing Countries* (Johns Hopkins 1991), which won an award as the best book in public policy in 1991. She is also the editor of *Politics and Policy Implementation in the Third World* (Princeton 1980); *Getting Good Government: Capacity Building in the Public Sectors of Developing Countries* (Harvard/HIID 1997); and co-editor of *Proclaiming Revolution: Bolivia in Comparative Politics* (Harvard/DRCLAS 2003). In addition, she has written numerous articles about policy management, implementation, capacity building, and institutional reform in developing countries as well as other articles about political economy theory and practice, social policy, and rural poverty. Most recently, articles related to “good enough governance” have focused on the difficult agenda of public sector and state reform in developing countries.

Grindle Statement

I have been an avid participant in LASA Congresses for a very long time and have had the pleasure of working closely with the leadership and administration of the organization on several occasions. Despite the multiple and insistent demands that set constraints on all of us, I work to find time for LASA. I do so because of the values that LASA represents for Latin American studies and academic research more generally. First, I am increasingly aware that LASA is truly a multigenerational space for scholars and students to compare notes, develop professional relationships, generate research ideas and findings, and

increase the space for Latin American studies across the world. A LASA Congress served as my first professional activity as a newly-minted Ph.D., and now, many years later, I see that experience reflected in the presence of so many younger scholars who search each other out and reconnect with their mentors to pick up on discussions interrupted by time and space. It is impossible to know how many projects and how many careers were inspired and encouraged through LASA, but the number has to be very significant, stimulated at least in part by the transmission of passion about Latin America across generations of scholars. Second, as a social scientist, I am impressed that LASA has remained so interdisciplinary. Especially in the United States, disciplines seem to have become progressively more narrow even as issues for scholarship have become more complex and multifaceted. But in LASA, we share a commitment to Latin America—past, present, and future—as well as to our disciplines. How better to be engaged in discussions about politics and public policies, my particular interests, but also to incorporate understanding of the region’s literature, its cultures, its environmental challenges, its cities, and its art and science? Third, I have seen LASA grow in inclusiveness and in an exceptional effort to engage scholars and scholarship from Latin America. The clear dedication of LASA’s leadership and membership to facilitate travel and interaction is inspiring. In a world increasingly connected by virtual relationships, the face-to-face nature of interactions at LASA Congresses are especially important in sparking new professional relationships and deepening ongoing collaborations. Fourth, I find time for LASA because it is active in the world. The organization’s long-time commitment to enhanced scholarly relations with Cuba and to improved U.S. policy toward that country, its outspoken concern for human

rights and immigration reform, and its clear interest in the rights of those who are ignored or oppressed or who live daily with violence and intolerance speaks loudly to its relevance in the real world. I am proud of this history of social and political activism and I believe it makes a difference in the world. I am also drawn to LASA because of its professionalism. Its leadership has consistently set a standard for accountability and service and its administration is admirably efficient, effective, and responsive. I have had opportunities to see how it works and how it responds to challenges and I want to see it continue to set a standard for excellent performance. The values I find in LASA—multigenerational connections, interdisciplinary dialogue, inclusive scholarship and membership, active engagement in the world, and a professional mission—are the values I want to sustain and continue to build if given a chance to help lead the organization. It is critical to engage younger scholars in the organization, to ensure that our Congresses always represent the best of a multiplicity of disciplines and collaboration across them, to reach out to scholars of diverse background and facilitate their participation in LASA activities, to remain a pillar of conscience for U.S.-Latin American relationships, and to continue to operate with truly professional norms and standards. I believe that LASA is a strong and important organization and I am committed to contributing what I can to its scholarly and professional future in ways that enhance its relevance and its capacity to reach, engage, and build its membership.

Daniel Balderston, Mellon Professor of Modern Languages, University of Pittsburgh, and director of the Borges Center. B.A. in English, University of California-Berkeley, M.A., Ph.D. in

Comparative Literature, Princeton. Taught at Tulane and Iowa before coming to Pittsburgh, and was a visiting professor at the Universidade de São Paulo, Universidad Javeriana, Bergen, Havana, Georgetown, Berkeley, Campinas, Antioquia, Buenos Aires, La Pampa, Universidad de la República (Montevideo). Books: *El precursor velado: R. L. Stevenson en la obra de Borges* (1985), *The Literary Universe of Jorge Luis Borges* (1986), *The Latin American Short Story: An Annotated Guide* (1992), *Out of Context: Historical Reference and the Representation of Reality in Borges* (1993, Spanish edition 1996), *El deseo: enorme cicatriz luminosa* (1999, second expanded edition 2004), *Borges, realidades y simulacros* (2000), *Innumerables relaciones: cómo leer con Borges* (2010). Co-authored book (with José Quiroga): *Sexualidades en disputa* (2005). Edited books: *The Historical Novel in Latin America* (1986), *Sex and Sexuality in Latin America* (with Donna Guy, 1997, Spanish edition 1998), *Sexualidad y nación* (2000), *Encyclopedia of Latin American and Caribbean Cultures* (with Mike Gonzalez and Ana López, 2000), *Voice Overs: Translation and Latin American Literature* (with Marcy Schwartz, 2002), *Encyclopedia of Latin American and Caribbean Literature, 1900-2003* (with Mike Gonzalez, 2004), *The Noé Jitrik Reader* (2005), *Las lecciones del maestro: Homenaje a José Bianco* (2006), *Approaches to Teaching Puig's The Kiss of the Spider Woman* (with Francine Masiello, 2007), *Novelas cortas* by Juan Carlos Onetti (critical edition, 2010), *Cartografías queer: activismo LGBT y sexualidades en América Latina* (with Arturo Matute Castro, 2011). Articles in *Revista Iberoamericana*, *MLN*, *Discurso Literario*, *Hispanamérica*, *Texto Crítico*, *Revista Canadiense de Estudios Hispánicos*, *Modern Language Review*, *Hispania*, *La Torre*, *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies*,

Symposium, *Nuevo Texto Crítico*, *Chasqui*, *Cuadernos Hispanoamericanos*, *Variaciones Borges*, *Revista de Crítica Literaria Latinoamericana*, *Tramas para la literatura argentina*, *Estudios*, *Social Text*, *Ibero-Americana Pragensia*, *Cuadernos Americanos*, *Casa de las Américas*, *Río de la Plata*, *Fragmentos*, *América*, *Anclajes*, *Hofstra Hispanic Review*, *A contracorriente*, *Lejana*, *Taller de Letras* and others. Book chapters in *Utopías del Nuevo Mundo*, *Borges the Poet*, *Ficción y política: la narrativa argentina durante el Proceso militar*, *Literatura e história na América Latina*, *Cambridge History of Latin American Literature*, *Histórias da Literatura: Teorias, Temas e Autores*, *¿Entiendes? Queer Readings/Hispanic Writings*, *En torno a la obra de Virgilio Piñera*, *Cet obscure objet de désir: Représentations homosexuelles, Borges and Europe Revisited*, *El siglo de Borges*, *Literatura política y sociedad: construcciones de sentido en la Hispanoamérica contemporánea*, *Robert Louis Stevenson: Writer of Boundaries*, *Escrito por los otros: Ensayos sobre Luis Gusmán*, *Virgilio Piñera: La memoria del cuerpo*, *Hispanisms and Homosexualities*, *Changing Men and Masculinities in Latin America*, *Ricardo Piglia: una poética sin límites*, *Literary Cultures of Latin America: A Comparative History*, *Otros cuerpos, otras sexualidades*, *Entre ficción y reflexión: Juan José Saer y Ricardo Piglia*, *Zona de prólogos*, *In memoriam JLB*, *Jorge Luis Borges: Políticas de la literature*, *Cambridge Companion to the Latin American Novel*, *Elena Garro: un recuerdo sólido* and others. Encyclopedia articles in the *Encyclopedia of the Novel*, *Modern Spanish American Poets*, *Latin American Writers*, *Encyclopedia of Latin American Literature*, *Latin American Writing on Gay and Lesbian Themes*. Translator of fiction by José Bianco, Sylvia Molloy, Juan Carlos Onetti, Ricardo Piglia, Silvina Ocampo,

Caio Fernando Abreu and others. President of the Instituto Internacional de Literatura Iberoamericana, 2004-2008. Member, Division of Twentieth Century Latin American Literature, MLA, 1994-1998. Texts and Translations Board, MLA, 2004-2009. Chair, Task Force on Gay and Lesbian Issues, LASA, 1994-1997. Editor, *Variaciones Borges*, 2005-present. Serves on editorial board of *Les Cahiers d'Ilcea*, *Itinerarios*, *Arquitrave*, *Anclajes*, past service on boards of *PMLA*, *Revista Iberoamericana* and *Hispania*.

Balderston Statement

*I have been a LASA member since 1983 and have attended nearly all of the Congresses since then. The Association has been vital to my professional development, and to the development of new fields within Latin American studies including sexuality studies. I was privileged to lead the Task Force on Gay and Lesbian Issues (now the Sexuality Studies Section) from 1994 to 1997, and have been involved in this group since its inception. More generally, I have found LASA an important place for collaborative work across the disciplines; two of my co-edited books, *Sex and Sexuality in Latin America* and *Voice Overs: Translation and Latin American Literature*, were conceived and planned during LASA meetings. I envision the Association as a place for continuing intellectual innovation, for collaboration between activists and academics, and for the fostering of close working relationships among scholars based in different parts of the Americas and elsewhere in the world. One area that I think could be a new initiative would be to use part of the LASA webpage to provide links to online research and publications, such as CLAM, the digital journals housed at the University of Pittsburgh library, IILI and the many digital journals and research websites in Latin America.*

Ruth Berins Collier is Heller Professor of the Graduate School, Department of Political Science, University of California, Berkeley. Her research has focused on the interplay of regime change and forms of popular participation. Her books include: *Shaping the Political Arena: Critical Junctures, The Labor Movement, and Regime Dynamics* (co-authored); *The Contradictory Alliance: State-Labor Relations and Regime Change in Mexico: Paths Toward Democracy: the Working Class and Elites in Western Europe and South America*; and *Reorganizing Popular Politics: Participation and the New Interest Regime in Latin America* (co-edited).

Collier Statement

While I support broad interdisciplinary approaches that bridge the social sciences and humanities, my goal within LASA would be to advance social science research on Latin America. One of the great traditions within research on Latin America has been an approach that crosses the social sciences: sociology, political science, history, anthropology, and economics. Though disciplinary perspectives often seem to be increasing in importance, I would try to ensure that LASA continue what has been a very fruitful cross-disciplinary perspective, which has historically made Latin American studies an innovative, theory-exporting field of study. I am particularly interested in making a variety of data more readily available to scholars: researchers' own field data and archival data as well as government data, GIS data, survey data, satellite data, and so forth.

Lauren (Robin) Derby is associate professor of Latin American history at the University of California, Los Angeles. Her work engages issues of memory, violence, dictatorship and rumor in the Dominican Republic, Haiti and Puerto Rico; she has

also conducted research in Cuba. Her publications include: *The Dictator's Seduction: Politics and the Popular Imagination in the Era of Trujillo* (Duke University Press, 2009) which seeks to explain race, masculinity and the culture of consent under the Trujillo dictatorship. It won the Gordon K. and Sybil Lewis award, the Bolton-Johnson Prize, and received honorable mention for the Bryce Wood Book Award from LASA. She also co-edited *Activating the Past: History and Memory in the Black Atlantic World*, Cambridge Scholars Press, 2010. She is currently writing a book on demonic animal narratives in Haiti and the Dominican Republic and co-editing a reader on the Dominican Republic for Duke University Press.

Derby Statement

I have been a member of LASA for two decades, and my research has focused on frontiers and peripheries over the long durée. I think I would bring a sensitivity towards the non-core regions of Latin America to LASA, since with the exception of Cuba, the Caribbean has been an outlier to Latin American studies. I would also like to enhance the presence within LASA of some approaches which have not been central to the field of Latin American studies in the past, such as oral and environmental history, as well as interdisciplinary dialogues. Teaching at a large public university has made me concerned with relevance and outreach, which inspired me to develop an oral history training course in Haiti on life narratives of the 2010 earthquake funded by a LASA-Ford special project grant.

Graciela Montaldo. I enrolled at the University of Buenos Aires in 1978, during the Argentine military dictatorship. Everyone who studied in those years had to

resort to non-institutional alternative spaces at the same time that they attended the university. My alternative space was a study group that operated in Buenos Aires in the late 1970s and throughout the 1980s. These circumstances lent my work a certain eclecticism, as well as an early interdisciplinary formation, a clear understanding of the risks inherent in critical knowledge, and a strong political engagement with my objects of study. I draw on this experience in my books, in the sense that I understand knowledge to be a form of critical participation. From my first book, *De pronto, el campo* (1990), to my later study *Ficciones culturales y fábulas de identidad en América Latina* (1993), and even to my most recent work, *Zonas ciegas. Populismos y experimentos culturales en Argentina* (2010), I am interested in analyzing the ways that culture intersects with politics. I seek also to reflect on the ways that lettered knowledge in Latin America is articulated from an early date through the practices of native cultures and, in modern times, through products of the culture industry. I began my academic career in 1984 in the Department of Philosophy and Letters of the University of Buenos Aires. In 1990, I began teaching at Simón Bolívar University in Caracas, Venezuela, where I served as Director of the Graduate Program and also as Humanities Coordinator in the Dean's Office of Research. I was a professor at Rutgers University briefly and, in 2005, joined the Columbia University faculty to participate in the renovation of the Spanish and Portuguese Department, now known as the Department of Latin American and Iberian Cultures. At Columbia, I served as Director of Graduate Studies for four years and have been Department Chair since 2010. Since my arrival in 2005, I have played an active role in restructuring the Department and redesigning all of its programs. Since 2007, I have been a member of the Latin

American Literature from Independence to 1900 Division of the Modern Language Association (MLA). I have also been, and will be again this year, a member of the Executive Committee of the Institute for Latin American Studies (ILAS) at Columbia.

Montaldo Statement

A member of LASA for some twenty years, I have participated consistently and in varied ways throughout that time. As I have lived and built my academic career in Latin America (Argentina and Venezuela) and in the United States, I have, like many of my colleagues, a perspective on the intellectual and institutional changes of the last two decades. I believe LASA's efforts in recent years to foster a global community of "Latin Americanists" have had positive impacts. The most important of these has been the integration of different academic communities and intellectual traditions, an integration that is evident at conferences and in the journal but also in the growing institutional interest in LASA outside of the space of its founding. One of the challenges that this growth and professional development pose to our field, however, is how to maintain the diversity of our communities and traditions in open dialogue and permanent debate. LASA as an institution can foment the expansion of Latin American Studies within Global Studies but must at the same time emphasize and conserve the diversity that characterizes the field and the variety of intellectual traditions that comprise it. I personally feel the weight of this challenge, in my teaching and research as well as in academic administration. Every institution tends to colonize the knowledge that it administers. When institutions conserve their diversity and move forward in accord with their own rhythms, they can generate disciplinary change. My personal notion of LASA's role is to serve as a space that not

only unites its members but also permits our discipline to develop effectively and along a new course.

María Clemencia Ramírez joined the Colombian Institute of Anthropology and History-ICANH as a researcher in 1977 and was appointed Director in 2005, a position she held until July 2007, when she became an Associate Researcher. She attended the Universidad de los Andes, where she earned a B.A. in Anthropology; the Universidad Nacional de Colombia, where she earned an M.A. in History, and Harvard University, where she earned a Ph.D. in Social Anthropology. She received a John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation Fellowship for the year 2009-2010 and was the 2004-2005 Santo Domingo Visiting Scholar at the David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies at Harvard. She has been a Professor of Anthropology at the Universidad Nacional de Colombia and the Universidad de los Andes in Bogotá, where she is a member of a research group that focuses on the ethnography of the state, citizenship, and armed conflict in Colombia. Dr. Ramírez's work explores the intersections of violence and identity through the lens of public policy, politics and state/citizen relations, focusing on the Amazon Region of Colombia and specifically on the department of Putumayo, where the presence of illegal crops and armed conflict led to the implementation of Plan Colombia beginning in 2000. Dr. Ramírez is currently coordinating a research team of the Historical Memory Group of the National Commission of Reparation and Reconciliation of Colombia, conducting research in Putumayo within the framework of a major project focused on gathering memories and experiences of women in order to recognize and make visible their agency in the midst

of the Colombian armed conflict and the war on drugs. She is author of *Entre el estado y la guerrilla: identidad y ciudadanía en el movimiento de los campesinos cocaleros del Putumayo* (2001); an updated and revised English-language edition has been published by Duke University Press and released in July 2011 under the title *Between the Guerrillas and the State: the cocalero movement, citizenship and identity in the Colombian Amazon*. She also is author of *Frontera Fluida entre Andes, piedemonte y selva: el caso del Valle de Sibundoy, siglos XVI-XVIII*; and co-author of the *Atlas cultural de la Amazonia Colombiana: la construcción del territorio en el siglo XX*. Dr. Ramírez has published several book chapters and journal articles on her research interests which range from the politics of global security and the war on drugs in Colombia to the impact of Plan Colombia on the small-scale coca growers of Putumayo. Dr. Ramírez has held three research grants from the Colombian Institute for the Advancement of Development, Science and Technology-Colciencias (1998, 2003, and 2007), a Peace Scholar Award from the United States Institute of Peace, a Wenner-Gren Foundation Grant for dissertation research (1997-1998) and a Fulbright Scholarship for graduate studies as a Colombian student in the United States (1994-1997). In 1994 her M.A. thesis in ethno-history was awarded Honorable Mention (Mención Meritoria) and Special Distinction by the Universidad Nacional. She was also given a Special Distinction by the Chapter of Anthropology of the Ex-alumni Association of the Universidad de los Andes in Bogotá, Colombia in September 2003 and a distinction as Honorary Researcher by the Colombian Institute of Anthropology and History in 2007. Dr. Ramírez has served as member of the editorial board of the journal *Revista*

Antípoda of the Department of Anthropology at Universidad de los Andes and as editor, editorial board member, and currently as a member of the scientific committee of the journal *Revista Colombiana de Antropología* of the Colombian Institute of Anthropology. In 2009 and 2010 she served as co-chair of LASA's Colombia Section.

Ramírez Statement

My interest as a candidate for the Executive Council of the Latin American Studies Association stems from being a Latin American anthropologist who has had the opportunity to study in the United States and work in both the United States and Colombia on an ongoing basis. As a result of this experience I am interested in further promoting alliances between Latin American, United States, and Canadian scholars. LASA's promotion of transregional research initiatives such as those funded six times by the Ford Foundation is a concrete example of this kind of alliance. The increasing proportion of LASA members residing outside of the United States reached 45 percent of the organization's membership in 2010, and it is important to promote these initiatives among Latin American scholars in order to elicit more research and Congress proposals from the South. My experience as co-chair of LASA's Colombia Section taught me that in order to achieve this goal, it is necessary to educate Latin American scholars and develop more outreach activities so that they will be more active in the organization and maintain longer-term affiliations. Moreover, I hope to represent Latin American scholars on the Executive Council, expressing their perspectives in order to deepen their participation.

Catalina Romero, a Peruvian sociologist, got a M.S. in Sociology at Iowa State

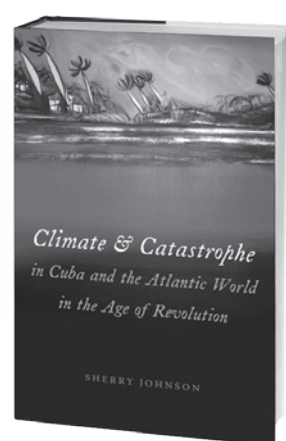
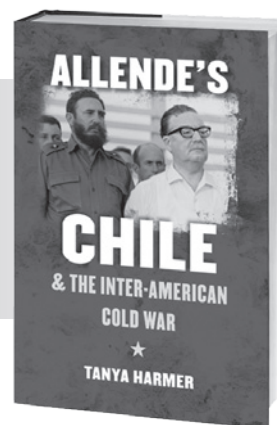
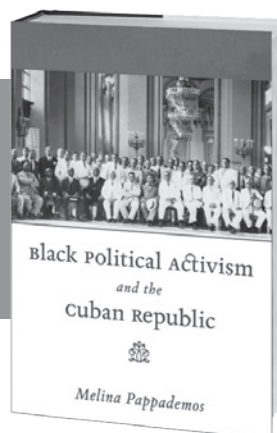
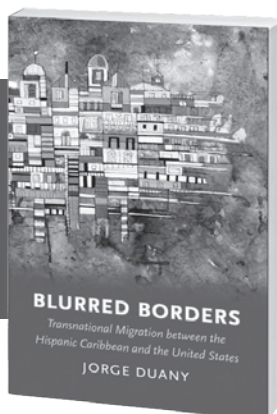
University, and a Ph.D. in Sociology at The New School for Social Research, N.Y., in 1989. Her main fields of research are in religion and politics, value change, democracy and civil society. A professor at the Pontifical Catholic University of Peru (PUCP), she has been Chair of the Social Sciences Department, and Dean of the School of Social Sciences. She created the Masters Program in Political Science, and later, the Political Science and Government Undergraduate Program. She has been Director of the Institute Bartolomé De Las Casas in Lima, Fellow of the Kellogg Institute for International Studies (1982, 2001), Public Fellow at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars (2010), and Latin American Fellow of the Guggenheim Foundation (2011-2012). Member of the Executive Council of the World Values Survey Organization, and Principal Investigator in Peru, she has been also a PI of the Comparative Study of Electoral Systems, CSES, and as a member of WAPOR she participated in the Academic Committee to organize the Lima-WAPOR Congress in 2008. A member of a Latin American project to study the Quality of Democracy, she is also member of a Working Group at CLACSO on religion, politics and society. Among her more recent publications are: "Entre la Tormenta y la Brisa. Desafíos al Catolicismo en América Latina" in Romero and Peirano's *Entre la Tormenta y la Brisa. Homenaje a Gustavo Gutiérrez* (2010); "Cambio social, religión y secularización: una mirada desde la Encuesta Mundial de Valores" in Orlando Plaza's *Cambios Sociales en el Perú 1968-2008. En Homenaje a Denis Sulmont* (2009); "La importancia de los valores para el desarrollo humano" in Ruiz Bravo et al.'s *Desarrollo Humano y Libertades. Una aproximación interdisciplinaria* (2009); "Religion and Public Spaces: Catholicism and Civil Society in Peru" in Frances

Hagopian's *Religious Pluralism, Democracy and the Catholic Church in Latin America* (2009); "Religión y espacio público: Catolicismo y sociedad civil en el Perú" in her own *Religión y Espacio Público* (2008); "Movimientos ciudadanos urbanos y desempoderamiento en Perú y Venezuela" (w/ Daniel Levine) in Mainwaring et al.'s *La crisis de la representación democrática en los países andinos* (2008); and "La Democracia en el Perú: una terca voluntad" in *América Latina Hoy*, Vol. 45 (2007).

Romero Statement

The mission of LASA is to foster intellectual discussion, research and teaching on Latin America and the Caribbean and to encourage civic engagement. These two mandates could be joined in one, if our intellectual discussion, research and teaching contribute to build a contemporary empowered vision of Latin America, promoting more interdisciplinary discussions, cross-track encounters, and inter-country's Section meetings, to foster new ways of looking at Latin American countries and the region after two centuries of independent life, and at its more recent research and teaching. I ask for your support as a member of the Executive Council when we are going through a time of crisis, because as the Latin American Studies Association, formed by North American, South American, Caribbean and international scholars we all live at least in two worlds, and Latin America scholars could still represent its subject of study as a space and a history of opportunities. I offer my interdisciplinary background, my interest in different methodological approaches to enrich research questions, to look at old problems with new perspectives, and willingness to find opportunities for innovation through LASA's spaces for encounter and conversation. ■

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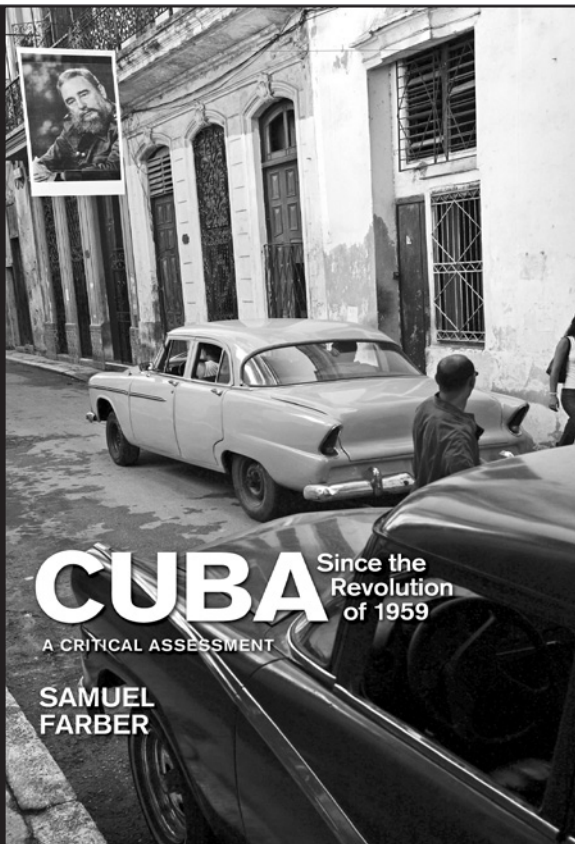
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